

getting a share of the benefit. The politician who does not adhere to this system, whereby he is almost drained of his surplus, can hardly expect to maintain his power. If he seeks power, he must be willing to pay for it.

This then is how the rural community in Bulacan, with which I am most familiar is galvanized into action. Its residents have never, to my knowledge, worked as one solidary unit, as a community, except possibly during the Japanese occupation when a common enemy welded them into more cooperative units.

But they do work most efficiently on the basis of the informal alliance network. The party structure only provides a formal point of departure. Through personalized contacts and special relationships, the political figures of the town do get things done. And from the people's point of view, they get their share — if not during this administration, then during the next one. Patience and faith that this will be so, keep the townfolk relatively content with the power system as it functions in their municipality.

Some Population Characteristics of Cagayan de Oro City

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Two reasons motivate my present topic. First, the rest of the Philippines has been experiencing a population explosion. But according to the 1960 Census reports, Misamis Oriental has simultaneously been experiencing what may be described as a population "implosion." By a population "implosion", I mean the direct opposite of a population explosion, namely, a sudden and drastic decrease in population growth. Data gathered by Xavier University surveys in Cagayan de Oro City may shed light on this interesting "implosion" in Misamis Oriental, of which Cagayan de Oro is the capital.

Secondly, United Nations demographers have estimated the crude birth rate of the Philippines as a whole at between 47 and 53 births per thousand persons for the years 1939-1957.¹

In particular, Miss Edith Adams estimated this rate to be between 45.6 and 52.9 births per thousand for the period 1947-1957.² How close to fact are these estimates, made by means of complex reverse-survival, stable population, and graphic methods. If fairly accurate for the Philippines, as a whole, are there nevertheless large fluctuations in the crude birth rate from region to region of the Philippines? Only regional studies can provide the answer to such questions.

Thus Xavier University's data for Cagayan de Oro City are presented

Nations, 1960), pp. 3, 38-39. Also: Edith Adams, "Notes on the United Nations' Population Projections for the Philippines," (Typed memorandum prepared for the statistical offices of the Philippine Government), p. 1.

² Edith Adams, "Notes on the United Nations' Population Projections," pp. 1-3; and "Estimates of the Crude Birth Rate of the Philippines by Method of 'Reverse Survival'" (Typed memorandum prepared for statistical offices of the Philippine Government), pp. 2-4.

¹ United Nations, *Population Growth and Manpower in the Philippines* (New York: Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United

with three points in mind: (1) as a check upon the estimates of the U. N. demographers, (2) as examples of regional studies comparable with studies possibly forthcoming in other regions of the Philippines, and (3) for the light they shed upon the diminutive rate of population growth reported for Misamis Oriental for the years 1948 to 1960.

The Misamis Oriental "Implosion"

According to the Census reports, the Philippine total of 19,234,182 persons living on October 1, 1948, had increased to 27,455,799 persons by February 15, 1960,³ a yearly increase of almost 3.2 per cent. If one presumes that both Censuses are substantially accurate, during the past few years the Philippines has been growing at a rate equalled by few of the world's nations. It has grown more rapidly than India (2.04 per cent), Indonesia (1.44 [defective national statistics?]), Japan (1.00), the Republic of Korea (2.84), Ceylon (2.77), and Pakistan (2.14). In fact, among 107 colonies or countries for which we have data, only fourteen equal or surpass the growth rate of the Philippines during the last decade. Among these fourteen, too, are several whose gains have been greatly boosted by heavy immigration, such as Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, and Malaya.⁴ On the other hand immigration into the Philippines has been relatively small during the interval between the Censuses. The rapid rate of growth of the Philippines has mainly been caused by the surplus of births

over deaths, that is, by natural increase.

But a surprisingly different picture is found in Misamis Oriental, one of the oldest Christian areas of settlement in Mindanao. The population total that was reported for this province on February 15, 1960, was only 387,839 persons, representing an annual increase of only 4/10 of one per cent over the 1948 reported total of 369,671 persons.⁵ Yet it was this same province that led all provinces of the Philippines in population growth during the years 1939-1948, with a reported increase of 73 per cent for the period!

