Solidarity and intimacy are human dimensions that capitalism has somehow assaulted and transformed. That is why a major part of this study looks into the structures of capitalism and shows how these structures modulate beliefs, attitudes, and behavior as well as set in motion migrations, associations, bodies, and sexualities. It points to liberal-capitalism and the various ways it has given shape to a myriad of fields and pathways that convey impulses to communities, families, and subjects—creating dispositions in the process; and threatening or endangering wholesome expressions of intimacy and traditions of solidarity across generations.

excerpt from the Foreword

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The Predicaments of Intimacy and Solidarity

Capitalism and Impingements
To my loving wife,
   Elena,
and to my charming daughters,
   Katrien, Isabelle, Nathalie, and Teresa
The Predicaments of Intimacy and Solidarity

Capitalism and Impingements

Ferdinand D. Dagmang
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Foreword

This study is about how capitalism, in the course of its histories, has impinged upon traditions, identities, relationships, and interactions, especially those in the areas of solidarity and intimacy. Solidarity and intimacy are human dimensions that capitalism has somehow assaulted and transformed. That is why a major part of this study looks into the structures of capitalism and shows how these structures modulate beliefs, attitudes, and behavior as well as set in motion migrations, associations, bodies, and sexualities. It points to liberal-capitalism and the various ways it has given shape to a myriad of fields and pathways that convey impulses to communities, families, and subjects—creating dispositions in the process; and threatening or endangering wholesome expressions of intimacy and traditions of solidarity across generations.

This book deals with some social troubles usually attributed to the operations of liberal-capitalism. It navigates through and explores into the breakdown of solidarities, established bonds, or pre-existing relationships—various breakdowns that have been engendered by urbanization and factory/office-based work initiated by modern capitalist activities and have implicated people’s experiences, practices and views in matters of intimacy. Moreover, it bats for a low-key but high-context and solidarity-based Christian ethics (that is, Jesus of Nazareth-inspired ethics); low-key because this book is not soaked-up in an institutional religion-based discourse; high-context because it invokes marshalling of resources from various contexts.

Innumerable pursuits and struggles have followed paths—in part traditional, in part new—which defined and further reinforced socially-accepted forms of relationships. All of these have given shape to social arrangements which are reflective not only of associations but also of divisions and separations among people—associations and divisions that produce further arrangements congenial to the reinforcements of useful bonds and to the further assault on vulnerable relationships.
Amidst environments where people pursue their goals and where they struggle for some place, individuals are expected to behave as formed persons with skills and talents. They have to be ready for work and struggle. They have to face societies which previous generations of individuals have constituted. The societal forms are regarded to be adequate for subsequent generations of individuals who must be predisposed to search for success, comfort, security, distinction, recognition and fulfillment.

Most people, however, are no longer conscious of the fact that as soon as they are disposed towards modern/late-modern lifestyles and thus pushed to become “more intelligent, more responsible, driven adults,” they have to be drawn away from their most “childish” but treasured ways of finding comfort with their mothers, leisure in child’s play, warmth in their homes, security in togetherness, and peace in mutual support. People have to become “real men,” as in acting like men do in the pursuit of those goals offered by societies defined by male managers accustomed to abbreviated warm relations at home and prolonged work in the workplace. In modern/late-modern settings, people are generally expected to act like the qualified men who must struggle toward success which in turn is understood in terms of usefulness and productivity—also bases of power, wealth, and distinction. An unintended consequence, however, results: their rational pursuits and struggles could neither satisfy their need for affection nor compensate for the absence of satisfaction afforded by the warmth of mothers, homes, and other intimacy-producing social bonds. Because people are largely unconscious of this need-satisfaction imperative being anchored in the mother, etc., they continuously compound their problems by thinking that their pursuits and successes are their real sources of salvation. Their creations and the quest for their creations have become, at the same time, their regular sources of troubles.

Nevertheless, people oftentimes realize that work unbalanced by leisure and home time, for example, is not good for them. However, in their search for leisure and joy for themselves and their families, they are still joined to the ways of business and
commerce. They are stimulated by the enticements of billboards and commercials. Their choices will be diverted into or targeted by the products and services offered as objects of fulfillment by businesses pursuing profit. In having integrated themselves into the market, people are entrenched and implicated into the rational pursuits of profits which can only provide substitutes for people’s search for peace and fulfillment in their lives. When people of modernity/late-modernity finally feel that they are “freed” from the bondage of alienating work and pre-modern lifestyles, they are consequently recaptured by the snares of the gratifying objects of commerce.

Modernity/Late-modernity offers too many substitutes for or copies of the many forms of human bonding that people sorely miss. Their original desires, biologically and emotionally nurtured by the mother, have gradually transformed into autonomous desires looking for bonds which can, in the meantime, no longer be commonly attached to mothers. While the individual searches for those sorely missed feelings of satisfaction, countless objects are there to entice them, promising gratification. The individual finally falling for one monetarized substitute/simulacrum, (e.g., signature jeans, Havaianas flip-flops, PSP, mobile phone, laptop, iPad, Facebook, DotA, LED TV, SUV, Rolex watch, golf clubs, false eyelashes, slim figure, firm abs, Boracay vacation, etc.) clings momentarily to it until another product is noticed, and so on and on; and thus the endless search for that which would satisfy a longing which can only be calmed down by the most sympathetic attention which only a caring mother (or wife or partner) could give. The cycle of cathexis (the process of investment of mental or emotional energy in a person, object, or idea) will forever haunt people the more they forget the fact that only a kind of compassionate maternal care could provide the self in turmoil the sense of peace it needs. The world of men only intensifies that longing for what that world has constantly excluded or subordinated.

When cancer and other system-dependent diseases like lupus, psoriasis, and arthritis are “treated” through chemotherapy, or radiation, or steroids, we are made to believe that these are dis-
eases caused by mechanisms that could be isolated and thus inhibited or “killed” to produce healing to the body. A more appropriate view is that such diseases appear because of the body’s weakened immune system that is itself ravaged by a host of factors prevalent in the ecologies built around modernity/capitalism: stress and alienation; extended separations from loved ones; rationalized schedules and routines that produce prolonged anxiety as well as depression; diet full of refined sugar, fat, and meat and lack of whole grains, fruits and vegetables; fruits and vegetables cooked and devoid of life-giving enzymes and vitamins (and loaded with fertilizers and pesticides); water deficient in minerals; environment full of pollutants or contaminants; activities that are deprived of much-needed shared laughter and fulfilling “fun”; video games that induce the body to release dopamine, norepinephrine, and adrenaline which are not burned off by activity, and thus multiplying anxiety; information and attractions that goad people to believe that acquisition and accumulation of goods (and feel-good experiences) are ways to fulfillment, etc. The world of modernity (with its principles, practices, and processes) should be the logical target of change if we hope to produce more lasting cures for our ills. Change may result through counter-practices (or

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1 “The problem with video games… is that they not only create tremendous arousal, increasing levels of dopamine and norepinephrine in the brain and levels of adrenaline in the blood, but they also require little or no physical exertion. This means that the increased levels of dopamine, norepinephrine, and adrenaline are not fully utilized during the game. Very often people who have played a video game walk away feeling nervous, tense, and irritable. Their hands and legs literally shake. If they were to go out for a run, they would burn off the gas-pedal chemicals and feel fine again, but usually they try to reduce the stress caused by the excitement by eating or drinking foods that are rich in sugar (a form of carbohydrate, as we’ve seen). This lowers dopamine and norepinephrine and increases serotonin, allowing them some peace of mind and physical relaxation. They are literally medicating themselves with sugar in order to deal with the anxiety created by the dopamine. Yet the dopamine never really leaves the tissues and is simply waiting until some other form of arousal stimulates another round of excitement, anxiety, and stress. Many people—especially the young—are continually bouncing back and forth between arousal and satiation, between the “fight-or-flight” response and the dreamy world of sugar- or drug-induced satiation. These heightened states of arousal and their concomitant levels of dopamine make dependence on sugar, refined foods, and drugs extremely tempting.” Joel C. Robertson, with Tom Monte, *Natural Prozac: Learning to Release Your Body’s Own Anti-Depressants* (New York: Harper Collins e-books, 2009), p. 49.
alternative practices) that could deal with modernity’s built ecologies, including its myth of progress, its fast-paced and utilitarian lifestyles, and its rules that engender a variety of death-dealing mechanisms (e.g., physiologic reactions to various stressors and alienating conditions that foster allergens, carcinogens, pathogens, etc.).

