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## **The Jama Mapun: A Changing Samal Society in the Southern Philippines**

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word manuscript in three volumes, collected over years of contact with the Buhid Mangyans. He passed the manuscript on to a group of Philippine friends at Michigan University who reworked the manuscript into a shorter, more popular account, in the process reducing the manuscript to about 10 percent of its original length. The chief editor claimed that nothing was ever added, either of substance or style; they only sifted the data in two steps. Perhaps because of this process of reduction, the book has, in some respects, an air of artificiality. The style is smooth and clean, calculated to attract English-speaking readers. But some of the behaviors and emotions attributed to Bag-etan, especially his series of amorous encounters, appear rather Hollywoodish. If one is interested in exotic reading and entertainment, rather than in hard ethnographic data, *Born Primitive* can be recommended as a complement to *The Mangyans of Mindoro*.

Eric S. Casiño

THE JAMA MAPUN: A CHANGING SAMAL SOCIETY IN THE SOUTHERN PHILIPPINES. By Eric Casiño. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1976. xiv, 159 pages. ₱27.00/US\$9.00.

The Jama Mapun opus of Casiño, is basically a descriptive study that vacillates between definitive theoretical frames of reference. In the main, the author intends to show how the economy, polity and belief systems of this group have been affected by the European and American impact, and what were the sociohistorical mechanisms that projected the Jama Mapun "traditional" society into the modern world. The time scale of the study includes three periods: 1500–1900, 1900–1945, and 1945–1970. Two villages comprise the units of observation, while the unit of general survey is the entire ethnolinguistic group. The thematic problem chosen is sociocultural change, but set primarily in the historical context. The people referred to here are distributed differentially over Cagayan de Sulu, Southern Palawan, and coastal north Borneo. Cagayan de Sulu municipality includes the main island and eight islets, Kinapusan, Pambelikan, Bisu Bintut, Boh'an, Manda, Bulisu'an, Muligi, and Mambehewan, but the island group includes Taganak, Langawan, Leheman, Boh'an, Sibadung, and Bakungan. More narrowly focused, the study takes a close look at the villages of Duhul Batu located in the north-eastern corner of Cagayan de Sulu, and Pulot in southeastern Palawan.

In treating the general topics of government and law, the author shifts from the above-stated "more narrow focus" to a macrolevel approach. He defines the level of political activities of the "traditional" Jama Mapun society as occurring within the context of the state which is controlled by the Sultan, the district ruled by noble chiefs or prominent commoners, and the villages under headmen. He admits, however, that in practice management of

public affairs is almost coincident with kin group affairs. A fourth level appears in the political activity of modern Jama Mapun society, and this is the more inclusive national level. The result of this is a shift in importance from ascribed to achieved status with reference to political positions. The inclusion of the fourth level further reduces the "traditional" levels to a lower category. The Jama Mapun are thus placed in a secondary level in the state identified as the Sultanate of Sulu, with the society stratified into nobles, commoners (which is subdivided into the ordinary commoners and notables), and the slave class.

Political activity generally includes three aspects: (1) foreign relations with the Chinese, English, Dutch, French, and principalities like Brunei and Maguindanao; (2) struggle for political succession; and (3) personal power play (by strategic maneuvers) by local heads in the classic big man role. Casifio ascribes the element of causal determinism to population increase in connection with the changes in political and administrative activities. He based this on the fact that as the population increased, there was a corresponding increase in the number of political units from 1883 to 1966. Further, Casifio holds, that the family and the household serve as the component political units. Other causal factors to which political change is attributed were the control of guns and the abolition of slavery — i.e., the loss of autonomous power and the source of sociopolitical ascendancy. This was signaled by the pacification procedures initiated by the Americans circa 1905. Political ascendancy shifted from succession by descent to electoral processes.

The technoeconomic strategy of "traditional" Jama Mapun society is treated here in terms of farming, trading, and less importantly, fishing. Technological changes include the shift from slash-and-burn subsistence cultivation to a market-oriented cash cropping in terms of coconuts, and the conversion of sailboats to motorized boats. Swidden cultivation, Casifio claims, is a "bridging" economic adaptation toward the establishment of the more profitable coconut farm. Since it takes seven years for production to be expected from a coconut farm, the Jama Mapun purportedly engaged in swidden farming as a temporary measure. The discussion of swidden techniques in the book is confined to Palawan while the change from swidden to coconut farming is discussed historically as it took place in Cagayan de Sulu, production of subsistence requirements through slash-and-burn cultivation — deputy governor assigned to Cagayan de Sulu who started a coconut plantation in the island.