What has caused this population "implosion"? Have Misamis women become almost universally sterile? Have epidemics decimated the population? Or have migrations to Cotabato and Bukidnon deflated the population total?

Migration has indeed taken place, especially from Camiguin Island to Cotabato, Bukidnon, and Lanao del Sur. But these were surely too small in regard to the numbers involved to account for the phenomenal decline in population growth. Nor have the flu, the El Tor, or other epidemic diseases caused even a fraction of the deaths that would be necessary to explain such a result. Finally if most Misamis women have become sterile, the hospitals, puericulture centers, and midwives who have been delivering children will be amazed and confounded.

Why *has* the growth rate of Misamis Oriental declined so drastically? Examination of the Cagayan de Oro data would make a good beginning. For Cagayan contains about eighteen per cent of the Misamis Oriental population and approximately nine per cent of its land

³ Bureau of the Census and Statistics Population of the Philippines by the Province, by Municipality, February 15 1960. (Manila: Bureau of the Census and Statistics, [November 26 1960], pp. 1-2. (Special Bulletin Number 1; offset or mimeo).
.. *Census of the Philippines*: 1948, III, 1. *Summary of Population*, 4.

⁴ Population Index, XXVIII, 1 (January, 1962) 85-88.

⁵ Population of the Philippines by Province .. 1960, p. 293.

area. So it should constitute a representative sample of the Province. Most Cagayan residents were born in the Province, (inside or outside of the City) and in marital behavior, they are quite similar to husbands and wives living in other parts of the province.

The Cagayan rate of growth from 1948 to 1960 seems at first glance, to be strikingly different from that of Misamis Oriental as a whole. The City grew from a reported 1948 total of 46,266 persons to a reported 68,026 persons in 1960, an annual increase (3.45 per cent) exceeding the national growth rate of 3.18 per cent a year.⁶ However, the joke here is that Cagayan Municipality became a city in 1950, and in so doing, it lost one barrio and gained four others. Reconstituting its 1948 borders in terms of its 1950 area, one discovers a 1948 population of 51,702 persons.⁷ Thus Cagayan's annual growth was actually only 2.44 per cent, which is substantially below the national average. Although the City rate of increase was six times that of the Province perhaps one might argue that this is

Cagayan Data on Growth

However, was the Cagayan and the Misamis Oriental rate of natural increase really practically nil? Let us examine the Cagayan birth rates.

In 1958, Mr. Antonio J. A. Pido, then, a Xavier graduate student but now with the National Science Development Board, surveyed 103 families randomly selected from the Cagayan *poblacion*. In the following year, the Social Science Research Institute of Xavier (now the Research Institute for Mindanao Culture — RIMCU for short) of which I am director, studied 398 rural families of Cagayan. Three barrios were covered; one was completely enumerated, in the remaining two, samples of 62 per cent and 33 per cent of the households were chosen by probability sampling methods.

Marital birth rates were developed in both studies. From these the crude birth rates of the study barrios, of the poblacion, and of Cagayan de Oro City as a whole were estimated. These are as follows:

<i>Rural Cagayan</i>	<i>Crude Birth Rate</i>
Mountain barrio	47.9 births per 1,000 persons
Inland barrio	47.1 "
Coastal barrio	52.1 "
Combined barrios	47.7 "
<i>Urban Cagayan</i>	
Poblacion	43.7 births per 1,000 Persons
<i>Cagayan de Oro City</i>	46.2 "

intelligible in terms of the greater immigration to the city, if in both City and Province the rate of natural increase was practically nil.

These birth rates rank with the highest in the world. Of 76 countries whose published birth rates for 1959 are known to me, only four are higher than the estimated rate for Cagayan de Oro City. The highest of these rate published was only 49.8. While published birth rates are often too low because

⁶ Bureau of the Census and Statistics, 1948 Census of the Philippines; Population Classified by Province, by City, Municipality and Municipal Districts, and by Barrio (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1951), pp. 162-163.