There are indeed socio-cultural conditions that threaten bodies and cause diseases; causing so much suffering. No one, whether rich or poor, male or female, young or old, lay or cleric, may escape from them—conditions that also bring about spiritual malaise or negative predispositions; a situation which may be viewed as a common experience of iniquity; a power-sphere, a larger-than-human corrupting environment.

People healed from system-dependent diseases have gained back their health when they realize that a more wholeness-promoting lifestyle and the bringing about of a robust immune system are the real desiderata. We also call this as a holistic ecological approach: one that looks at 1) individual bio-chemical profiles, 2) the socio-cultural profile that affects health, 3) the various ways of distancing from, resisting against, or removing factors that bring about disease, 4) ways of preventing recurrence, and 5) better knowledge about the relationship between health and environment. A holistic approach to health should thus take into account the background, foreground, and all the other coordinated social entities that make up life. It is interesting to note that the approach of Dr. House (in the TV series House) to treating problematic cases illustrates this ecological view of wellness and illness.

Similarly, “immoral” acts cannot be treated like isolated tissues; “disapproved” sexual acts, for instance, should thus be seen against the background of systems and structures that impinge upon them mere units of life. Isolated acts do not constitute the meaning of immorality. To isolate the immoral agent through imprisonment or decapitation does not really provide a lasting solution. Any version of penology could inform us about this.
This is the bigger problem: a society and a culture that tend to breed agents to be disposed to commit acts that would cause injury to themselves, to other persons or communities. If we are able to see this, we may realize that the world-environment is probably more “guilty” than the wrongdoer; thus, we may feel greater sympathy with the so-called immoral person—to commiserate with him in his predicament because we too are possible candidates to “immorality.” Who would destroy a victim but someone who cannot seem to understand the predicament of being wounded, or injured by a larger reality that threatens to reduce all other beings into an error-prone and suffering lot? “Forgive them for they know not what they are doing.” Could we just hope for this overflowing compassion and continue living as an unredeemed fragmented humanity? Could we do something ethical for ourselves, victims of a state of affairs pervaded by the managerial routines of capitalistic enterprises?

I recognize this study as a fruit of my growth (which is always in need of growth) in my observations of society and culture. It is a growth made possible because of my work inside and outside the academe. It filtered through my viewpoint as a Filipino who has become familiar with capitalist structures that spawned fields, pathways, and networks of interaction—where affluence, power, sufficiency, poverty, dependence, and scarcity bump into one another. And where the vulnerable (the young, old, unemployed, sick, dependent women, environment, etc.) are often captured or labeled “externalities.”

The presence of non-capitalist or traditional socio-cultural structures in most parts of the Philippines, notwithstanding the circulation of the US dollar or Euro notes, McDonalds, Adidas, BMW, Volvo, Toyota, Ford, NBA, Madonna, Lady Gaga, American Idol, and Hollywood movies, also brings forth into this study a more qualified or nuanced way of looking at liberal capitalism’s contradictions. The presence of ancient traditions embodied by many Filipinos would underscore some contrasts between the liberal-capitalist system and the non-liberal-capitalist lifeworlds—age-old traditions have been around long before modernity came
forward aggressively in 18th century Western Europe and North America. In this regard, the formation of subjects is seen not simply as a determination of economic capital since the symbolic and cultural capitals also play their distinctive historical roles. Struggles along the capitalist terrains among subjects of diverse interests would not simply fall under modern economic forms.

My past acquaintances with some radical “leftist” groups in the 70’s and my subsequent involvement in community developmental work via the local Church’s Basic Ecclesial Community programs in the 80’s have exposed me to people who participated in various activities for social advancement. It is the exposure to social problems and to social agents and community work which further stirred my interest and hope for a better society. My entry into a religious community has further strengthened this hope and has swayed it towards a more religious orientation. I truly hope that with all the efforts that went into social work and other developmental activities, the Philippine society would have somehow changed for the better—from a society ruled by arrogant, exploitative, self-serving patriarchal or macho leaders to a society composed of more respectful, more compassionate, and more considerate persons.

In 1987, I embark on a more intellectual form of struggle when I grabbed the opportunity made possible through the help of former mentors and through Katholieke Universiteit Leuven’s grant in theological studies. My doctoral dissertation on the subject of Christian Ethics of Liberation likewise has reflected a fervent hope for social change. This hope has formed the overarching perspective of that study. In all the time that I buried myself in KU-Leuven libraries’ books, one of my constant references is Marx who pervades Critical Theory and Liberation Theology.

After having earned my doctorate, I taught at Maryhill School of Theology (MST) in Quezon City, Philippines. This is where I tried to hone my skills in further communicating what to me was a vision that dovetailed with Jesus’s admonition to his disciples about not forgetting “the least of my brothers.”
From time to time, I am assigned the task of handling the course on Christian Sexual Ethics. But then, the Critical Theory and Liberation Theology background always creeps behind my effort to study sexuality. I am constantly searching for a connection between sex and social reality—a reality which to me is a contemporary history’s complex drama of search for identity, dominance, dependence and oppression, struggle for emancipation and survival of the masses. These masses are those who flow with the everyday world of work, rest, spending and consumption not excluding those suffering from deprivation of work, under-consumption and restlessness.

However, being a former employee of MST, I have also encountered within it the presence and the productions of patriarchy and modernity wedded into the power to administer. Such an experience with employment is not something that would have made me more hopeful for what I usually stand for. Subsequent developments within MST have somehow provided more data to validate this “marriage” between patriarchy and modernity.

My work in the academe has been drawing me away from my previous affiliations. The growing needs of my family also put pressure on me to look for better pay or income. But, still, a desire to search for a more meaningful commitment proves to be a determining factor. My not-so-pleasant experience in the academe and those afterwards, and in a few other places, have led me to a more self-propelled expression of that desire. This is the period when I envisioned the creation of a research and publications outfit that will be sustained by my own printing press. For some reasons and lessons in self-reliance, the printing press materialized; not the research center.

After I left MST, I taught at the University of the Philippines-Diliman (U.P.) in the Department of Anthropology. For several years, aside from teaching Structural Anthropology (Levi-Strauss and post-structuralism) and Myths and Rituals, I also taught the course on Sex and Culture. In one of my classes in the year 2000, a student complimented me for having provided the link between Marx and sexuality. He called it the “Dagmang link.” For him, it
was a new move. I did not realize then that I was, more or less, moving along the arguments of Herbert Marcuse’s *Eros and Civilization*, i.e., the original move.

My U.P. period has given me more opportunities for studies dealing with structures (embodied, institutionalized, lived associations, and knowledge/power reifications) and everyday life. My classes on Sex and Culture are delivered through the help of authors like Malinowski, Mead, and other theorists who provide broad frameworks like those of Durkheim, Geertz, Turner, and Douglas. But again, inside me is an urge. It is constantly stirring and prodding me to pursue the link between Marx and sexuality; especially through Marx’s theory of alienation in work. This was also the period of my printing press business when I acquired first-hand experiences in modern capitalist work and proletarian dependence.

Everyday struggle in the world of capitalist work is also a regularized exposure to various realities of alienation and dejection; realities which were more familiar objects of analysis in books. The more abstract are finally unraveling before my face. Actually, alienation and discontent are inside me while I am also inside them.

