

Child Rearing Practices among the Mamanuas of Pangaylan, Santiago, Agusan Del Norte

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
Abstract

This is an ethnographic study conducted among the Mamanuas of Pangaylan in Agusan del Norte. More specifically, it investigated the training the child undergoes in the physical, emotional, and social areas and described its implications on the social and economic life of the Mamanua community. In general, the child rearing practices are characterized by permissive training in the physical area, strict training in the emotional area, except in aggression aspect, and good discipline in the social area.

Introduction

Little has been known about the Mamanuas² in the Philippines. A few researchers have done studies on their culture, but none, so far, have investigated their childrearing practices. The Mamanuas are undergoing change in their culture. They have been gradually assimilated into the ways and practices of their Christian neighbors in almost all aspects of their life— socioeconomic, religion, education, and politics. Before this ethnic group finally disintegrates, it is important to study and record their culture, whatever is left today, in order to know and better understand the Filipino cultural heritage.

Child rearing practices have a great bearing on the social and economic life of any group. Some investigators have viewed infant and child care practices as an important factor in explaining institutional differences between cultures. Some sociologists have noted that child rearing practices are differentiating attributes of social classes. Conclusions drawn from child rearing studies have been also made as the bases for the formulation of specific

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kinds of educational practices, guidelines for institutional procedures, and general prescriptions to laymen concerning the treatment of young children (Yarrow, *et al.*, 1968:3-6)

In the study of childrearing practices, it is necessary to describe the economic, religious, education, political and social conditions as background of the study. Any social act has to be understood as a part of the whole culture in which it occurs, because "observation of social behavior is usually of little value if it does not include an adequate description of the character of the social atmosphere or the larger unit of activity within which the specific social act occurs" (cited in Young, 1958:154). In the present study, the child rearing practices of the Mamanua are examined within the context of these background variables.

Brief Background Of The Economic, Religious, Educational, And Political Conditions Of The Mamanuas

Economic Condition

Agriculture. Agriculture is the primary source of livelihood among the Mamanuas of Pangaylan. They heavily depend on it for their daily subsistence. They practice the slash-and-burn agriculture known as *kaingin* which is done by cutting the trees and burning them. Crops are planted on the open spaces.

The farms of the Mamanuas of Pangaylan are found in the highlands around the settlement. The clearings are planted with camote (the staple food), corn, cassava, bananas, starrin, gabi, fruits and vegetables. The Mamanuas do not have carabaos and plows. They merely till the soil with their hands and a stick or holo after clearing the field.

While semi-sedentary agriculture is the chief source of livelihood, the Mamanuas of Pangaylan also gather food tubers, honey, wild fruits, and root crops in the forests not far from Pangaylan. They love to roam in the forest and gather wild plants.

When the Mamanuas started to practice agriculture, they learned to settle in a place for a longer period, if not permanently. They used to be a highly mobile people, moving from one place to another as soon as the food resources in a particular place became depleted.

Other means of livelihood include rattan gathering, weaving mats, and working for wages. Rattan is usually brought to the poblacion during *tabo* or market days. Mamanua women weave mats out of *baho* leaves which they easily secure from the highlands of the settlement.

Some Mamanua men work for wages. They are usually hired to cut tall grass in nearby farms of the Christians. Sometimes the whole family works on a contract basis in clearing a piece of land. This work contract is known as *pakzaw*.

Fishing and Fishing Implements. At present, the main supplementary source of livelihood among the Mamanuas is fishing rather than hunting. They usually catch fish in the afternoon after farm work. Members of the family who are already able to catch fish go with their parents. They enjoy fishing in the river.

The Mamanuas use different methods of fishing. The *pakubas* is one which is used for shallow waters, where stones are piled and supported by banana leaves and stalks around the portion of the river where fish abounds. In the outlet, a *bayantak* is placed. It is a trap

made of *bangbong*, a kind of bamboo, whose inside portion has sharp pointed bamboo sticks. This is set to prevent the fish from getting out of the stone-surrounded portion.

During the spawning season of the *gingaw* and *casili*, the Mamanuas use the *tabak*, a small fish spear, to stab the passing fish. For good fish divers, a *sayapang* is used which is a three- or four-pronged spear to pursue fish under water. The old *sayapang* is made of *paganan* stem with sharp ends. After each catch, the tips are sharpened. Now, the Mamanuas make *sayapang* out of iron which they procure from the traders.

Fiscicide is another method employed, which involves the use of poisonous vines of trees such as *tubli*, *sag-aw*, or *agot*. These are pounded until they become fine powder. When the poisonous powder is placed in water, fishes die and float.

At night, the Mamanuas employ the *panulo* with the use of *sawong* sap which is wrapped with leaves to serve as a lamp. They also use the *lapnis*, an abaca stem to serve as a covering for the lamp. Now, they make more use of the *mitsa*, a reed filled with kerosene and the open end plugged with a loose wick.

The Mamanuas of Pangaylan also utilize the *bidyo*, a rubber-strand-propelled-wire spear, which is usually used together with a fisherman's goggles. The *bidyo* method is usually employed by the women and small children.

In Pangaylan, the Mamanuas do not use more effective methods such as fishing nets to catch fish.

Hunting. This seldom practiced now by the Mamanuas as a primary means of livelihood. If ever they do hunting, they make use of traps more than other methods.

Balattik is a common method of trapping which is made of wood and iron. It bears a spear which hits the body of an animal. The spear is pushed by a piece of wood when stepped on by an animal like a wild pig. When the Mamanuas are on a *balattik*, they never allow a visitor to come up their house. It is their belief that the pig might escape from the trap once caught, because in neighboring, one always goes home.

Sayak is another method employed by burying pointed sticks on the ground, usually on a slope. When an animal jumps, it is wounded by the half-buried pointed sticks.

To catch wild monkeys and rabbits, *pabugpi* is used. This is done by cutting a piece of wood into three pieces and placing them on top of a tree in such a manner that when a monkey passes through it, the cut pieces automatically close.

In some occasions, Mamanuas employ other methods in hunting. They use spear to kill wild animals. Dogs are also used to run after wild pigs or wild chickens.

It was observed by Maceda, a prominent anthropologist in the country, that when the Mamanuas go hunting in a group, the catch is considered a common property, although the killer has the right to keep the animal's head as trophy. Even when the animal has been slain single-handed, the hunter has to share the catch with the rest of the community, including distant relatives and strangers if such are present (Maceda, 1975:43). This also holds true among the Mamanuas of Pangaylan.

The Mamanuas of Pangaylan do not concern themselves about storing meat for the coming days. They eat as much as they can while there is food. The morrow to them will take care of itself. The meat is usually hung inside the house and the Mamanuas slice from the whole meat, broil and eat it, until they consume it.

Medium of Exchange. Barter used to be a common means of exchange in the settlement area. Mamanuas exchange their agricultural products for clothes, sardines, bolos, and the like, usually with outsiders. Almost always, Mamanuas were short changed in barter deals. They become easy preys when educated Christians take advantage of their ignorance on the value of money.

The whole of Pangaylan used to be owned by the Mamanuas before World War II. But after the war, Mamanuas gradually exchanged their lands with bolos, clothes, sardines, and rice, so that today no one among them owns a piece of land in Pangaylan. As a result, they work on lands which are not theirs. They do not benefit from their labor because the produce goes to the owner. Others farm in far mountains outside of Pangaylan.

At present, some still practise barter once in a while. They barter their camote or mats for fish and other necessities in the market of the municipality. Sometimes they barter their lands. For instance in September 1978, a barter took place where a Mamanua exchanged his five (5) hectares of land, located outside of Pangaylan, for only P35.00 together with an old portable radio phono which costs no more than P300.00.

Settlements and Houses. The Mamanuas of Pangaylan settle near a good water supply. They build their houses near the Aciga river. Not far from the settlement is found a creek called "*Pangungaylan*" by the early Mamanua settlers, after which is derived the name of the sitio.²

Early Mamanuas built their houses on trees. Later, they built low houses out of palm leaves and bamboos. The houses were close to the ground and partly covered. On the center of the house was usually a hole to provide place for burning wood on the ground to keep them warm during nighttime.

Now, the Mamanuas of Pangaylan build their houses on the ground which are made of *ticoy* shingles, wood, and bamboo. The ladder is very low with only two or three rungs of small round timbers attached to the side of the structure by a *lagos* (rattan string). The house has usually only one room where the residents sleep, eat, cook food, and receive their visitors. Sometimes the kitchen is in a separate small room, if not found on the ground. There are no chairs and tables in the house. However, they build benches out of round timbers, which are attached to the wall.