⁷ *Ibid.*

of under-registration of births, still in any case, a rate of 46.2 births per thousand persons is an exceptionally high birth rate. In contrast, the 1959 rates of the United States (24.1), of France (18.4), and of Sweden (14.1) seem dwarfed.⁸ One can only conclude that Cagayan women, and therefore, Misamis women, far from being relatively sterile, are among the most fertile in the Philippines, and for that matter in the whole world.

Population increase cannot however be estimated from birth rates alone. Increase takes place only when birth rates exceed the death rates. On the other hand, when death rates radically increase and birth rates remain constant, the population growth declines. Did the death rates of Misamis Oriental increase drastically during the period 1948 to 1960?

Briefly, the answer seems to be an unequivocal negative. All the evidence points to a steady decline of death rates between 1948 to 1960. Time restrictions on this paper prevent going into this evidence; however, it consists of the experience of hospitals, doctors, and other health personnel together with the downward trend evident in the published statistics for registered deaths. No doubt, there is great under-registration of deaths, but it is reasonable to suppose the amount of under-registration remains about the same from year to year if it does not improve.

If Misamis Oriental women are marrying at older ages, this might partially explain the decline in population growth. However, a glance at the Cagayan data explodes this possibility. For each decade from 1900 to 1950 in time order, the median ages of

women at marriage are: 21, 17, 20, 18, 20, and 20.5. No trend to older ages at marriage is evident.

Another possibility is that the high birth rates found in Cagayan were more characteristic of the early than the later decades of this century. Perhaps the rates have declined radically recently. Again, the Cagayan data destroys this hypothesis. For the average marital birth rates for women born from 1880 to 1930 for the most fertile years of their life, 15-29, are by decade in order of time as follows: 400.0, 398.0, 448.4, 414.0, 452.3, and 471.9. If any trend is revealed by the data, it is towards slightly greater fertility.

Finally, one might argue that the declining growth rate of Misamis was caused by a falling-off of immigration between 1948 and 1960. But here again, the Cagayan data point in the opposite direction. In the sample of rural Cagayan, 13.3 per cent of the residents had been in-migrants. The main sources were Bohol (47.8 per cent), Cebu and the Western Visayas (23.2 per cent), and other Mindanao provinces (15.9 per cent). Of all the migrants to Cagayan, 17 per cent had come before 1939, 18 per cent from 1940 to 1949, and 62 per cent between 1950 and 1959. Migration had substantially increased instead of declining, since 1948.

By now it should be evident that there is something wrong with the Census figures. Both Cagayan and Misamis undoubtedly increased much more than the 1960 comparison with 1948 shows. Before considering these Census figures, it is of interest to get a sharper idea of the growth potentials of Cagayan by considering its present estimated net reproduction rates. These rates attempt to show how well a generation of mothers reproduces itself in terms of

⁸ Population Index, XXVII, 3 (July, 1961), 278-280.

daughters who will subsequently become mothers. A rate of 1.00 means that as many daughters will be born as in the cohort of mothers, neither more nor less. The net reproduction rate for rural Cagayan (based on the birth rates computed from the sample surveys, and upon the use of a model life table with an expectation of life of 43.57 years and a table death rate of 22-95) was 2.20. For the *poblacion*, it was 2.04. Thus for the City as a whole the net reproduction rate was estimated to be 2.14. This means that a generation of mothers is presently producing about twice as many daughters as their own number. The tremendous growth potential is evident.

Some comparison may bring out this growth potential more clearly. The latest available net reproduction rates for selected countries are as follows: The United States — 1.73, Canada, — 1.83, France — 1.28, Japan — 0.96. The rate found for Cagayan is surpassed by the rates of only six out of 48 countries for whom I have recent data.⁹ In other words, Cagayan and Misamis Oriental are also increasing at the same rapid rate as the Philippine Republic in general.

Source of the Population "Implosion"

It is evident by now that the population "implosion" of Misamis Oriental is only a paper decline. It must have been caused by over-enumeration in 1948, by under-enumeration in 1960, or by both.