The world of remunerated work/work for profit is a totally different world from the worlds of the religious (priests, nuns, brothers, etc.) and the academe. Inside this world, as I experienced it, every individual is set to follow the 8-5 schedule of the whole business world which oftentimes becomes 24/7 schedule because of the globalized work linkages. Into the everyday routines, ordinary workers submit themselves to or modulate themselves through the wage-labor contract, the bundy clock, the pace of the machines, the dictate of customers, and the technicalities of cost-accounting procedures. Everyday, from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. and excluding overtime and transport time, workers must get used to being separated from their very personal desires or from their cherished ones such as the home, family, hobbies, dreams, ideals, and tradition (and that the children left at home or school, relying on the available or their own resources, must also get used to the prolonged absence of parents). Such separation is made in ex-
change of touching tools and materials, producing requisitioned products, negotiating with voices over the phone, writing e-mails to the more distant customers, or doing things that are not necessarily to one’s delight. Men and women will leave their loved ones at home or school, exposed to many unfamiliar challenges and stressors. They surrender their joys for wages and hope that life will not become worse. Many of them struggle merely to survive the everyday search for a better life. Everyday work for them has somehow transformed life into a struggle for rice and dried fish, or instant noodles. High-salaried work will somehow transform life into a struggle for a new car, a BMW, an iPad, a PhP1.2 million Vertu Ascent Ferrari 60 mobile phone, a PhP1.3 million Zegna suit, a PhP100,000.00 Manolo Blahnik, a PhP200,000.00 Berluti Rapiécés Reprisés, or a European vacation dangled by the desire-producing ads as necessities or signs of distinction. All the while, and without realizing it, workers would also transform their ways of relating to other people, to their own culture, and to other traditions. Actually, it is more complicated than this; but, capitalist work is really problematic.

Business/Capitalist work disturbs. It disturbs the possible/ideal link between every subject’s inner-life or unconscious and the ego’s gratifying choices or more desirable activities. We know this when, because of work, we miss those experiences which afford us contentment, joy, or “peace.” We miss the fun but we seem to be willing to miss it all for an additional fund from what is missing in work. Capitalist work further disturbs when the link to joy is not necessarily work but funds: wages or anything in the form of money that leads us towards recapture in the consumption side of the market. Alasdair MacIntyre would say that moderns tend to miss the more important internal goods of practice for its external goods. Wages have become the most important means to acquire and accumulate those which are (mis)recognized as necessities.

Wages disorient because they have become more important than work. Work no longer does automatically bring fulfillment to the worker; because income does. Work no longer does automati-
cally bring food to one’s plate; because money does. Financial capital doubly disturbs because it has convinced people to trade their creative drives and identities with salaries; thereby submitting themselves as productive fragments and efficient units of commerce.

Underneath commercial capital, everything is marked as a means, including human resources, for a specific end: profit-making (profit does enhance one’s search for and maintenance of honor or distinction or status). No matter how a capitalist/employer makes an allowance for seemingly non-instrumental activities like fun, rest, and “warm” relations, this means-end strategy disturbs.

Capital actually tries to transform people into manageable bytes as it allocates into its time and space mere fragments of people’s humanity. In the process, only aspects of the individual will be trained and specialized for the salary. The story continues…as people confuse joy with items for sale. This is all because work has become necessary and not necessarily fun. But, many people are “happy” and “contented” with this state of affairs. The state of affairs seems to be written into people’s habits already; while people’s habits further keep and reify the status quo. This further disturbs.

Work for subjects is no longer just a matter of survival. It is also a way of participating in a world where they feel their identities also matter; especially when they also dip their hands into the pool of representations where models are projected in their midst. Such models are offered to subjects who take pleasure in the more democratic practice of identity-shopping.

Most of us will only be able to experience joy-giving experiences in portions; not in bundles. Most of the bundles we get are bundles of work which do not necessarily give us fulfillment. But, we consider it a necessary form of repression, a postponement or inhibition of our desires, because in today’s world we are led to believe (or we are made to desire and feel) that capitalist work will be able to fulfill our “dreams,” or to support us decently; some-
how. And so we conform to social demands up to the point of obedience, to become useful and productive; to become normal in a normalized society.

Moreover, the wages we receive in exchange of sacrifices in labor make it possible for us to find some consolations in products for sale in the market. Spending and consuming give so much “fulfillment” especially to children; that is why capitalist work disturbs. Sometimes, I ask myself: Why should I work so hard when this would also mean earning wages for my children’s captivity in commerce?

Work in a capitalist economy does not only produce wealth; it also produces much weariness, boredom, stress, tensions, divisions, depression, neurosis and, thus, diseases. I find the predicaments of intimacy/solidarity/relationships as fundamental problems which both affect affluence and poverty. Such problems flow not only from poverty but also from affluence. Nevertheless, the affluent could actually lessen their share of burdens by “assigning” to the poor society’s more disadvantaged positions, further exacerbating alienations in the process.

It is interesting to note that in 1897 the eminent sociologist, Émile Durkheim discovered the higher incidence of suicide among Protestants than among Catholics; and suicide cases peak during springtime. He attributed this high suicide rate to the Protestant spirit’s promptings for greater self-reliance. Autonomy would put undue pressure on a person’s coping capacity. As the Catholics then tended to gather together and relied on mutual-support, they were less vulnerable to the impact of loneliness. Not to get past very low GNP, but creative and resilient enough to hurdle the GNB (Gross National Burden), could also be avoiding high incidence of suicide registered by Japan, Finland, Belgium and many parts of the colder Western European regions. Max Weber’s Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism tends to highlight the Catholics’ lack of a work ethic that has produced the so-called capitalism-boosted European civilization. Certainly England, The Netherlands, Belgium or Germany have higher GNPs than the Catholic countries of Italy, Spain, and Portugal. But certainly the latter are
also warmer and more inviting than the colder regions. Along with Greece, they also register lower suicide rates. The latter probably have more time to enjoy under the sun in spite of their GNT (Gross National Trouble). Incidence of divorce and remarriage is also low in these sunny regions of Europe.

The world of affluence may look up to the Philippines for care and for more holistic health services. If affluent countries will pursue their overly systematized direction (dividing, supervising, formalizing) to be able to maintain their economic status, many of their citizens will probably come to the Philippines for relaxation, pleasure-seeking, and their males seeking for possible home-loving and cheerful brides.

Inside the world of capitalist work, I am constantly aware of or get disturbed by my yearning for play, for fun, and for some meaning. This world has triggered in me some inner turmoil or stress. Presumably, they are impulses and agitations coming from the deep yearnings for “peace” or mere pleasure-gratifications which, because of surplus-repression, capitalist work cannot satisfy. I have felt with co-workers in my printing press setup, the constant aching for respite after a stressful day. I have wanted some therapy afforded by rest; better after a bottle of beer or half a bottle of red wine. I have yearned for a relaxing walk with my dog; or playing the flute, playing with the kids, or enjoying with the wife’s “night shift.”

I do not know that this concern to link work and sex, as well as my decision to give up my printing press, would lead me back to the study of Freud. In fact, it is Marcuse’s *Eros and Civilization* which has led me to an attempt to rediscover Freud. It has led me to find for myself what Marcuse has tried to do: link Marx and Freud together in an attempt to explain the problems with sexuality (pleasure principle) amidst the historical conditions (reality principle) of capitalist work. This rediscovery is not the end of my search since contemporary reality is already a contested area between the sexes. The pleasure principle is no longer inhibited by a single aim or supervised by a lone moral system. Psycho-social development will necessarily be a more complicated process be-
cause this will be assailed from all fronts not only by patriarchy, capital, and their symbolic representations, but also by the troubling skirmishes between the challengers and guardians of patriarchy and capital; and, by self-modulating subjects who no longer have permanent affiliations with world-systems. Amidst all these complications are pressures to recognize different actors who have posed significant challenges to studies, findings, and claims about the relationships between sexual life and social realities. The field of studies trying to make sense of sex and society/culture does not only involve Freud, Marx, Malinowski or Marcuse. The field is already wide open; one filled with actors and observers.