Some Mamanuas have two houses. One is the household residence known as *lagkaw* built in the center of the settlement, while the other is known as *tal ob*. The latter which is located at the farm in the highlands of Pangaylan is a temporary shelter made of bamboos and coconut leaves. This provides them shelter from the scorching heat of the sun or from heavy downpours; likewise, when they take rest to take lunch.

Mamanuas used to run away when outsiders settled in their place. They moved to another place when others who did not belong to their group invaded their settlement. Sometimes they abandoned or transferred their house when one of the group members died. They rarely do so at present. There are some Mamanuas who have experienced death in their family, yet they still remain in the settlement and dwell in their respective houses.

The housing settlement of the Mamanuas of Pangaylan does not bear a distinct pattern. The original Mamanua settlers cluster around the center of the settlement, while the rest are in nearby scattered places together with some Christian settlers.

Most of their houses are so close to each other that they can engage in audible conver-

sation with their neighbors without getting out from their respective houses. This makes the settlement very noisy, especially during the early evening hours when they come home to rest after a day's work. At this time of the day, most of them do not light their kerosene lamps until it becomes so dark for them to see each other. Thus, it is common to see them talking very loud in their own house to a neighbor without seeing each other.

Utensils and Weapons. The utensils of the Mamanua are few. Usually a family has only one cooking pot made of clay or metal where they cook camote, *kuyot*, banana or corn. Some have a carajay where they cook fish.

They used to utilize bamboo internodes which they call *sag-oh* as water containers. Now, they use tin cans or plastic containers in fetching water. Leaves and coconut shells are still in use as food containers. However, a few families have two or three plates which they seldom use because they prefer to eat directly from the cooking pot. They do not have spoons and forks.

The use of the bamboo knife is disappearing. It has been replaced by iron knives which are obtained from the traders.

The bow and arrow which used to be associated with these people are no longer used. Instead, they use spears in hunting.

Religious Tradition

The Mamanuas of Pangaylan have their own beliefs and practices that guide and influence some of their activities in life. Their beliefs could be grouped into three categories:

- Belief in the existence of a Supreme Being
- Belief in the environmental spirits
- Belief in the evil spirits

Belief in the Existence of a Supreme Being. The Mamanuas believe in the existence of a Supreme Deity known as *Tahaw* who dwells in the east. *Tahaw* is considered the creator of the world. He is also considered as an all-knowing and all-seeing god. The Mamanuas worship their god by placing the sap of the *parira* tree over small pieces of burned wood in a coconut shell to effectuate smoke. This is done anytime with a prayer, when the Mamanuas want to communicate with their god, most especially when they have problems, e.g., when somebody is sick in the family.

When they call their god, they do not use materials which give an odor like pomade, because they believe that *Tahaw* runs away from perfumes. Also, when there is a barking dog or when there is somebody smoking, they believe that *Tahaw* does not come near.

According to one informant, the Mamanuas had a regular place of worship located in Marintawog, Haliobong, Agusan del Norte. It was described as very beautiful, with flowers of different kinds growing in the area. A creek, considered sacred by the Mamanuas, traversed the place. The place is now owned by Christian settlers and planted with agricultural products.

Environmental Spirits. The environmental spirits that live in trees and water are called *Tagbanua*. Those who live in trees are called *Engkan*; while those in water are called *Ugko*.

These environmental spirits are believed to be good, and the Mamanuas respect and venerate them by offering food like *lidgid*⁶, chicken eggs, tobacco, or *mama* (betel nut). Before clearing a piece of land, Mamanuas pray and offer food to the spirits as a token for the temporary use of the land. The offering is usually performed at the foot of a big tree. The natives eat half of the food and leave the rest for the spirits.

The Mamanuas generally fear the evil spirits, which they call *Kaporoan*. These evil spirits are believed to be headed by *Ibol*. Some of the evil spirits are the following:

- *gim-aw*, found in the forest with a loud horrifying voice similar to a cow's voice;
- *alok*, which victimizes a pregnant;
- *tagulating*, also found in the forest;
- *kuririt*, which has a big stomach and sips the blood of the fetus inside the womb of the pregnant mother; and many others.

Rituals and Religious Ceremonies. Mamanuas perform different religious rituals to symbolize their gratitude for blessings received from their god and spirits.

One very old thanksgiving ritual is known as *pagsangkalan*. For several months, the Mamanuas gather cooked pork of wild pigs and keep it in a *sag-ob* (bamboo internode) until the quantity is substantial. Then they mix this with *unaw*⁶ and cook them together. While the food is being cooked, the Mamanuas dance around the food and create much noise. The term given to the dance is *biranguzo*. The dance involves stooping down with the performers' heads swayed successively from left to right. After the dance, a *tungkayan* wood, about four meters in length, is beaten with pieces of sticks. The headman of the village or the *baylan*⁷ leads a thanksgiving prayer for *Tahaw*. Then, the feast commences. Wide barks of the *sarawag* tree are used as food containers where everybody can eat together.

Another old religious ritual is known as *garoug*, which is the feast of honey. This is done once a year, anytime as soon as the flowers in the forest are in full bloom. This is a group activity where the Mamanuas gather *seg-ed* (honey) for several weeks and place them in long bamboo internodes. After collecting a substantial amount, they start the festivity. The *baylan* leads a prayer to thank their god for having made the flowers bloom so that the bees can sip nectars and produce honey. The priest kindles the sap from the *parina* tree over a charcoal in a coconut shell, after which drinking of the honey follows. Small cut bamboos serve as glasses. Each Mamanua drinks two or more glasses of honey. For some, the quantity is enough to make them feel warm and drunk. They relieve themselves by taking a quick dip in a nearby river. Merriment prevails during the period.

The *kahimunan*⁸ or full moon ceremony is another thanksgiving activity. This ritual is performed to fulfill a promise of thanksgiving for bounties received or sickness healed. The ceremony generally requires a substantial amount of food, since relatives and friends from nearby places are expected to attend the event. The *kahimunan* is usually done during full moon when a big pig is offered. A pig is tied in a structure made of round timbers and beside it is a heart-shaped structure of palms where the *bayo*, cut into several pieces, and wine, in small containers, are placed. After some chanting by the *sukdan* (performers), seven plates of uncooked rice decorated with *bayo* fruits on top, are offered. Dancing follows until late in the evening.

In the following morning, a pig is killed with a spear and the blood is drunk by the performers, if it is not directly sucked from the animal. Then the formal offering, which is done with a dance by the performers, follows. The offering begins with seven (7) plates of uncooked rice with cooked sliced meat on top without salt and spices. It is followed by the pig's skin which is uncooked and stretched every now and then; image of a crocodile from the pig's skin which is raised; *buyo* fruits; and pig's blood. The latter is placed on the palms of the expectators as a symbol of rebirth. Then the uncooked head and feet of the pig are carried around seven times. Lastly, water is sprinkled to the expectators to cleanse them from evil spirits. After these ceremonies, a banquet follows.

During the *kahimunan*, salt is never used. It is always kept away. One informant said that there was one occasion, a long time ago, when it was her task to carry the salt more than a kilometer away from the place of ceremony. This was done because when the Mamanuas had a *kahimunan* once and used salt, lightning struck their house and set it on fire.

At present, the *pagsangkalan* and *garong* are no longer practiced in Pangaylan. However, in some areas like in Claver, Surigao del Norte, the Mamanuas still perform a similar ceremony. According to Lilia Castro:

What they do at present is they get a small portion of seg-ed (honey) and limbangay (very young bees) and offer it at the foot of the tree where the honeycomb is, as a thanksgiving offering to their diety or Tabaw.⁹

Nevertheless, the Mamanuas of Pangaylan still practise the *kahimunan*, especially those who have made a promise of thanksgiving to their god. Many fear that something bad might happen to them if they do not fulfill their promises. They believe in *gaba* (curse) from their god. In fact, the headman of Pangaylan and his wife strongly believe that their failure to fulfill their promise to do the *kahimunan* is the cause of the wife's blindness. The headman intends to perform the ceremony as soon as he secures enough money. He has started soliciting help from his close relatives for this purpose.

Some Mamanuas in the settlement, however, are slowly discarding the above practices. Some have been converted to Christianity through contacts with American researchers.

Sickness. When somebody is sick, the Mamanuas believe that there are evil spirits around. *Habay* is the Mamanua term for sickness attributed to evil spirits. When pain is felt in the stomach, it is known as *balos*, and when pain is in the head, it is called *suokon*.