It seems that even before the introduction of cash cropping in Cagayan de Sulu, production of subsistence requirements through slash-and-burn cultivation was not sufficient, so that the Jama Mapun had to resort to trade through the use of sailboats with neighboring islands, e.g., Palawan, Borneo, Jolo, and Mindanao. The principal object of the trade was rice from Palawan. They also acted as middlemen between the peoples of the hinterlands and the foreign

traders, e.g., the Chinese. The 1950s saw the introduction of the motorized boat, and this shift to mechanization saw the change from barter to a monetized market economy with copra as the principal commodity. On return trips from Borneo or Mindanao the motorboats usually carried consumer goods distributed to the general market. Illegitimate trade with Borneo, especially dealing in cigarettes, was also carried on. Cagayan de Sulu economics also involves the Chinese, as is true in other parts of Southeast Asia. Their intrusion into the control of the island economy is ascribed by Casiño to their ability to look at profits from a long-range point of view and to accumulate these for capitalization.

Shifting with more definitiveness, Casiño treats the family as the unit of production, exchange, and consumption in closing his discussion of Jama Mapun economics. He discusses both consumption and production goods but omits exchange relations. The treatment is limited to the discussion of material goods found in Jama Mapun houses and their differential distribution.

Changes in the value and belief systems of the Jama Mapun through the periods discussed are claimed to have been marginal by Casiño. Although syncretism is admitted, folk Islam is said to remain as one of the major streams of sociocultural continuity in the life of the Jama Mapun. The discussion of rituals centers on the various practices held in connection with *rites de passage*, the social aspects of the rituals, and the world views involved.

Fenneman (1919) made a statement that disciplines are better identified by their centers rather than their perimeters. He made this observation in connection with the tendency of some disciplines to overlap. This characteristic is present in Casiño's work on the Jama Mapun, and this makes it extremely difficult to determine whether Casiño is working as an anthropologist or as a historian. Adding to the difficulty is that while he initially stated his intention to use a certain anthropological theoretical orientation in approaching his topic, he forgot this intent in the process and continually maintained a descriptive mode throughout the work, except for some attempts at theorizing toward the end of the work. The book is no doubt a significant contribution to the growing body of literature on the peoples of the Philippines; more so, in the documentation of the peoples of southern Philippines by Filipino authors. Its weakness lies in the theoretical vacillation with which he treated his subject; and his switching from the "unit of personal observation" to the "unit of general survey."

It can be gleaned from the outset that the theme of the work is change. The frame of reference of the author is somewhat functional, although the particular variety of this functionalism is not quite defined. He, however, implied mathematical function in the relations between what he calls the "substructures" in his "social (total) structure." Structural-functional theory, whether of the Radcliffe-Brown or Malinowski varieties, admits the analysis of change but within its own framework. Change as admitted in this theory

is limited to specific types and not to change in general. Functional theory *per se* is not a model for change but of functional relations between parts of a structure. While it admits of internal change, the author forgets that it is basically a model for statism that deals with homeostatic change only. Changes can occur only with regard to the state coordinates which merely adjust and compensate for minute alterations in other coordinates. These adjustments lead only to the equilibration of function between all the state coordinates until the state of the structure is again maintained. In other words, in the context of the mathematical function the model of structural-functionalism can cope only with cyclical change and not with progressive or developmental change. The book is obviously concerned with the latter type of change, neglecting to deal more fully with the cyclical type of change which should have been the approach used if, as the author stated, functionalism was his basic approach. To the credit of the author, however, he was consistent in the use of the model in admitting change as induced by external factors, e.g., the Islamic, American, etc. influences. This type of change, however, is beyond the scope of the model of structural-functionalism. With the use of the model, the author denies developmental change which takes place due to individual deviations from the socioeconomic norms and other internal factors which upon being canalized lead to structural change without the instrumentality of external factors and quite apart from cyclical changes. Developmental change of this variety is better handled by models like the social organization approach of Firth, which takes into consideration the deviations by individuals that become structured through time.

When Casifio chose to utilize two models, one anthropological, and the other, historical, disciplinary boundaries became blurred and the work assumed a certain ambiguity as to its specific disciplinary thrust. The author probably forgets that there are models of developmental change in anthropological theory quite apart from historical models, which can be better employed in a work such as this. This is especially so since historical models depict change as sequential events and not as processual explanations. The anthropologist purportedly is concerned more about the explanation of the process of social change, not merely historical chronology, e.g., population and economic census through time. That people and societies change through time is self-evident and does not need to be statistically proven by an anthropologist whose primary concern should be the explanation of social process.