It is against this background that this study has been undertaken and forced to adopt a focused point of view—tagging the liberal/neo-liberal capitalism as a socio-historical-structural determinant impinging upon sexual beings. It is a choice, albeit structured by existential and academic locations, which still demands inclusion of several theoretical approaches. This demand for a more inclusive and open stance would have to recognize not only the structuring effects of work and spending/consumption as the more palpable bodily inhibitors/stimulators on subjects but also those of language and non-linguistic signs taken in their historicity.

The focus on the objective structures as relatively distinct from the subject’s intentions or objectives, has subjected this research into a struggle with the problem of locating gendered subjects amidst the interspersed grids, interlocking resources, and fields of relationships. Such attributes of context have themselves been over-determined by the histories of capitalism, neoliberalism, secularization, and the continuing saga of medieval patriarchy. It is through this struggle that I have sought for a method which would not obliterate subjects; but, still find them in self-affirming or self-modulating “activity points,” spheres, or zones of relations which both their objectives in life and their pre-determining structures, including culture and traditions, are made visible or become more noticeable.

The studies of Elias and Bourdieu, I realize, are very helpful. Elias can be commended for his civilizing process, *habitus* forma-
tion (cf. Bourdieu), and the synthesizing idea of figurations or the configuring effects of networks of social relations. Bourdieu has been instructive in his method of mixing ethnography, sociology and philosophy; along with his ideas of field, strategy, struggle, and capital. To Bourdieu, capital not only refers to the economic resources of the capitalist but also to the symbolic, social, and cultural capital. Both of them (including Michel de Certeau) have made me realize the possibility of bringing together everyday-life analysis and historical system analysis without falling into the traps of freedom/necessity, individual/structure, labor/capital, even spirit/body dichotomies or essentialisms. In addition, the observations of Weber, Freud, Marcuse, Lacan, Foucault, and Giddens about sexuality and capitalist realities have provided this study the Westerners’ view about themselves.

After having been informed and assisted by the theories of the abovementioned authors (total fidelity to their ideas I cannot claim), I still feel that the work needs a more “active” way of representing structural determination. Although the discussion on system-structures provides a way, it still is not enough to capture a “constantly moving” state of affairs that is fired dynamically by some invisible Spirit that has produced, in the process of its “firing,” negative consequences. I have, thus, employed the concept of *impingements* which, in developmental psychology, refers to “imperfections in mothering.” In this book, it finds an extended application, that is, beyond the context of mothering. I have used it to also capture the broad/deep-impact and high-context imperfections in the management of human affairs—imperfections not solely due to lack of managerial skills or foresight but mainly due to strategic requirements or demands of taken-for-granted systems-structures. In this sense, my use of the term tries to capture “alive” the socio-cultural *structural impingements* that bring about a host of unintended negative consequences: 1) unintended evil effects, 2) necessary structures that unintentionally produce evil, 3) invisible mechanisms that unintentionally produce harm, and 4) invisible harm that perpetrate observable harm—whether immediate or remote; superficial or deep; transitory or enduring; local or global; synchronic or diachronic.
Thus, many mothering impingements could be viewed as linked to the high-context structural impingements. Moreover, I have appropriated the image of the synapse to illustrate the dynamic pulses of communications conveyed and the resulting responses configured through and between interlocking fields, pathways, and networks; along this line of social analysis, Foucault’s idea of apparatus/dispositif (along with Bourdieu’s “symbolic violence”) has been very helpful in identifying the weight or action potential of bureaucratic or power/knowledge impulses. The idea of a central system transmission suggests the communication lines opened up for information transfer with the help of private-interest motives (“neurotransmitters”) toward target “organ-subjects” receptors who must be able to modulate various transmitted messages. I hope that such concepts borrowed from neuroscience and transformed in this study to acquire sociological senses have lent “movement” to the discussion of predicaments of intimacy and solidarity.

Upon nearing the completion of this research, I realize, however, that further moves still remain to be done in the area of psychoanalysis, biological psychology, and biochemistry/medicine. Although some references to Freud, Lacan, Žižek, Irigaray, and Kristeva would somehow handle this lack in psychoanalysis, a more in-depth study is required to further thresh out the issues raised by intra-psychic and endo-somatic structural determination (cf. Donald O. Hebb, John B. Arden & Lloyd Linford, and Michael Gurian). Furthermore, sexuality issues that are raised by contestations between genders cannot simply be glossed over by the explanatory moves via capitalist work and spending/consumption. In the relationship between sexuality and capitalism, the matter of sexuality needs further help from other accounts which focus on the unconscious; like the more recent Neo-Freudian studies.

What has been laid down in this study, however, would already offer some explanations without which the need for further study on psycho-somatic and biochemical realities would not have been raised. As it stands, this research offers some conclusions
towards a better understanding of our world and of ourselves; of solidarity, sexuality and other intimacies as they are seen being circumscribed and impinged by the structures of liberal-capitalism and patriarchy. These structures have been unearthed again through the use of various tools from authors already beyond Marx and Freud.

In this study, I may have painted a “victim” or “threatened” form of intimacy as it is exposed to various risks, vulnerabilities, hazards, troubles, recaptures, and dangers associated with the development of liberal-capitalism and the breakdown of traditional bonds. Let it be noted, however, that this is a focus that also emphasizes individual dispositions, choices, modulations, and struggles, albeit context-bound; it really tries to go beyond an approach that is too rational-choice or self-determination oriented ways of scrutinizing behavior. In this sense and with a great deal of help from contemporary critical theorists, it traces the post-dualist approaches of Bourdieu and Giddens.

As a follow-through of the rather sustained view of the body and society, I have tried to scrutinize the claims of some classical and modern teachings on and theories of sexuality. In this undertaking, some implicit backgrounds of such teachings and theories (including Christian sexual ethics) about the body, sexuality, and society have been made explicit. Their assumptions and their claims are placed before the faces of persons living in worlds too complex in its fragmentations—a not well-understood reality to the more traditional or modern observers.

I have tried to offer some ethical propositions with the hope of becoming more audible to postmodern, postindustrial, and postcapitalist interlocutors—fellow sufferers in the arena of work, spending, and consumption. I think this “solidarity ethics” (counter-impingements) aspect of my work is the more active response to what I have tediously sketched as the situation and ecology impinging upon intimacies and solidarities.
The following, I think, are the major accomplishments of this work:

1. The theory of impingements a) that explains the unintended, invisible, and remote effects of management procedures in the area of economics (household and market/industry); b) that integrates the whole discussion of the unintended, invisible, and remote effects with the discussion of human freedom, responsibility, and transgression; and c) that proposes the anti-impingements stance as an integral element of every ethical reflection and action;

2. The use of theoretical frameworks which take into account both the object and the subject, where social-determination and self-determination are seen as two facets of identity;

3. A scrutiny of the following social issues relevant to sexual ethics today:
   (a) the crumbling down of traditional social bonds due to industry and post-industry relations; and
   (b) the subordination of traditions and life-worlds by modern social interactions which
      i) have adversely affected solidarity and capacity for affectivity; and
      ii) have engendered shrunk and narrow bonds;

4. An unearthing of the transformations of attitudes and behavior of sexual subjects embedded in dynamic liberal-capitalist fields;

5. A critical study of traditional and modern approaches to sexuality and sexual-ethical reflections;

6. The identification of alternative values and the proposal of an ethics based on fellow-feeling (solidarity) with victims of a common human condition; and

7. The emphasis on the importance of Jesus of Nazareth’s stance of solidarity with the outcasts of his time—a
stance towards redemption from alienating situations; a Good News of salvation from the “up-to-date” dispositions parading as human culture.