To cure a sick person, Mamanuas burn the end of a small piece of cloth which is swayed to and fro before the patient so he can smell the smoke. This is repeated many times and accompanied with a saying, "*Oli, ngarong suok!*" ("Go away headache!") in the case of a headache, or "*Oli, ngarong balos!*" ("Go away stomachache!") in the case of a stomachache. The whole procedure of treatment is known as *barabai*.

Sometimes Mamanuas consult the doctor in the municipality when somebody is sick in the family and when money is available to pay for the doctor's fee and medicines. Oftentimes, however, money is not available and the family is forced to resort to the traditional method of treatment.

Burial. *Puoy* is the term given to a dead person. When a Mamanua dies, he/she is

wrapped in a mat and sometimes placed in a hollowed-out part of the trunk of the *bahi* tree. The deceased is buried on the very day he/she dies under or near his house in a horizontal position. Sometimes the dead is buried together with his/her small possessions like bolo and spear, to prevent his/her soul from coming back.

The bereaved family and relatives are not allowed to cry aloud for fear that the evil spirits might hear them and come to their place. Mamanaos do not notify the relatives of the deceased living in distant places. Immediately after the burial, the house of the deceased is either abandoned or transferred to another place to ward off evil spirits. Among Mamanaos, neither feasts nor prayers are offered to the dead.

It is not the custom of the Mamanaos of Pangaylan to visit the graves of their departed friends and relatives. But they treasure the memories of their loved ones with honor and reverence.

The Mamanaos believe that one has seven souls and when one dies, six of his souls go to Ibol, head of the evil spirits, and one to *Takaw*, the supreme deity. This explains, according to them, why there are plenty of evil spirits here on earth.

The practice today of putting markers and visiting the graves, as well as the holding of prayers and giving of feasts, are recent Christian influences.

Education Of Mamanaos

Literacy. Illiteracy is prevalent in the Mamanao population. Among the elders, no one has attained grade one. Among the young, only a few have undergone elementary education.

According to the District Coordinator of Santiago Elementary School, she never heard of any Mamanao in Pangaylan who had gone to school before 1958. In her inquiries, she learned that Mamanao children were often ridiculed by the Christian pupils because of their dark skin and kinky hair. When the American researchers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) arrived in the settlement sometime in 1958, they gathered the children and adults every off hours, i.e., when they did not study the Mamanao dialect, and taught them the rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Since then, the Mamanao parents have been encouraged to send their children to Santiago Elementary School.¹⁰

Generally, the Mamanaos of Pangaylan do not value formal education. They do not want their children to attain higher education. They generally do not have higher educational aspiration for their children. According to most Mamanao parents, if their children finish elementary education, it is good, but if they do not, nothing is lost. They always assert that education is not necessary to the kind of life they have.

It is worthwhile to note that during rainy seasons, the nearby Aciga river always overflows and floods the area. This makes going to school in the municipal poblacion both difficult and risky.

Political Condition

Political Organization. According to the Miller sisters in quoting Service, the Mamanao society is an example of a band level of primitive social organization. A band is a group consisting of no more than six nuclear families, numbering 30-100. It is characterized by

loose ties. Everyone is equal in economic status, and political and religious functions are very informal. Authority rests on the male elder who is also a medicine man. Generally, decisions involving the group are actually the crystallized opinions of all adult members in the band (cited in Jeanne and Helen Miller, 1976:18).

The Mamanuas of Pangaylan have a loose political set up. There are no formal rules which define the duties and responsibilities of the members. But informal means of social control exist to enforce social order.

The Mamanua social classes are not very distinct. There seems to be no recognized category, like wealth, to classify them by social or economic class. With the absence of a distinct social differentiation, there appears to be less social mobility. Everyone seems to be equal in the community.

Headman. Usually the headman is the elderly man known as *Ama* whose opinion is always solicited by members of the community. He is a greatly honored figure in the community.

The position of the headman is not hereditary. It does not carry wealth and power. It is not also elective. The members do not formally elect the headman.

The headman gains prestige and respect from among the members of the community. He usually obtains the consensus of the members and becomes the informal leader because of his prowess and strength to hunt games, and his wisdom and capability to protect and lead the group. He remains virtually the traditional leader until he dies, or becomes disabled or weak to lead the group.

The advice of the headman is always sought by members of the community. Acting as a judge in settling local disputes, the Mamanuas respect the decision of the elderly man and obey him at all times.

When faced with important matters that concern the whole group, the headman consults the older members before casting a decision. He listens and considers the opinion of the elders for the good of the community. Decisions arrived at are binding.

Political Behavior. The Mamanuas of Pangaylan are known for being peace-loving people. They generally avoid trouble. A Mamanua prefers to run away rather than retaliate. In fact, many observed that there has never been a case of murder involving a Mamanua in the place.

Mamanuas are generally law-abiding people. However, their respect for the law is partly motivated by fear of punishment, and partly by shared sentiments and values of the larger society.

At present, although there is an existing traditional leader in Pangaylan, the Mamanuas recognize and respect the Christian barrio captain. According to the barrio captain,

The Mamanuas of Pangaylan are cooperative. They attend meetings and participate in community work. They show enthusiasm and interest in matters that would benefit the community."

The present investigator personally observed the Mamanuas during a *pahina* day, a day

especially devoted to community work and generate cooperation. Despite the heavy down-pour and without the supervision of the barrio captain, the natives gathered sand from the Aciga river and brought it to the center of the settlement for the municipal government's rural health center project. After doing their task, they reported to the barrio captain to inform the latter that they had done their part. It is worthy to note here that young boys, between ages three and ten, were found helping in the community work to represent their aged and disabled parents.

Means of Social Control. There are no formal or written laws in the settlement. But informal means of social control exist to enforce social order.

Kinship ties is the strongest means of social control. Because of kinship relationship, the Mamanuas avoid creating trouble. Most of them are related by blood or affinity. They help maintain peace and order. They also listen to the advice of elders and respect the decision of the headman.

Their shyness termed as *kaoraw* is also an attributable factor to the maintenance of social order. The Mamanuas have a sense of dignity. They are ashamed when they commit a mistake. They do not want to be shamed before the public. Thus, they always try to respect the prescriptions and proscriptions of the community.

Their belief in *gaba* (curse) which is a moral retribution from violating the will of God, is another means of social control. They believe that if they offend or hurt somebody, God will punish them. Thus, they avoid inflicting harm to others.

The Social Life Of The Mamanua

General Characteristics of the Family. The family is the basic social unit in a Mamanua community. It is usually an extended type, composed of the nuclear family members, i.e., the parents and immediate offsprings, and some relatives living in the same household. Authority is patriarchal in nature where the father is the dominant figure. If the father dies, the elder son assumes his position. In the absence of an elder son, however, the mother assumes the role of the father. Residence custom is patrilocal where the woman follows the residence of her husband.

Among the Mamanuas, descent of relationship is bilateral. It is traced from both the father's and mother's relatives. The term given to the grandfather is *apoh*, while the grandmother is *bace*. On the other hand, the uncle is called *tata*, and the auntie is *nana*. The same names are used for the same set of relatives from the mother's side.

Monogamy is the fundamental marital rule, so that plurality of wives is abhorred. Some men practice polygyny, but such cases are rare. Endogamy used to be the basic practice among Mamanuas, where marriage is exclusive and limited to one's own local group. However, at present some Mamanuas intermarry with the Manobos and Christians, which apparently is one reason for the gradual disappearance of their native physical characteristics.

Importance of the Family. The family is the only strong institution around which the basic activities in life revolve among the Mamanuas of Pangaylan. Its activities are interrelated with the activities of the community.

The family serves as a medium through which the cultural heritage is transmitted to the

child. From birth, the child is inducted to his particular family culture. He/she serves as a carrier of the group's cultural traits.

The family is the primary group where the child is first taught the basic lessons in life. The child is also exposed to the ways of making a living and oriented to the values and attitudes of the family. He/she acquires and internalizes these skills and values through observation and imitation from his/her parents and elder siblings.

The Mamanua family also gives its child status. The family of orientation gives him/her a social position. When the child is named, he/she becomes a "person." By virtue of his/her family, he/she obtains a place in the group.

The Mamanua family also offers a feeling of security to its household members. There is no other comfortable place than one's home where the members feel loved and wanted. The family gives affection, assurance, and security to its members.

The Mamanua family, just like any other family, also serves as an instrument to perpetuate their species. It is the sanctioned institution to carry out the biological function of procreation and at the same time serve as a means of sexual gratification.