I do not know the entire answer, but I have strong suspicions that the 1948 Census is the one at fault. The 1960 Census may possibly be closer to the facts, although we will have to

wait until the detailed data becomes available before we can reach a reasonable decision.

The reasons for my suspicions are these. In May-June of 1959, almost eleven full years after the 1948 Census, despite the high rate of natural increase characteristic of the barrios studied, I found population totals less than, or only equal to, the totals for these barrios reported in the 1948 Census.¹⁰ In only one of the barrios had there been extensive out-migration, as far as I could ascertain. These totals are as follows:

	1948 Report	1959 Estimated Total
Barrio A	2,310	2,200
Barrio B	1,096	560
Barrio C	1,600	1,600

In addition to these findings, reliable persons who participated in the 1948 Census in Misamis Oriental informed me that there was an apparent desire for political reasons to inflate the barrio and municipal totals and that pressure was put upon various individuals to accomplish this purpose. Thus, it appears that the growth of Misamis is concealed by the 1948 Census totals, which seem to have been considerably greater than actual and that, this is one of the main causes, at least, of the Misamis population "implosion."

I would say that the findings for Cagayan tally very well with the estimates of the United Nations demographers. The birth rates for Cagayan are slightly less than the mean rate of the U. N. range, but this may be due to sampling variation or to regional variation. Other regional studies should be undertaken for purposes of comparison. However, I am of the opinion that the

¹⁰ Bureau of the Census, 1948 Census of the Philippines; Population Classified by ... Barrio, pp. 162-163.

⁹ *Ibid.*, XXVII, 2 (April, 1961), 189-198.

birth rates will not be found to vary much.

It is the death rates that will probably be found to vary the most from region to region. Since the rate of regional natural increase depends more upon these, if the birth rates are fairly uniform, as I suspect, survey research upon

regional death rates is particularly to be encouraged at present. Humane considerations also are a strong motive. For if certain regions are found to have death rates considerably above average, more attention may thereafter be paid by interested parties to make the benefits of medical science more available to those regions.

Folktale and Folk Life

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One of the great folklorists of our time, Stith Thompson, Professor emeritus of Indiana University, describes the folktale "as a tale of some length involving a succession of motifs or episodes, (which) moves in an unreal world without definite locality or definite characters and is filled with the marvelous."¹

It would be wrong to conclude from this description that the folktale belongs in its entirety to the realm of utopia. Thompson's characterization of the folktale has to do with his specific approach, the historical-geographical method, also called the Finnish method, which is primarily interested in the establishing of the "complete life history of a particular tale."² But Thompson, although rather critical about the achievements hitherto attained by the psychoanalytical school, admits the value of other approaches. However, he considers, and rightly so, the knowledge "of all the facts about the life history of a tale" an indispensable prerequisite for

the approaches of the psychologist, sociologist, and anthropologist.³

These latter approaches are implicitly contained in the succinct definition which a well-known Austrian folklorist, Leopold Schmidt, gives of folklore, of which the folktale is an essential part. To Schmidt folklore is "the science of life (as it is reflected) in its traditional orders."⁴

For the sake of a better understanding of what I want to explain briefly, it is necessary to say a few words about the difference between myth and folktale. Wilhelm Grimm saw in the folktale a broken-down myth.⁵ Jan de Vries, the outstanding Dutch specialist in Indo-European studies, who is at the same time a distinguished folklorist, specifies this view when he states that numerous elements of primitive religious or magic thinking have become divested of their essential character in the folktale. Many old rites, customs, or cults may be traced in the folktale, yet they have been emptied of their proper meaning

³ *Ibid.*, p. 448.

⁴ Leopold Schmidt, *Geschichte der oesterreichischen Volkskunde* (History of Austrian Folklore) (Wien: Oesterreichischer Bundesverlag fuer Unterricht, Wissenschaft und Kunts, 1951), p. 10.

⁵ Cf. Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 370.

¹ Stith Thompson, *The Folktale* (New York: The Dryden Press, 1961), p. 8.

² *Ibid.*, p. 430.