By having given proper attention to the established social and cognitive structures alive in capitalist settings, I have also pointed out how sexuality has been influenced and, in fact, determined by histories. This move hopefully allows the realization that ethics could not just rely on the established rational ways of proposing principles of right living when we also know that the same principles which make possible some forms of ethical reflections have sustained capitalism. Ethical propositions which also assume or take-for-granted society’s objective and cognitive structures cannot be expected to be on a higher critical position. What is left for ethics is to propose a different opening for the possibility of historical action that is less-constrained by that reality which it treats as problematic. This study has tried to show how ethical reflection is still possible towards an effective historical action in a stance of solidarity with and among the victims of rational pursuits that have been narrowed-down by utilitarian and market-justice principles.
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Portions of the following articles appear in the book:


“Christian Compassion and Solidarity within Capitalist Contexts.” Asia Pacific Social Science Review 6/2 (January 2007): 53-72; also


Chapter One

Impingements: Basic Assumptions and Implications for Intimacy and Solidarity

The liberal and capitalist socio-economic system\(^1\) has taken various forms which could reflect elements of classical liberalism, economic liberalism, liberal capitalism, ordoliberalism,\(^2\) or the hybridized and “culturalized” forms in some areas of the world like the Japanese version being a child of its former Ministry of International Trade and Industry,\(^3\) or Bhutan and its Gross National Health indicator or Israel with its various Jewish forms. This socio-economic system has followed vigorous histories of maintenance and expansion and has produced its own “enduring ways that have survived and will survive even after we die,” including its

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\(^{1}\) This notion is an abstraction based on various observable forms that liberalism and capitalism have taken in various historical settings. This is to say that the liberal and capitalist socio-economic system has taken different paths and uneven development. To use this notion of liberal and capitalist socio-economic system does not overlook a system’s multiple instantiations in various socio-cultural contexts. The compound “liberalism and capitalism” is often abbreviated in this study into liberal-capitalism.

\(^{2}\) See David N. Balaam and Michael Veseth, *Introduction to International Political Economy*, 4th ed. (Upper Saddle River: Pearson Education International, 2008), pp. 37-61. “Liberalism, like many other terms in international political economy (IPE), suffers from something of a personality disorder. The term means different things in different contexts. In the United States today, for example, a liberal is generally regarded as one who believes in an active role for the state in society, such as helping the poor and funding programs to address social problems. Since the 1980s, what has become thought of more narrowly as economic liberalism means almost (but not exactly) the opposite. The economic liberals (also referred to as neoliberal and sometimes as neoconservative), the state should play a limited, if not constricted, role in the economy and society. In other words, today’s economic liberals have much in common with people who are usually referred to as “conservatives” in the United States and many other countries.” p. 37.

brands of politics. It has shaped such enduring ways, with the practical requirements and corresponding standards of thought and behavior; ways that would have involved other background realities which make them more appealing and even obligatory to people.

This socio-economic system has produced much good to societies; but, it has also produced much misery to people. Any choice linked to this system cannot avoid impingements\(^4\) as citizens depend upon a world shaped by the requirements of capitalism and liberalism.

The socio-economic system that is shaped by capitalism and liberalism has given rise to social realities such as venues of interaction, functional associations and their requirements, organized practices around work and commerce, roles and identities, designated spaces and territories, time-managed routines, system of education, recreation, defense, and utilization of resources. All of these are informed by written and unwritten ideas; governed by standard procedures; sanctioned by implicit and explicit rules.

These realities provide prospects, opportunities, resources, channels, and networks of interaction which consequently affect various worlds and lives—even those whose lives are still secured by the womb or the crib.\(^5\) Jobsites, marketplaces, financial districts, trading centers, training areas, and consumer shops, have given shape to individual and social dispositions. All of these make up to produce and reproduce a whole system of consistent operations, rules, network of codes, beliefs and knowledge.\(^6\)

\(^4\) A term used in developmental psychology to refer to “imperfections in mothering.” John B. Arden and Lloyd Linford, Brain-Based Therapy with Children and Adolescents: Evidence-Based Treatment for Everyday Practice (Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2009), pp. 44-45; see also pp. 66-69.

\(^5\) Cf. Arden and Linford, Brain-Based Therapy with Children and Adolescents, pp. 47-58, 66.

\(^6\) This should not overshadow the inverse effect of codes, beliefs, and other patterns of behavior to the reproduction and production of structures. The idea of structuration, which refers to the mutual interaction and correction of individuals and structures,
Varieties of struggles and encounters are linked through the pathways and fields of interaction under the sway of the dominant global capitalist system. Concrete expressions of personal ambitions, even archetypal situations like birth and death, intersect or get entangled along those fields which cover the space of interaction, of conflict and competition; the terrain or social context of struggle. These are areas of interaction where goal-seeking individuals maneuver for a share of what the world could offer as material and non-material values, resources for power and honor, and the like. Individuals, especially men, in their struggle for stakes, embody qualifications and dispositions (or "virtues") which would allow them to participate or take positions within the patterns of activities and positions of the field. In other words, self-identity, behavior, and encounters are interconnected in multifarious ways through situational scenarios within networks or fields of interaction governed and defined by the system’s internal operations that have become recursive through time. Even those who “do not belong” to capitalism’s basic “storyline” because of lack of qualifications (or because of disqualifications) are implicitly connected to such fields of interaction when they are labeled as the illiterate (who must follow the system’s preference for the educated), the unskilled (who must comply with the system’s need for the productive), the jobless (who must wait patiently because the system maintains a number of reserve labor), or the needy (who must ask


7 Cf. the following definition of fields: “a network, or configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determination they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (situs) in the structure of distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.).” Pierre Bourdieu and L. Wacquant, *Towards a Reflexive Sociology* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1992), p. 97. See also Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (London: Routledge, 1984).

for assistance from the system that produces unintended effects and refer to them as “externalities”).

Subjects are linked up to settings shaped by the system’s objectives, resources, and procedures. Thus, the personal or more intimate encounters are also affected by the entanglements of business (in the areas of production and consumption) as liberal and capitalist imperatives have brought about impingements, causing the breakdown of established solidarities. As groups and persons are deeply affected by stressors in society, intimacy is no longer just a personal issue. Stress could elevate a woman’s adrenaline levels which reduce the chance of getting pregnant; or, cortisol levels in pregnant women’s bodies corrode or inhibit the growth of their fetuses’ developing brains. Work could also turn working

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10 The society-shattering events like the colonization of lands by world powers, the slave trade, and the two World Wars have produced innumerable miseries caused by, among others, forced family or clan separations. These separations have harmed the established social bonds and intimate relations which formed the foundations of care and survival. The job/career migrations of women to foreign countries (e.g., Overseas Filipino Workers) have led to family breakups, producing disturbing effects on traditional family bonds.


12 A glucocorticoid C21H30O5 (also called hydrocortisone) produced by the adrenal cortex upon stimulation by the adrenocorticotropic hormone (ACTH) that mediates various metabolic processes (as gluconeogenesis), has anti-inflammatory and immuno-suppressive properties, and whose levels in the blood may become elevated in response to physical or psychological stress.

mothers into stressed caregivers at home and bring about impingements in their effort to deal with their children; or turn husbands into more dominant partners who must demand from their wives “compensation” for what is sorely lacking in the workplace. Intimacy has become, to a great extent, another product or by-product of a system’s story; with liberalism’s and capitalism’s ambiguities and contradictions vitiating important social bonds and personal qualities. Thus, the topic of intimacy cannot be viewed apart from the broader tacit backgrounds, structural connections, and implicit rules that necessarily implicate or affect persons in both their public and private lives.

In this introductory chapter, I will offer some explanations about the relationships between subjects and objective reality (with their material, non-material and symbolic elements) and thus elaborate on the components and dynamics of impingements. This is done by pointing out (1) the objective reality—the systemic-structural determinants of character and behavior, (2) how the objective reality and its spirit14 impinge upon the subject, and (3) how the subject’s attitude and behavior (including one’s affective capacity and ability to pursue and maintain intimate relations) are modulated as one is circumscribed by the objective reality. This is to show that the topic of intimacy (and solidarity [more in Chapter Two]) may be seen against the background of worlds that influence group and individual character.15 Thus, intimacy’s predic-

also Shawn Talbott, _The Cortisol Connection_ (Berkeley: Hunter House Publishers, 2002).