Kinship Relationship. Kinship is the binding force of the Mamanua society. Close family solidarity prevails. When the parents become disabled, the children or grandchildren take care of them. Married children always live near their parents. The parents do not want their children to stay away from them; they prohibit their children from going to a distant place to find work. They are afraid that outsiders might only harm or molest them.

The Mamanuas help and support each other in times of need. When a neighbor runs out of food, they share whatever food they have. Likewise, when one has plenty of catch or harvest, one shares it with the others. When somebody also needs farm help, the Mamanuas offer their assistance. During religious festivities like the *kabimunan*, the relatives do not only help financially but also assist physically in the preparation of food. This is also depicted in wedding celebrations, in the giving of the dowry, and in the preparation of food for the banquet. This system of mutual assistance seems to be the most natural and efficient security system for the survival of the group.

The Mamanuas also visit their close relatives occasionally. They delight to see each other and share happenings in life. During the visit, they always bring something, like food, especially when it is found in abundance in their place of origin; and when they go back to their dwelling place, they also bring home something, which is sort of a gift from the relative they have visited.

According to Maceda (1954:85), close family relationships of this group make the family a strong basic unit which may be an explanation why these people seldom engage in blood feuds. Petty conflicts and disputes are usually settled amicably without bloodshed. This also holds true among the Mamanuas of Pangaylan where close familial relationship contributes to the preservation of social order in the community.

Courtship. The Mamanuas of Pangaylan have their own marriage customs. They are prohibited to marry blood relatives. They also get married at an early age. It is not unusual for the Mamanuas to get married at the age of seventeen or fifteen or even earlier wherein some girls have not even reached their menstrual period yet. One informant told the present investigator about the case of her son's marriage to a girl who was only twelve years old.

According to her, she did not allow the couple to sleep together for more than a year. The girl was made to sleep with her younger sisters-in-law.

The parents play a major role in the marriage of their children up to the present. It is always the parents who decide and arrange for the future mate of their child. There is no direct boy-to-girl courtship. He/she has to follow the desire of his/her parents. The son or daughter is generally not consulted of his/her future marital partner. But sometimes the boy is made to choose his girl. When a girl catches his eyes, he tells his parents of his desire for the girl. The boy's parents then arrange for a meeting with the girl's parents to make known their son's intention. But both the boy and girl are not allowed to go together even after the parental arrangement.

Some men use love potion known as *lunay* to attract women. This is a mixture of herbs, flowers, insects, and sap of a tree; and it is black in color. The mold is made to stick to any part of the girl's dress. Sometimes it is mixed with the food, or wrapped inside the tobacco leaf. The latter two methods are believed to be more effective. Once the girl eats the food or smells the smoke, she begins to like the boy.

Marriage Arrangement and Bride-Service. Parental arrangement is known as *tapang* where the dowry, date of marriage, and other matters are arranged by the parents of both boy and girl. Then the *pangagad* starts. In the pangagad, a Mamana boy has to serve the parents of the girl by fetching water, gathering fire wood, clearing the field, fishing, and the like. If the boy is not available, the father or brother takes his place as a substitute. From time to time, the family of the boy gives something to the family of the girl, such as fish or camote, when the boy's family has plenty of catch or harvest. The family of the boy has to please the parents of the girl to gain their favor and consent to the marriage.

The duration of the pangagad varies, depending on the decision of the girl's parents. Sometimes it lasts for only one year; sometimes it lasts from five to ten years. During this period, the boy and the girl are not allowed to go together, not even to talk to each other. No other man can also "court" the girl until after a final decision has been reached by the girl's parents.

There is a possibility that the boy may be rejected, i.e., disapproved by the girl's parents after rendering the pangagad. But this case seldom happens.

Problems usually arise when the boy is rejected. There was once a case when the boy had served the parents of the girl for about ten years or so. The girl ran away because she detested the boy. The girl's parents decided to pay back what the man had given to them—pigs, bolos, and others. But the man vehemently refused to accept them. After several months, the father of the girl reportedly died because of a swollen stomach.

Bride-price or Dowry. When a boy gains the favor of the girl's parents, the *hatag* or *inaso*²² is given as demanded. The amount is determined by the parents of the girl. It is usually paid in terms of money and/or in kind like pots, spears, bolos, pigs, rice, and the like. Relatives generally help in the giving of dowry. It is the boy and his relatives who give the dowry. The relatives of the girl, on the other hand, partake of the dowry, too.

When the family of the boy cannot afford to pay the demanded bride-price, the marriage can be cancelled. If the boy is insistent and takes the girl away, both suffer from resentment by the whole community. Elopement is considered kidnapping and it is punish-

able by the parents.

Wedding Ceremony. Wedding ceremony follows after all the demanded obligations have been satisfactorily complied with by the boy. During the wedding day, relatives of the boy help in the preparation. They consider it a moral obligation to extend assistance, in whatever form, to the concerned relative.

The marriage ceremony is performed by the elder of the group or by the parents at the house of the bride. The sisters of the groom help in dressing up the bride. At the sala, the bride and groom are made to sit on the floor facing each other in front of a plate of rice (sometimes *comote or unaw* is used). The parents of the girl make a ball of rice and give it to the bride. The parents of the boy do the same and give it to the groom. Then both bride and groom are made to exchange a ball of rice and eat it together. This symbolizes union of the two which is known as *inuanol*. The newly married couple receive the blessings and pieces of advice from the parents. After this, festivity starts which in their dialect is termed *kaabite*. Dancing and eating last for the whole day.

Gawas follows where the girl, accompanied by her parents, is brought to the house of the boy. Before going up the house, the bride has to sit on the suit of the groom, which is presented as a gift by the parents of the boy. Likewise, the groom, too, sits on the dress of the bride, which is given by the parents of the girl. Both are presented gifts, like *carajay* from both parents. When the parents of the girl go back to their home, they are also given gifts like *bolos* by the boy's family.

In some cases, marriage is not consummated during the first night. This usually happens when the girl is still afraid of the man, inasmuch as they have never been together. Any elder sister of the boy sleeps in between the newly-wed couple during the first night; however, she transfers to the other side of the girl as soon as the latter falls asleep. When the boy slowly gets near to his wife and the latter shows approval of it, the sister leaves them alone together. But when the wife still shows fear, the sister remains. The sister is usually given, after the first night, a gift for a task done.

Divorce. Divorce cases are very rare. There is no formal law on it. If the couple find marriage unbearable, they simply separate. The children usually stay with the mother. Both parents may remarry. But before final separation is resorted, all means are exhausted by both parents of the couple to make the two reconcile and live together.

When the woman commits a mistake, e.g., found guilty of adultery, she is made to give back the dowry, as demanded by the husband.

Childlessness is not a ground for divorce. There are some Mamanua couples who have lived together for more than forty years without bearing children, yet they still stay together. All possible means are, however, exhausted for the woman to bear a child. But if the woman does not get pregnant, they accept the reality of a childless union.

Child Rearing Patterns Of The Mamanuas

Infancy. The period of infancy is the earliest period of post-natal life in human being during which the individual is almost wholly dependent upon parental care. This is usually applied only to the first two years of the child's life (Warren, 1954:137).

The Mamanuas of Pangaylan generally desire children. They love to have a child without regard to sex. They are proud to have plenty of children. Children are considered blessings and the only gems in the life of the Mamanua parents. When Mamanuas get married, they are always expected to bear children. Childless couples are considered unproductive and unfulfilled.

The Mamanuas have various beliefs and practices associated with conception and pregnancy. They believe that these beliefs and practices facilitate safe and easy delivery of the baby. They also have several practices after childbirth to ensure fast recovery of the mother.

Conception and Pregnancy. A Mamanua woman is not concerned about observing the cycle of her menstruation. As soon as her monthly menstruation stops and her belly begins to swell, she knows that she is pregnant. She goes to see a *mananabang* (a midwife). Just like any other expectant mother, she craves for some food like young coconut, banana, jackfruit, *sawa* or grapefruit, and other fruits found in the vicinity. The husband sympathizes with the wife. He always adjusts to the moods of the wife as well as yields to her desires, especially when it comes to cravings for food.

During the period of gestation, a Mamanua woman is prohibited to take food which is believed to cause harm to the fetus. Eggplant and banana blossoms are considered bad to a pregnant mother because of their dark color, and which are believed to produce a weakly child. *Gabi* or *yam* is prohibited because it is itchy and makes the uterus itchy. A turtle, whose head is always hidden, is also taboo as food because it bars easy delivery. *Gingaw*, a fatty fish, causes difficulty in time of delivery. *Casiti* (eel), a kind of fish with slippery skin, is not also good because it induces abortion. Salt is also believed to have an abortive effect on the baby.