There are inconsistencies too between what the author says he will do and what he actually does later on in the book. An example of this is his purported intention to utilize two villages as his units of observation, and the whole ethnic group as his unit of general survey. His utilization of data on the two villages was actually minimal and merely involved statistical enumeration. On the other hand, the normative conditions assumed in the general area of

Sulu was used to explain certain aspects of social conditions in the two villages instead of his projections going the other direction according to the stated intention.

There is also a certain amount of vagueness in the way the author used certain concepts. An instance was his equation of the concept of ecology with physical environment (p. 13). He forgets that ecology is merely a mental construct used to limit variables, hence one can define an ecological system by including only certain relevant factors while holding other factors constant. An ecological system does not by itself exist in nature. What Casiño probably meant was geography, not ecology, in this particular section.

An observation of his which may have repercussions in Philippine sociology is the distinction he made between the Jama Mapun household (*dambua luma*) and family (*dampahanakan*). This brings to the fore the question of whether in considering the basic social unit in the Jama Mapun society the concept of family or that of the household is the one admissible. The author himself is rather vague about this, since he mentions family and household in the same breath without attempting to define the functions of each of the two institutions in Jama Mapun society, if these are differentiated at all. He for instance stated that "the family and household figured as production and consumption units in the economic domain; so too in politics they enter as component units in relationships of superordination, subordination and alliance" (p. 33). On page 87, however, he becomes more definitive and states that it is the family that is the unit of production, exchange, and consumption. His discussion of economics in terms of production, exchange, and consumption is limited to an enumeration of the material culture in the households of Duhul Batu and Pulot, which is vastly different from the microeconomic discussion of Schneider's approach to the household as the unit of consumption and as the institution which produces consumption goods. Exchange is entirely omitted although market exchange is described to a certain measure. An issue that Casiño probably meant to raise is, what constitutes the unit of society, economy, and polity in Jama Mapun society, an issue which he leaves undefined.

Further, Casiño stated that, "unlike the changes in the economic and political domain, those in the domain of values — represented by the syncretic beliefs and rituals of folk Islam — were marginal." This observation is significant in that it does not accept values to exist in the domains of economy and politics. The same statement that defines the change in the domain of ritual as marginal contained the phrase "*syncretic beliefs and rituals*" (underscoring mine). The fact of syncretism is hardly marginal change unless the author has a separate definition for syncretism and marginality, in the same way that he appears to have a different conceptualization of the term "feudal" when he describes the Jama Mapun as "a part-society of the feudal states of Sulu and Brunei" (p. 30).

One statement of his that has grave theoretical implications is his application of the element of causal determinism to population increase relative to changes in the political and administrative fields, which is really saying that with population increase one can predict that changes will take place in the political and administrative structure of a society (pp. 30, 128). The question is whether it is population increase, population density, or some other factors that is really the factor to consider when changes of this type occur, for there are countless ethnographic examples where population increase does not trigger political or administrative changes, e.g., the Nuer.

All in all, the book is important if only to show how necessary it is, if Philippine anthropology is to develop, that more concern be given to the use of theoretical models respective to each discipline, and the understanding of these conceptual frames. The author is to be congratulated for his contribution as being vehicular in this aspect.

*Jesus T. Peralta*

CHRISTIANS AND SOCIALISM: THE CHRISTIANS FOR SOCIALISM MOVEMENT IN LATIN AMERICA. Translated by John Drury. Edited by John Eagleson. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1975. x, 246 pages. Cloth \$7.95/Paper \$4.95.

*Christians and Socialism* documents the development of the Christians for Socialism movement in Latin America, especially in Chile. The movement is no longer active in Chile because of the military coup which overthrew the Allende government. However, it is active in other parts of Latin America, and in Western Europe and the United States. This book traces the movement's beginnings, the exchanges between the movement and the Chilean hierarchy, includes several national papers delivered at the Convention in 1972, includes the response of the Chilean hierarchy, and ends with a statement by Rev. Gonzalo Arroyo, S.J., the initiator of the Christians for Socialism movement, made after the military coup of 1973.

In analyzing these documents and the development of the Christians for Socialism movement, one comes to a deeper understanding of the problems the Church faces in her struggle against injustice and oppression. Becoming increasingly aware of the oppressive structure of liberal capitalism and of the Marxist state, one becomes increasingly aware of the urgency of the Church to respond to these situations. A reading of this book will heighten awareness of the difficulties the Church faces as different groups within her respond to the challenges of injustice and oppression.

In analyzing the statements of those involved in the Christians for Socialism movement, one is attracted by their obvious commitment and dedication. Many are priests living and working among the poor, very aware of the