14 The notions of “spirit” and “spiritual” suggest the direction of thought or orientation of mind inasmuch as thought or mind is focused on a certain goal or end that is supposedly higher than or transcending the self and ordinary everyday concerns.

15 Searle presents his thesis of the Background: “Intentional states function only given a set of Background capacities that do not themselves consist in intentional phenomena. Thus, for example, beliefs, desires, and rules only determine conditions of satisfaction—truth conditions for beliefs, fulfillment conditions for desires, etc.—given a set of capacities that do not themselves consist in intentional phenomena. I have thus defined the concept of the “Background” as the set of nonintentional or preintentional capacities that enable intentional states of function.” John R. Searle, _The Construction of Social Reality_ (New York: The Free Press, 1995), p. 129.
ments may no longer be referred *solely* or *immediately* to the causal mechanisms of desire and intention.

I. Impingements

We are informed by the first and second laws of thermodynamics (conservation of energy and entropy) that in every expense of work within a system, energy is not destroyed (or created) but only converted into another state or form. Within a closed system, this conversion into another form of energy may be viewed as a conversion into an acceptable, thus tolerable, form of energy. If, however, we are dealing with two different systems that are entangled with each other, the work expenditures in one system could produce “heat conversions and transfers” which may not be acceptable, thus intolerable, to the other system. This dynamic transfer of converted energy or heat may be “normal” in the first system, but “abnormally” impacts upon the other; thus, the latter system could experience impingements in very negative forms. The factory system, for example, has impinged upon the natural environmental system (by treating it as source and sink), producing negative or unacceptable consequences (usually referred to as unintended consequence or externalities—as in external to man’s intentions or plans).

In psychology, the term *impingements* has been used to refer to imperfections in mothering and their effects on infants and children. This focus on imperfect caregiving is on the mother and on the application of mothering standards. However, the customary reference to the mother does not give proper attention to the correlate: fathering—not just fathering inside the home where the father is the recognized disciplinarian but also to the task of fathering as a father moves and brings with him his household interests (breadwinning or empire-building) outside the context of the home. This fathering-process-in-public-view involves socially-
instituted and engendered standards as well as imperfections which are not necessarily perceived as aspects of impingements.

The failure to identify fathering (outside home) as the correlate, and thus, as co-responsible in the task of household management and caring, has put the burden of caring (for children and husbands) on the mother’s shoulder. The mother’s or wife’s responsibility in or outside the home has defined a narrow and one-sided expression of caring and the idea of impingements. Fathering, on the other hand, takes its narrow meaning from the disciplinarian and breadwinner roles of fathers. But, even if the breadwinner role is integral to public processes, its fathering aspect does not implicate the public venues, public roles, and pathways of fathers. When fathering fails, it is because of the father’s imperfections and not the imperfections of social roles and pathways. But, we know that this is a narrow view of imperfections or shortcomings.

It is, in fact, necessary to rethink of mothering and fathering to encompass household affairs management that is necessarily integrated into the management of broader political-economic venues and affairs. In this way, impingements may not just refer to personal imperfections; it also implicates imperfections in societal management both in its mothering and fathering aspects. Hence, the concept of impingements does not only cover effects (mainly unintended effects) of imperfect management on persons, but also on society and its processes and pathways.

Thus, impingements should mean imperfections in the management of affairs in various settings—imperfections that impinge on the inner- and outer-worlds. It refers to imperfections in mothering and fathering in the contexts of the home, outside the home, and other fields. As mothering and fathering are understood more extensively to refer not only to individual behavior but participation in socio-cultural processes, success in mothering and fathering somehow legitimizes society’s goods; while failures and imperfections in mothering and fathering reveal society’s contradictions.
Thus, the individual and society are either validated in successful mothering and fathering or problematized and discredited in impingements.

I will apply this concept of *impingements* beyond the context of mothering and also use it to refer to broad/deep-impact and high-context imperfections in the management of human affairs, mainly *public* affairs; hence, *impingements* could also be “imperfections in fathering” as this “fathering” dimension is usually linked to and expressed through the processes and channels involved in the management of the economic, political and even religious affairs. Thus, it refers not only to imperfections due to lack of individual insight or foresight, neglect, insensitivity, narrow-mindedness, hardened conscience, “narrowing of cognitive map” (cf. E.C. Tolman) but also because such individual characteristics, including “normal” predispositions and behavior, are embedded in and constrained by economic, political, and cultural systems-structures.\(^\text{16}\) My use of the term makes a conscious effort to bring into discussion the socio-cultural matrix as enabling, inhibiting, or disabling factors of disposition and behavior, producing intended as well as unintended effects that impact on the broader ecology and the deep human epigenetic materials; these effects also extend trans-generationally.\(^\text{17}\)

The broadened meaning of *impingements* calls to mind the over-all effects of behavior. These effects are not necessarily under the control of an individual as one’s actions are embedded in broad socio-cultural processes which are taken-for-granted as

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\(^{17}\) What I am pursuing here is similar to what Deborah Du Nann Winter has accomplished in her work *Ecological Psychology: Healing the Split Between Planet and Self* (Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc., 2003). While Winter’s main contribution is the unearthing of the connections between “Western mental life” and the “Western civilization and culture” that produced and sustained environmental problems, my objective is to unearth and interconnect several factors (psychological, cultural, political, religious, economic, etc.) that contributed to the disintegration or transformation of intimacy and solidarity, including “solidarity with the natural environment.”
requirements or standards. Whether one likes it or not, multiple effects or consequences of pre-established processes are produced every time an individual acts or socializes. Action is understood to be an element within systems and structures. These provide channels and pathways which are older, more enduring, and stable than individuals whose actions can only be understood as embedded in and bounded by systems-structures.

*Impingements*, as imperfection in management, emphasizes not only the mediated but also the mediating character of behavior—it also mediates socio-cultural elements and their predictable and unpredictable effects. It must be understood to also include the *unintended* negative consequences of plans, choices, decision-making processes which are linked to pre-established (but less-open to consciousness) ways of perceiving, feeling, thinking, and acting.

A. Reconnecting the Private-Public Disconnections

The traditional meaning of mothering has become identified with caring of children and managing the home; while fathering meant another kind of becoming, usually breadwinning; that is, providing for the family’s financial needs through a public occupation. In this distinction between the two ways of becoming lies the original cause of separation (an ancient management) of the private and public spheres. Later on, the effects of the imperfections in the management of these spheres are strictly attributed to their immediate managers and restricted within their respective domains. The failures in caring are to be accounted for against the mother and the failures in breadwinning (and imposing strict discipline) against the father. These separated accountings will tend to confine themselves within the standards and constraints independently set by both domains. What has become problematic is that a certain sphere (the male’s public) turns out more dominant and the private sphere a subordinated realm. The standards set by mothering cannot hope to be applied in the public realm; but, the
standards set by fathering in the public tend to colonize the realm more properly identified with the mother.

It has become customary to blame the mother for deficits in caring; but, the negative effects of the public sphere (where fathers are) on private domains (like intimacy and sexuality) are usually obscure and thus unaccounted for except perhaps by experts or social scientists. Unless impingements are recognized, private problems are less likely to implicate their public connections.

B. Internalizing Externalities

The unintended negative effects of economic production and management are usually treated by economic theories as *externalities*, that is, not part of the intended output. Unless pressured or not unaware of their responsibility, fathers-managers will not treat such externalities as their immediate concern; even if they are aware of the double-effect nature of human activities.