If there are food taboos, there are also foods or mixtures which are advised to be eaten, applied, or used as the case may be, by a pregnant mother to facilitate delivery. Coconut oil, mixed with the roots of *tubli* and *lingatong* and placed in a bottle, is a *tagalbi*¹², which is rubbed over the stomach of a pregnant woman every afternoon.

The Mamanuas have other beliefs related to pregnancy. When the couple are building a house, it is considered bad to leave it unfinished when the wife is pregnant. The husband should not also come up a house where there is a dead person because the baby might die, too.

Still others, which are believed to facilitate delivery, include the dried tail of the eel which is worn around the waist as a belt. If the mother is about to deliver, it is burned and rubbed around the stomach. The Mamanuas also perform the *palina*, a kind of ceremony characterized by the burning of a piece of wood. A small portion of the bottom part of the door, where the mother usually sits down during the period of pregnancy, is scrapped and used in the *palina*. These practices are believed to hasten delivery.

The sex of the baby is predetermined by the movement of the fetus. If it constantly moves inside the womb of the mother, it is a boy; if it does not, it is a girl. It is also predicted through the position, wherein if it develops on the right side of the womb, it is a boy, and if on the left side, it is a girl. It is further predicted through the steps of the mother in climbing the stairs. If the mother uses the right foot first, it is a boy; on the other hand, if she steps the left foot first, it is a girl.

A Mamanua woman during her period of pregnancy does her routine work in the farm

She continues to work until the eight month or until she delivers.

Childbirth. Many married women during the ninth month of pregnancy go back to the house of their parents and deliver there. They usually do this to avoid trouble. The couple do not want to be blamed by their parents, if something bad should happen during the delivery. Other women just want to be near their parents when they give birth. During the investigator's brief stay in the settlement, she observed two married women from another place who gave birth in the house of their parents in Pangaylan.

When somebody gives birth to a baby, the whole community knows. News spreads very fast. The Manuanas begin to inquire for the sex of the baby and the condition of the mother. They are eager to see the newly-born baby.

There is no preparation for delivery. The mother does not prepare diapers. She uses her one and only piece of blanket or used cloth to cover the baby. The mother does not also prepare money. She gives away gifts, like bolos or carajay to the mananabang. Some mananabang, however, get P10 or P40 depending upon the financial capability of the family to pay. When the baby is a first-born child, the delivery fee is usually higher in amount.

The onset and duration of labor varies. In most cases, a mother labors and delivers at dawn. The duration of the labor sometimes lasts for only a few minutes; and sometimes it lasts for hours.

There are some cases wherein the women give birth without the help of a mananabang, when the latter is not available at the time of delivery. The pregnant woman just sits down and holds on to a pole. When the baby comes out, she cuts the umbilical cord herself with the aid of a bamboo knife or *ticoy*, a piece of sharp rattan.

When the umbilical cord is cut, it is tied with an abaca string and its end is applied with a powdered *buling*¹⁴. After a few days, the umbilical cord is treated with another powder produced by scrapping the outside portion of a cleaned young coconut shell. The treatment lasts from three to four days or until the wound heals. Today, the mananabang uses baby face powder or merthiolate. The placenta is buried under the house. During the delivery, the Manuanas usually burn wood under the house to drive evil spirits away.

A Mananua mother is made to take a *talimughat*, a beverage obtained from the barks and roots of trees or from vines, to facilitate her easy recovery from delivery. The beverages are usually bitter in taste. Aside from the *talimughat*, a mother is also made to take some plants believed to stimulate milk production.

A nursing mother is taken care of by the husband and by the mananabang. She is made to take hot soup from rats and frogs right after delivery. Because rats and frogs jump and run quickly, they are believed to make the mother strong and recover quickly.

After two days from delivery, a Mananua mother is given her first bath termed as *pangawan*, especially if it is her first time to deliver a baby. The water is heated with herbs, vines or stems of plants, and the mother is made to smell and take deep breaths from it. A mother is given bath with the aid of her mananabang. She is made to sit down before an iron, like a *holo* to make her strong. She is further made to go down and pull some grass to prevent a relapse.

In most cases, a Mananua woman goes back to her work after two or three days from the time of delivery. She wears a kind of belt called *tagaymo*. This is a vine believed to be worn by the female monkey before and after birth of its baby to protect its health. A woman

who wears this belt is believed to be also protected. But even without this belt, a Mamanua woman easily regains strength and vigor that enables her to go back to work early. It must be the call of the Mamanua livelihood that she has to help herself.

The Mamanuas generally desire to have children. When a Mamanua woman does not get pregnant after having been married for several years, she is made to take the roots of trees which are believed to induce childbirth.

Note that abortion is against the moral values of the Mamanuas, but some of them do it secretly. The Mamanuas use the roots or seeds of trees to induce abortion.

Baptism. The Mamanuas declare the birth of their child to the immediate relatives in the community. There is no festivity to celebrate it. The family simply prepares some special food like hot soup for the mother and the midwife.

There is no ritual for baptism practiced by the Mamanuas. The Mamanuas simply give their child a name after a name of a flower, tree, place, or ancestor. They usually have two names: their own native name and a name patterned after their Christian neighbors. For instance, an old man in the settlement is named *Mar-ay*, which means in the Mamanua dialect "handsome and tall", while his Christian name is Modesto. Sometimes the Mamanuas have nicknames, which usually evolved from their characteristics or traits. Take for example, Joseph P. is called *Gasi*, which means "obedient", because he has been found to be an obedient child.

The Mamanuas do not celebrate birthdays. They generally do not remember the date of birth of their child. It is of no significance to them. Remembering the birthday of one's child now is a recent practice of the Mamanuas, which is a Christian influence.

Infant Care. After a child is born, he/she is bathed in cold water and is expected to cry. Before the baby is breastfed, he/she is made to take a purgative from the leaves of medicinal plants like *herbabayna*. Breastfeeding is practiced to feed the infant. Whenever the baby cries for milk, he/she is fed with the mother's milk. At the time of research, nobody in the settlement bottlefed one's baby.

The infant gains the attention of all the members of the family. He/she becomes the center of care and affection. He/she is always carried and cuddled and taken care of by an elder sister or by the mother herself. The family members fondle or hug the infant. This all-out attention and love extended to the new-born infant causes jealousy from the older sibling, who does not usually welcome the arrival of the child. But later, he/she begins to accept the baby sister or brother and manifests sibling love by hugging her/him.

The infant is always carried by the mother wherever she goes. In most cases, the mother takes care of the baby all the time. When she goes to the field, the baby, even a week old, is brought to the place of work. It is common to see a child placed in a cloth sling and suspended in a tree while the mother is busy planting a crop or digging the soil. When the mother goes to the municipality during *tabo* days, the child is placed on the mother's back in a cloth sling or straddled on the mother's hips, if she is carrying a heavy load on her back.

However, the practice mentioned above is fast disappearing as a result of some infant deaths due to accidents. For instance, the child of Talino P., about eight months old, was placed in a cloth sling around the mother's shoulder many years ago while the mother was fishing. When the cloth sling loosened, the baby fell to the water with his head directly

hitting the rocks, and died instantly.

A Mamanua child is not circumcised. It is the belief of the Mamanuas that once they submit to it, they would all die, which in their dialect is termed *magnasa*. It is only recently that the Mamanuas of Pangaylan practice circumcision. Those who started to practice it suffered bitterness and resentment from members of the community. But later, when the Mamanuas saw that those who have been circumcised did not die, they slowly submitted to it.

Childhood

The period of childhood generally covers from the time of birth up through age 15 or even later (Warren, 1934: 43). This is the period of preparation for life in which the child remains under the close supervision and influence of the family. The child is nurtured by the parents in the physical, emotional, and social areas of child rearing. The parents rear up the child to their own pattern of an ideal child.

Physical Area. The physical area of child rearing includes the weaning and food training, toilet and sphincter control training, and cleanliness training. "Weaning involves a complete renunciation of one method of eating and the learning of another." (Sears, 1957:102). The weaning training includes the beliefs and values about it, reasons for introducing it, age at onset of withdrawal of breastfeeding, methods of weaning, child's response to weaning, and feeding problems. Food training, on the other hand, involves the appropriate eating habits for children, imposition of rules about eating, and resistance of children to it.

Toilet and sphincter control training includes the beliefs and values about bladder control, age at onset and completion of bladder and bowel training, treatment of bedwetting and techniques employed. Cleanliness training, on the other hand, embraces adult values and beliefs about cleanliness and orderliness.

Weaning and Food Training Among Mamanuas, there is no scheduled or regular feeding time for babies. Feeding depends on the demand of the child, especially when he/she cries. A young mother testified that her baby takes milk many times a day, so that sometimes feeding reaches more than twenty times a day.

Weaning is usually done so as to free the mother from the burden of breastfeeding the baby and for her to devote more time to work. Sometimes the coming of another baby necessitates the weaning of the young.

There is no strict standard rule for weaning. It varies from one mother to another. Sometimes the child is weaned at the age of one. But in most cases, a nursing mother allows her child to suck from her breast even up to the age of seven, or until the child does not like to take milk anymore. This is usually the case when the child is the *gip-awan* (the youngest child). Sometimes the child is not weaned at all until the arrival of another baby.

Mamanua mothers employ several methods in weaning a child. This is usually done by repelling the child from the mother's breast with a distasteful substance in her nipples. The most common method is the use of a pungent substance like ginger or pepper.

Some mothers use the *panzawan*, a vine with black leaves, to stop the flow of milk.

Sometimes the baby is brought to the house of the grandmother who temporarily sleeps with the child and takes care of him. The initial reactions of the child are crying and thumbsucking, but later he/she gets used to it until he/she does not look for the mother's milk anymore. Sometimes the father looks after the child by singing a lullaby.

The child is introduced to take *sinopa*, a pre-masticated food out of camote, which is prepared by an adult and fed to the child. One or two pieces of camote are prepared during nighttime. The child is expected to dislike it; but, when he/she gets hungry, he/she is forced to take it. After a few days, the child learns to eat fish, camote, or *tabudlo*¹². The child is observed to be close to the person who pre-masticates food for him.

The child is not introduced to the eating of vegetables. The Mamanuas do not generally eat them because they do not like their taste. In the settlement of Pangaylan, very few eat vegetables. It seems that only those who had been close to the foreign researchers learned to like eating vegetables.

The parents do not impose strict rules on eating habits. As long as there is food to eat, they let their children eat as much as they could. In case the supply of food is limited, they always give preference to their children.

Toilet and Bladder Control Training. Generally, the Mamanuas allow their children to defecate anywhere on the floor. Because the flooring is made up of pieces of bamboo or timber with slits in between, it is easy for the feces to fall down. The parent takes the excreta of the infant with a piece of stick, if it is found scattered on the floor. But as soon as the child manages to walk and go down, he defecates on the ground at the back of the house, or at the river.

Some women direct their children to a hole in a corner, which is usually near the kitchen. Those who employ this method teach the children to feel and touch the hole at least seven times, until the children learn to go there when necessity calls for it. A child upon reaching the age of one or two can be trained to do this.

The absence of toilets likewise makes the child urinate on the floor. If the child is a bit older, i.e., when he/she can walk and go down, he/she runs to do it on the ground. There is no strict sphincter control training.

In the early childhood, the child urinates in one's sleeping period. It does not create a trouble to the mother because the flooring, as mentioned earlier, is made up of pieces of bamboo or timber with slits in between. Only few beddings are in danger of getting wet. The Mamanuas have only mats and a piece of cloth. They use wood as pillows. Very few have blankets. They just lie down on the floor without coverings. Blankets and mosquito nets are considered luxury items.

There is no rigid toilet and bladder control training among the Mamanuas. They do not teach these to their children. They do not have a formally designated place to direct their children to. Toilets are not necessary to them because they can always defecate and urinate anywhere.

Cleanliness Training. Cleanliness does not concern the Mamanuas. Hygiene and sanitation is not a part of their daily life. The parents do not teach their children to keep themselves clean. Because the parents, older brothers and sisters roam around without washing their face, brushing their teeth, cutting their nails, combing their hair, changing their

clothes, and wearing their slippers, the child appears untidy. He/she follows his/her elders. Most of the children in the settlement roam around very dirty. The parents seldom give bath to their child despite the proximity of the settlement to the river. As soon as the child starts to walk, he/she is not well taken care of anymore in this aspect. The children are always seen wandering in the neighborhood dirty in appearance and very noisy.

The Mamanuas do not have the paraphernalia to keep themselves clean. Very few have combs, toothbrush, slippers, soap, and the like. They have only two or three pieces of clothes. Some do not take out their clothes until they are worn out that makes them emit a foul odor. Those few who have slippers wear them only when attending a fiesta or meeting, or when going to the poblacion.

Because they do not have toilets, as mentioned earlier, the children are seen defecating anywhere in the settlement. The parents tolerate it and leave the children unclean. The present investigator had seen the children, for several times, squatting and defecating on the ground at the back of their house. While in this position, one or two pigs stand by on the side waiting. As soon as the child stands up, the pigs rush to eat the wastes. Other untouched scattered wastes invite flies, thereby producing a foul odor.

Since the parents do not teach cleanliness and orderliness to their children, poor health condition prevails in the settlement. Skin diseases are very rampant in the place. Almost all of them have skin diseases like scabies. Others suffer from respiratory diseases. Mortality is generally high among the infants. In fact, the majority of the families have reported one or more infant deaths. Most of the causes of infant deaths could not be ascertained, however, as mothers could not remember them.

It is worthy to note here that Mamanua mothers always came to the investigator's house bringing their sick children with them and asking for medicines. They were afraid that their children would die if they were not treated. Most of the children brought to the house were infected with skin diseases around the arms and legs. Others were suffering from stomach trouble, colds, coughs, and high fever.

Emotional Area

In the emotional area of the child rearing are the aggression training, independence training, and sex training. Aggression training involves adult beliefs and aims concerning aggression in children and means of controlling it, incidence and treatment of deviant behavior, and incidence and treatment of rivalry and jealousy in children.

Independence training includes the responsibility given to the child such as economic tasks; adult beliefs, standards, and aims concerning independence in children and development of it; and culturally prescribed age levels for the achievement of independence. On the other hand, sex training involves the adult standard of sexual behavior prescribed for the young, beliefs and values relating to incest, incidence and treatment of close physical contact between sexes, and parental explanations of sex and reproduction.

Aggression training. The Mamanua parents generally love their children very much to the extent of spoiling them. The parents are very lenient. Many outside observers said that in their stay with the Mamanuas, they never saw the parents whip their children.

When a child commits a mistake, parents correct it by giving advice on the proper behavior. Some parents discipline by invoking punishment from their god, by saying, "*Silotan*

ko ni Tahaw!" (God will punish you!). When advice is ignored, the parents generally resort to reprimands. Only rarely do parents resort to corporal punishment.

The parents may allow close relatives to help discipline their children. However, they are strongly against the idea of letting other people who are not relatives, discipline their children.

When asked why they rarely whip or spank their children, some parents replied that their children might get sick. If the children get ill, according to them, the parents are pestered. Others gave the reason that they pity their children. The majority seem to conform only to slight spanking and verbal anger which is usually followed by some advice.

In general, the children do not fight back. There may be times when they talk back, but this never results to violence. There has never been a case of blood feud among family members in Pangaylan.

When siblings quarrel and parents whip or scold them, it is the elder one who usually gets the punishment. The children usually quarrel over limited food. The older brother or sister is generally expected to share his/her food with the younger members. If an elder sibling refuses to share his/her food, after the parents' supplication, he/she is likely to be scolded.

When the children quarrel with those of other families, the parents always side with their own children, regardless of reason. But this does not result to force and violence. The parents always advise their children to try to stay away from trouble.

Deviant acts committed outside of one's family are oftentimes dealt with severely, although such cases are not common.

In case of annoying behavior, like constant crying, the practice is to pour water over the child's body and to place one in a big basket. It is the belief of the Mamamas of Pangaylan that when a child always cries, it is a bad omen. It would cause death of a younger brother or sister. To counteract the bad sign, water is used.

Independence Training. The children are generally dependent on their parents. Those who are weaned late usually tote with their mother even at late childhood. They always tag with their mother wherever the latter goes. Others, however, manage to be left alone while their parents are at work, and play with other children in the neighborhood.

But the children are not totally dependent in the real sense, because they also help in the farm. As soon as the children learn to handle a bolo, they are expected to help. They are expected to assume their role as farm helpers. It is a taught responsibility. Boys usually begin working full time at age 13, and girls at age 14. If the children do not help in the farm, the parents leave the children without food at home to teach them a lesson. They term this as *pantunon*.

The parents always express the desire for their children to be independent once they get married. They instill this in the minds of their children. They teach their children self-reliance by giving them individual responsibilities in the farm.