Modern industry and commerce have regarded the unintended negative consequences of their projects as belonging to externalities and not necessarily impingements. But our present discussions must *immediately* pull externalities towards the center and make these as part of the internal talks since these belong to the normalized ways and histories of fathering. “Externalities” are internal to the practices of fathering. No matter how theories separate the unintended from the intended, imperfections in the management of the public sphere include not only those things which they are able to control and predict but also those which result from their limited capacity to control and predict—resulting in some of the most destructive *hidden impacts* of production and consumption.\(^\text{18}\)

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See also Slavoj Žižek, *Violence: Six Sideways Reflections* (New York: Picador, 2008).
While the *positive* consequences are not necessarily intended by and totally under the control of industry and commerce (low prices of goods and services, employment opportunities, and other trickle-down effects) these are still recognized (with enthusiasm) as part of the goods of capitalism; and market economists have tended to place the negative consequences of production and consumption as capital’s technological (e.g., pollution and environmental degradation) and pecuniary (e.g., adjustment of prices or shutdowns of factories) externalities.\(^\text{19}\) Even the definition of externalities has become stunted and limited to merely cover the immediate unintended effects of technological and pecuniary decisions. The idea of externalities (of negative consequences) may indicate the wimps in those responsible for the fathering of the negative. They are proud of their positive accomplishments, but turn their backs when notified of smelly and destructive by-products.

One may thus ask: What about the remote and yet-invisible (because remote) outcomes which cannot yet be immediately identified because of time-lag between intention and effects? Are these not part of managerial responsibility? Are these not covered by the responsibility of fathering? Aren’t these outcomes part of the acts of fathering and thus a huge responsibility of fathers-managers?

### C. Psycho-neuro-analyzing Impingements

Males are used to be seen as having a kind of responsibility different from that of females: creating or facing the larger public world. This world becomes the backdrop against which a home and a mother’s care will derive its place and meaning. (Home is derivative of the public?) The public is the male’s arena which is assumed as somehow distinct from that of the mother’s sphere of influence. This common sense and binary kind of outlook on the

\(^{19}\) *Barrera, Economic Compulsion and Christian Ethics*, pp. 27ff.
world having a public/private, rational/affectional spheres may either be referred back to the biological male/female differences or associated with the observed differences in male and female roles. Science, however, could either legitimize culture or serve as a critical element in its act of decoding the sources and directions of culture.

Males—fathers and would-be fathers—have been cradled by mothers and would-be mothers. By some effects of genes, hormones, and culture—all interlocked in the ontogenetic and phylogenetic issues of natural and second-natural individual formation—males carry and internalize peculiarly male dispositions; dispositions which are impelled by genetic, epigenetic and hormonal factors (testosterone and adrenaline) ready to snap into the shared social dispositions “intended” for the males: rational, aggressive, adventurous, competitive, and conquering.

While mothers and would-be mothers have been forced to concentrate on tasks at home and nearby, fathers and would-be fathers have been impelled to go hunting, exploring, and mastering lands and colonizing other humans. Hundred-thousands of years of skills-development to ensure victories in conquests (and defenses) have insidiously imprinted in the male brain the more rational and less affectional dispositions—a disposition to be identified by later generations as “natural” to males and dictating some norms or standards of behavior.

Hunting and warfare have demanded on the male the lesser connection to affections or to the heart-level principles of caring. “Male activities” demanded connection to the head-level principles more associated with the promise of success in male expeditions and projects in the public spheres. Fathering (as required by the father-role of breadwinner or defender of the tribe) required more deliberate thinking, compartmentalized and specialized low-context training, strict and rational use of space and time (monochronic), control or subordination of the more “female passions” like compassion, pity, or mercy, and development of the “male
virtues” of prudence, moderation, or detachment. Some amount of ruthlessness, boldness, and unyielding purpose come and go with the movement of the hunter or warrior male. Mothering is an art more connected with the needs of infants and growing children; it presupposes the more delicate qualities of tenderness, kindness, sensitivity, resignation, understanding, and forgiveness. Thus, it needs or produces different sets of hormones: estrogen, progesterone, prolactin, and oxytocin. Those delicate qualities neither promote characters needed for the male who have come of age for hunting and warfare nor dovetail with characters already riddled by testosterone and adrenaline.

The diminishing practice and incidence of actual hunting in the wild and colonization of peoples around the globe by dominant races and cultures have not removed the brain-imprints of hundred-thousand-years of male-experiences in world explorations and mastery over his rivals or competitors. Testosterone and adrenaline are still the main hormones presupposed by centers where driven males congregate in their pursuit and struggle for stakes. Females may have struggled recognition in the public sphere and, to some extent, may have succeeded in providing competition in some areas. It is, however, a different story when it comes to who rules and dominates the public. The prevailing institutions and other pre-established practices still preserve the place of the male as the master in public.

The language of hunting and warfare still proliferates in today’s corporate world: killing the enemy-competitor, paralyzing the rivals, reinforcing labor forces, reserve-army of labor, arming with new products, barricading resources, defending property rights, deployment of aggressive commercials, alliances, etc. The market leader of the industry phase must be a relentless predator; merciless in competition; exploitative in targeting consumers. Today’s info-productivity market leaders have become more wary of external and internal pressures and controls (against predatory and combative behavior) and thus have become more “civilized,”
scientific, and “politically-correct;” that is, more discriminate, creative, versatile, and cunning in dealing with market forces. Liberalism has managed to insert and convert into knowledge (exploitation, versatility, science) and consensus process (democracy, election, discussion and legal battle), the drives to hunt and kill. Capitalism is really an arena for the more modern and “normal” form of hunting, warfare, and colonization—all replete with laws, ethics, and appropriate “privatized” religious behavior and sacred persons. Although capitalism is an entirely different “war game,” it still calls for the “hot” qualities of males and the more “rational” (not affectional) procedures applicable to hunting and warfare.

The rational, aggressive, adventurous, competitive, and conquering males have found their place in the age of hunting and colonization; such males will also find their niche in today’s capitalist markets. Thus, fathering will be drawn into that niche and, in the process, interlocked in its practices, rules, and beliefs—making impingements part of the market’s trinity of fire, heat, and light (self-interest; capital and labor; liberal-democratic worldview).

D. Interlocking Institutions-Persons

The prevailing strategized systems that have instituted rationalized structures are part (a mere part) of the whole reality that we call our world. The home is (also) part of these systems, inasmuch as it is also the source of skills and the target of strategic marketing impulses; the natural environment is also part of these systems that dominate and exploit it. Fathers (as well as women who share in the ways of the Fathers) cannot deny responsibility for the negative results produced by their fathering and get away with clean conscience through their language of externalities.

One may no longer say that we cannot bear responsibility for the impingements of previous eras. It is true that individuals do not have personal culpability for the original impingements that
produced climate change and the ozone layer hole. It is altogether a different story not to be responsible for the worsening climate situation and the widening of the ozone layer hole. Affluent capitalist nations and even poverty-stricken capitalist-dominated nations have ratified a myriad of practices that continue to aggravate the already degraded environment. By continuing to use CFC’s, eat meat, burn fossilized fuels, and refuse recycling habits, one cannot say that he is not personally responsible for what he knows as being caused (also) by habits. We are already part of the total story of Impingements. Even our reified consciousness is a product of that continuing story.