Sex Training. Sex education is not formally taught to the children, but they are implicitly told that to have sexual relations outside marriage or to have incestuous relationship are not good. They are actions which are abhorred by the community. They are moral prohibitions which should be followed by every member of the community.

The Mamanuas are strict regarding sex training. Girls are warned not to look at men when they walk. Girls are supposed to be modest, bashful and reserved. Boys and girls are not allowed to go together. If they do, they have to get married right away. There may be instances when they are allowed to go together, but they must be in a group.

Having only one room, the children sleep together with their parents even when they are of adolescent age. However, the boys sleep along the side of their father, while the girls sleep along the side of their mother.

Open sex conversation between adults and children is rarely, if ever, practiced. It is taboo for the children to know and discuss about sex. The parents never discuss sex matters in front of the young. When a child, however, begins to ask, the parents do not offer an explanation. They just stop the child from further inquiring until the child reaches the age of puberty.

If the child is found to be malicious, the parents use a peppery substance and place it in the mouth of the child. This had been done to children in the settlement who speak bad words.

Social Area

The social area of the child rearing includes the transmission of cultural norms and skills. The former involves the inculcation of norms and skills. The latter involves the inculcation of norms concerning appropriate behavior for children (rest and sleep routine), initiation of children into social relationships (teaching to share and take turns and to establish good relations with their playmates), and techniques for inculcating morals and character. The transmission of skills, on the other hand, embraces the acquisition of language, teaching the children to walk and swim, techniques for inculcating manual dexterity, informal instruction in occupational skills, and teaching and learning of economic skills appropriate to each sex.

Transmission of Cultural Norms and Values. Among the Mamanuas of Pangaylan, there is no prescribed and fixed rule concerning appropriate behavior for rest and sleep routine of children. The children are expected to be around the house as soon as the sun sets, but they are not taught to take a rest during noontime. They are free to take a nap anytime of the day as they desire. Children are always seen playing on the ground, running to and fro, and making noise around the settlement.

Children are allowed to play with others as long as they are in the same vicinity. The playmates are usually relatives. Peer groups, friends of the same age and more or less of similar interest, are maintained. In most cases, the girls play with the girls, while the boys play with their own sex. They play varied games.

The girls also play with the leaves and flowers; the boys with sand and stones. Sometimes boys play with palm leaves which they use to wrap around their waists while dancing. They also climb trees and jump from one branch to another to imitate monkeys.

Sometimes the children play with stones and water at the river. But small children who cannot swim yet are prohibited to play near the river without an adult companion. The parents fear that they might get drowned.

The children are taught to share what they have with others, with their brothers and

sisters. They have to divide food, even if only in small quantities, with each other. They are also taught to give and share what they have to the needy.

Mamana parents teach honesty to their children in dealing even with other people. The children are also taught to respect property. They are told not to steal another's belongings or property because it is a bad act, and would bring shame to the family.

Obedience to authority is also taught. To obey the duly constituted authorities is to follow the laws and rules of the locality and cooperate with the programs of the government.

Respect for elders is inculcated by emphasizing love and obedience for parents and reverence for the aged. The children are told to listen and do what their parents tell them to do. They are also told to respect their elder sisters and brothers. They are taught to use *Uto* to call an elder brother, and *Ige* to call an elder sister. Older children are higher in authority among siblings. But they are always warned not to abuse the younger siblings.

Above all, hard work is implanted in the minds of the young. It is an important trait for people like them in order to survive. The living of the Mamana greatly depends on gathering and producing food. Hence, the children are taught how to work. Some children are trained to work as early as four or five years of age, as soon as they can handle a bolo and carry a *balogbog*, a small rattan basket. This makes exposure to hard work early. At the age of 13 or 14, the children are already good farm helpers.

It is worthy to note that in connection with work, the Mamana wake up at dawn and start cooking, while the children gather around the fire. They start working as soon as they see the ground. The house is usually empty in the morning.

Transmission of Skills. The Mamana parents start teaching their child to talk at the age of two. They coach the child by talking to him/her every now and then until he/she utters common words, like *ina* or *ama*, terms used to call a Mamana mother and father, respectively.

A child is taught how to walk at the age of one by holding and guiding him. Some use other forms of *tagalhi*, like ginger, to facilitate walking. After boiling ginger in water, the mixture is applied around a child's knees and feet. Saliva is another *tagalhi*. It is placed and rubbed around a child's knees and feet, too.

The children also learn skills from their parents through imitation and observation. By tagging along with their parents to the fields at an early age, they learn to cut trees, plant and harvest camote, corn, bananas, and catch fish from the river.

There is role differentiation by sex in the Mamana society. The boys follow the heavy work of their father, while the girls do the lighter work. The boys are taught to gather edible roots, leaves, *ubod* (bamboo shoots), and the like, and are made to recognize different varieties of plants. They are also trained to make traps for hunting or fishing, and cut grass, and plant crops.

The girls usually take care of the younger brothers or sisters. Compared to the boys, they perform lighter tasks. They are taught how to cook food and fetch water. They are also taught how to clear the land and plant camote, to weave mats and containers from *baliv* leaves.

The children are also brought to the *tabo* where they learn how products are bought and sold to prepare them how to conduct business. The children are given an orientation on

the different ways of making a living.

As mentioned earlier, at the age of 13 or 14 for boys and 15 or 16 for girls, the children begin to occupy a distinct status as farm helpers and assume the responsibility attached to it. Their recognition as able workers for the family and potential parents in the future begins when they become full farm helpers.

Parental Incentives and Expectations in Child Rearing

Incentives are the specific techniques of providing rewards and motivations. Mamanua parents use incentives and rewards symbolizing prestige and love. They also use material rewards.

Parental expectations are symbolic of parent's dreams or hopes for their children.

Incentives. Mamanua parents give their children incentives as reward for good behavior. They use rewards that symbolize prestige. When a child behaves well and assists his / her parents in work, he / she is praised before other brothers and sisters to show a good example for the other siblings to follow.

Mamanua parents also make use of material rewards. Some parents, before going somewhere else, leave food for their children. When they come home from the field, they bring bananas and other fruits; and when they come from the poblacion they bring biscuits and candies. If the children work and stay good, sometimes a new pair of slippers or a new dress is promised when the parents have money.

Mamanua parents also use incentives and rewards that symbolize love and acceptance. Smiling, caressing, and hugging and positive expressions of the parents' approval.

The system of rewards activates the child to do good. It makes the child desire to attain the rewards through good performance.

Parental Expectations. Good moral values instilled in the minds of the young are intended to remain until they grow up. The parents expect their children to be honest, kind, respectful, obedient, and hardworking – the qualities of an ideal Mamanua child.

Generally, Mamanua parents wish that their children would get married upon reaching the age of puberty. It is enough that they see their children lead a happy married life. There is no desire to see their children finish a higher formal education. They believe that those who attain a higher formal education become hard-headed and disrespectful toward their parents and elders.

Mamanua parents do not also encourage their children to avail themselves of economic opportunities outside the community. They do not want their children to be far from them because they fear that they might only be molested or mocked by the lowlanders.

In brief, Mamanua parents have no other fervent hope than the happiness of their children. They hope to see their children grow up well and happy in their own simple life.

Conclusions

The physical area of child rearing pattern highly reflects the low socioeconomic condi-

nion of the Mamanua group. The Mamanuas have not been acquainted with the concept of hygiene and sanitation. They could not easily grasp the benefits of cleanliness. They have not been continuously given health aids.

It is true that some educators have started to propagate the benefits of cleanliness and the importance of medicine and toilets in Pangaylan, but these have seemingly been ineffective. Education to be more fruitful must be continuous. The concept is new to the Mamanuas, it is not a part of their culture. Change could not happen overnight.

It is possible that a few have internalized the benefits of cleanliness, but they are financially handicapped to equip themselves with toiletries like toothbrush, soap, and comb. They cannot afford to build water-sealed toilets. Cleanliness to them is expensive.

Skin and respiratory diseases prevailing among them can be partly attributed to the poor hygiene of the place. They do not realize that these diseases, which are now inflicting them, could wipe them out some decades from now. As a matter of fact, most of the Mamanua families have infant casualties.

In aggression training of the emotional aspect where leniency prevails, pampered children are an outcome. But the children, although bestowed with much love and affection, do not become delinquent members of the community.

In sex training of the emotional aspect, the parents impose strict rules. Children, as a reaction, generally heed the admonitions of their parents.

The children are not totally a heavy burden to the parents, since they are trained to help in procuring food for their subsistence. In fact, children start working at an early age.

In the social area of child rearing, the transmission of values and skills is quite effective as evidenced by the behavior of the group. Although it does not mean that child rearing is the sole attributable cause of their behavior, it is an established fact that the experiences of the young are carried and reflected in adulthood.

The Mamanuas are generally known to be good, kind, and peace-loving people. They greatly honor their elders and respect authority. They are not troublemakers. They are most afraid to violate rules and regulations of the established order. They also cooperate in the undertakings of the community. As a result, peace and order prevails in the area. As a matter of fact, there has never been a case of murder and violence in Pangaylan.

In brief, the Mamanuas generally portray good points in the social aspect of child rearing. Such virtues as generosity, kindness, honesty, respect for elders, obedience to authority, and hard work which are important in the maintenance of social order in the community, as well as, in the economic survival of the group, are impressed upon children. But the physical area in child rearing depicts the generally low socioeconomic condition of the group, as mentioned earlier.

Recommendations

In the physical area of child rearing, there is an urgent need to help the Mamanua people of Pangaylan gain education on hygiene and cleanliness. Adult non-formal education must be given. These follow-up programs must be conducted to reinforce their education: making home visitations at regular intervals; giving physical assistance in the procurement of necessary clothings, beddings, and other paraphernalia at a lower cost, if donations are not available.

The study shows that it is not only illiteracy which causes their poor health condition. There is also the financial aspect of it. If they can have ample money, they can afford to buy medicines when sick, to build toilets, to buy additional suits, to buy toothbrush, soap, comb, and the like. In this effect, they must be given assistance by government and private development workers to augment their income through skills training on organic farming, on crop rotation/diversification, domestication of animals, and handicrafts using indigenous materials. They must also be encouraged to join cooperatives and be self-reliant. Above all, they must be given a chance to own a land by instituting genuine land reform in the area with the help of the local authorities. It is lamentable to know that these people who have been working on the land for decades do not own the land and worst, do not benefit from the fruits of their labor.

In the food training aspect under the physical area, the child must be taught how to eat vegetables like camote tops which abound in the area. The parents must be made aware of the nutritive value of vegetables for good health.

There is indeed a need for the Mamama¹⁴ to organize themselves into a unified group to voice out their problems and interests like those mentioned matters above, notwithstanding other socioeconomic problems of the group. They must have to help themselves. No one is eternally bound to become a sentimental champion of these people and take care of their needs and problems, except themselves.

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LETTERS

Letter of Jean and Helen Miller. January 16, 1979.

Letter of Lilia Castro. January 1, 1979.

END NOTES

¹This study is culled from a masteral thesis submitted to the Department of Sociology-Anthropology of Xavier University, Cagayan de Oro City. Field work was undertaken in 1978-1979 in a Mamanua settlement in Pangaylan, Santiago, Agusan del Norte where the researcher stayed for 5 months.

²Mamanua is a term used to refer to the earliest inhabitants of Agusan and Surigao. According to Schebesta, the name "Mamanua" is derived from the term "Man-Banua," which means inhabitants of the countryside. Garvan defines banua as "country" which amounts to Visayan banua, grass, because he distinguishes banua as grassy, uncultivated countryside from "settlements near the main or settled part of the river." The other variations of the term "Mamanua" are Amamanua, Congking, Conquista, etc. (in Maceda, 1975: 2, 5).

³This information was obtained from an interview with Mr. Artemio Serrano (now deceased), a member of the Barasang Bayan of Santiago and resident in the area since pre-war period.

⁴A kind of a depoisoned root crop.

⁵A cooked *camote* with sugar and coconut milk, and wrapped in banana leaves.

⁶Starch made from the pith of a lumbia tree.

⁷This is the term used to refer to a Mamanua priest. Sometimes the Mamanuas use the term *banulusan* to refer to their priest. According to Jeanne and Helen Miller (SIL American Researchers), in their letter dated January 16, 1979, *baylan* is the term they often heard in Pangaylan. But they also have the term *banulusan* listed in their Mamanua dictionary.

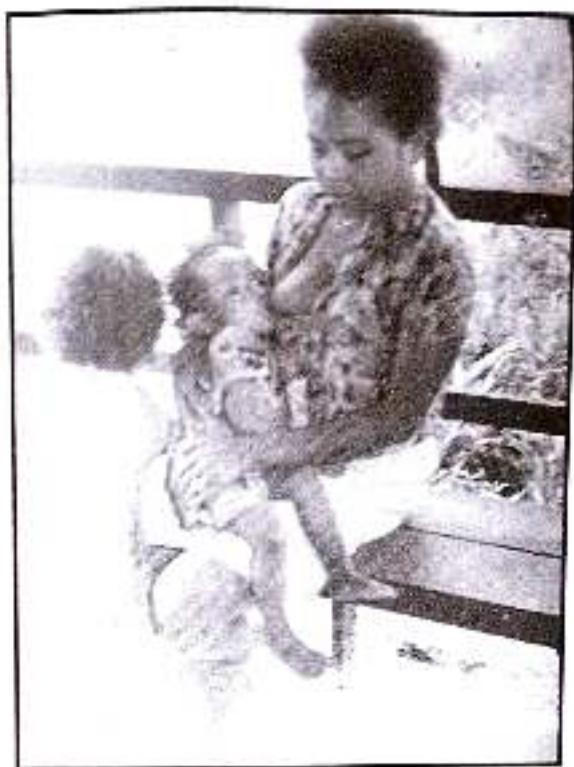
⁸The present investigator personally witnessed this religious ceremony last September 1978 in the mountain of Bayabas, some five kilometers away from Pangaylan, where the performers came from Pangaylan.

⁹From the letter of Ma. Lilia Castro, an educator and missionary, who has lived among the Mamanuas in Claver since 1957 (January 1, 1979).

¹⁰From an interview with Mrs. Nenita S. Lomogda, District Coordinator for Tubay and Santiago, who has been teaching in Santiago Elementary School since 1961. She is a born resident of the place.

¹¹From an interview with Hirohito Saivalosa, the first barrio captain of Pangaylan, elected in 1975.

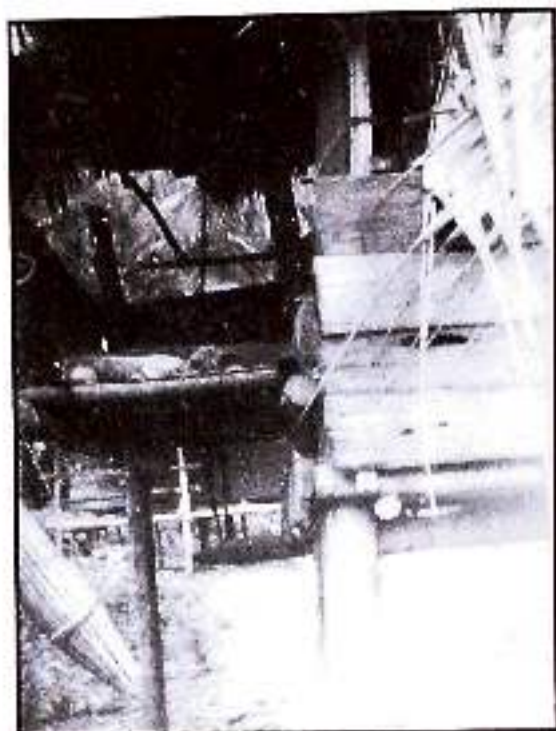
- ¹²The present investigator originally used bogay in her thesis proposal but changed it to inazo after verifying the term from reliable informants. The term inazo referring to the bride-price is further supported and confirmed by the Miller sisters and by Lilia Castro.
- ¹³A term given by the natives to refer to plants or mixtures which are believed to protect them from harm and facilitate matters like easy delivery.
- ¹⁴A black powder produced by pounding a burned piece of wood or charcoal.
- ¹⁵This is a favorite recipe of the Mamanuas of Pangaylan. It is a variety in food preparation out of camote by slicing it into pieces, and bringing it to a boil in water and adding salt to give taste.
- ¹⁶It is important to note that the Mamanuas in Agusan continue to be marginalized like the other indigenous peoples such as the Bajaus or the Sama Dilaut. They have been seen moving from one city to another in Mindanao to beg in the streets so as to survive the harsh realities in our society. In-depth studies of these itinerant Mamanuas in the urban centers in Mindanao can provide more information about current realities obtaining among them.



A Mamanua mother feeding her young



Young Mamanua girls about to take a bath at the Aliya River



A portion of a kitchen. Note two fish traps (balantak) hanging - one above and one below.



Young Mamanua girls playing with big leaves