And we tend to forget that in the midst of the outer-world effects of impingements are the major negative consequences that vitiate the inner-world of humans. Inner-world distress tends to reflect the outer-world *Sturm und Drang*. This is no longer news; but it is, if research would confirm that the outer-world impinges as deep as the individual’s epigenetic information producing modulations in genetic expressions. The storm and stress caused by the ravages of war or famine have been discovered to not only affect the body and psyche of their immediate victims; succeeding

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20 “Toward the end of World War II, a German-imposed food embargo in western Holland – a densely populated area already suffering from scarce food supplies, ruined agricultural lands, and the onset of an unusually harsh winter – led to the death by starvation of some 30,000 people. Detailed birth records collected during that so-called Dutch Hunger Winter have provided scientists with useful data for analyzing the long-term health effects of prenatal exposure to famine. Not only have researchers linked such exposure to a range of developmental and adult disorders, including low birth weight, diabetes, obesity, coronary heart disease, breast and other cancers, but at least one group has also associated exposure with the birth of smaller-than-normal grandchildren.[1] The finding is remarkable because it suggests that a pregnant mother’s diet can affect her health in such a way that not only her children but her grandchildren (and possibly great-grandchildren, etc.) inherit the same health problems.” Manish Bhatia, “Miasms: A New Look Through Epigenetics – I,” *Hpathy Ezine* (December, 2006), http://www.hpathy.com/research/bhatia-miasms-epigenetics.asp (accessed 14 January 2010). See also Hughes LAE, van den Brandt PA, de Bruine AP, Wouters KAD, Hulsman S, et al. “Early Life Exposure to Famine and Colorectal Cancer Risk: A Role for Epigenetic Mechanisms.” PLoS ONE 4(11) (2009): e7951. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0007951, http://www.plosone.org/article/info:doi%2F10.1371%2Fjournal.pone.0007951 (accessed 14 January 2010).
generations have suffered the consequences of being part (remote and “invisible” part) of that storm and stress. The latter generations may not have suffered (yet) from genetic change because of external stress; but, such stress has already brought about changes in the way their DNA codes have behaved. They have inherited their great-grandparents’, grandparents’, and parents’ predilection towards obesity, hypertension, cardiac ailments, and other physical (and psychical) vulnerability even in affluent and “peaceful” times. They are part of the continuous chain of impinged behavior and settings—the switching on-and-off behavior of epigenetic materials (and possibly DNA codes?) and the war-like character of economic and political processes—of other generations to come.21

We may already know how capitalism has impinged on human and non-human realities. We may also know that impingements produce unintended negative effects. But we are still unable to avoid every negative consequence of our exercise of power to predict and control realities. Moreover, we are not always able to predict and control the possible forms that the products of our impingements would take in the future. This is our predicament. We still don’t know the possible impact of GMO’s, cellular phones, and other electronic gadgets on the bodies and psyches of future generations. We still don’t know how the present-day imperfections in fathering in the public sphere would shape identities and social realities of the future.

But we already know how the impingements of the 19th century Industrial years and 20th century Productivity years have affected the bodies and psyches (as well as the behavior of the environment) of later generations. Having been informed about the possible impact of absence of a caring mother and/or father (or the presence of a capitalism-impinged “guardians”) on the sexual behavior of the young is being forewarned about other

possible scourge; being informed is also being hinted about some better ways of dealing with the unintended effects of a market-impinged behavior or a market-knowledge-bound consciousness.

We share the effects of global impingements and feel their impact at home. Many of us are not yet sure about how to sufficiently barricade our homes against further impingements while the intended goods of fathering also bring about unintended ills.

Imperfections in fathering and mothering will always be with us. Efforts towards lessening the scourging impact of shortcomings and avoiding more unintended effects will, however, be our responsibility. Some pre-emptive fathering and mothering will be necessary.

As early as 1881, in the states of Cincinnati, USA, laws against pollution have been promulgated to deal with the unintended negative effects of industrial production. Such laws did not yet cover motor vehicle emissions and human-made fires. Today, it is not only industrial emissions but also animal- and human-body excretions, vehicular exhausts, home wastes, and farm waste decomposition “vapors” are considered to be “responsible” for the many unintended negative effects that we can identify aside from air pollution. However, the 15th Conference of Parties of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change in Copenhagen (2009) has not been very encouraging. There, representatives of the Over-Consuming Countries like the United States, European Union, Japan, and Australia have continued to assert their national interests and have resisted against the demand to curb emissions of heat-trapping fossil-fuel gases. The negative effects of over-consumption on the more vulnerable poorer nations do not seem to alarm the over-consuming rich. They do not seem to realize that over-consumption is a sign of lack of solidarity with the poor and other vulnerable persons. They do not seem to realize that their work schedules (indispensable to overconsumption habits) compromise intimacy with their loved ones; and that their consumption habits bring about or are signs of challenged
minds and identities—minds that may register high IQ’s but low EQ’s (in solidarity and intimacy).

It would be more rational to recognize mothering’s affectional rationality and to drop-out some rationalizing strategies and pragmatic tactics in favor of the more wholesome practices that lessen the distressful impact of the war-like character of capitalist markets.

Stress-management and turmoil-reduction through the market consumables are deceptive and, very often, superficial. Because they are already working against established practices and often-times against unintended effects, individuals must exert greater effort and show much creativity in promoting more peace-promoting and solidarity-producing scenarios and settings where mutual-help, kindness, generosity, and forgiveness may flourish. There, intimacy and sexuality will not just function as tension-reducers.

II. Intimacy and its Concrete Expressions

“Intimacy” is a notion used to point to the different forms of expression of closeness between persons and along emotional forms of communication. Some forms of affectionate expressions are expected from certain relationships within settings. The mother-child, husband-wife, and brother-sister relations are such relationships which are considered as wellsprings of affectionate exchanges. These intimacies may be concretely observed in ordinary gathering like breakfast, lunch, dinner, watching TV, sharing of personal items like shirts or shoes, or sharing of memories about childhood or rites of passage. Intimacies are also exchanged between cousins or friends or lovers. Close interactions between co-workers or colleagues in a workplace could also engender some forms of intimate exchanges. Jokes and even distressing conditions may be reasons to show mutual closeness. A friendly neighbor could lead the people next door to more intimate encounters. Gift-
giving by one may result to mutual exchange of food and other so-called blessings in the future.

At home and in the neighborhood, regular communication between family members or relatives is a common channel for (or channel of) intimate encounters. It is through this that light and informal conversations, non-regimented familiar exchanges, or “useless” chats are expressed. This is usually built around meals, after work/school get-together, celebrations, recreations, bedtime rituals, common house work, or hobbies—promoters of intimacy and solidarity. Such shared moments and activities are also familiar among friends. Even when distance would divide family members or friends, the chain of communication could still continue and become more frequent but no longer through the usual family or friendly face-to-face rituals. This becomes possible through the use of telephones, mobile phones, video-phones, web-cams or information technologies. In such cases, the warmer in-the-flesh shared activities will no longer be possible; what becomes possible somehow compensates for what is lost; but what is lost also took with it what is usually more desirable.

Even when no physical proximity is involved, intimacy may still imply emotional closeness. There are some forms of communications where interpersonal interaction does show a considerable amount of affectionate exchanges. This closeness may, however, imply a previous relationship that is characterized by openness and trust. Such kind of relationship may already presuppose an established bond brought about by familiarity, mutual understanding, support or dependence. This kind of intimacy is commonly observed amongst family members, friends, or between lovers. It presupposes the more intimacy-promoting contexts of households and/or the traditional neighborhood (not to mention the pre-established roles that presuppose “obligatory” closeness). Parents working abroad, like the overseas Filipino workers, usually leave their children in their country of origin. Such parents try very hard to maintain “closeness” through some “long-distance” or virtual
means through which they hope to maintain the intimacy which they have been able to establish in the past. It is a different story when this physical absentee form of intimacy fails to produce the desirable results. We feel the pain etched in the faces and spiked in the voices of children, parents, friends, and couples who are forced to go over repeating the rituals of long-distance or virtual communications, all in the name of work and survival, success, and recognition. Many individuals, however, manage through virtual means to adapt to long-distance relations because of previous stories and processes of durable close-attachments with their loved ones. Others, whose previous experiences in intimacy are not-good-enough may further slide into some forms of psychological troubles like dissociation and neurosis.

Intimacy always presupposes shared moments between people who relate to one another in emotionally closer ways. In intimate moments, expressions of affection are conveyed. A father usually cuddles his child-son until such time that the son feels too grown-up to be squeezed. A mother and daughter would be more expressive with each other’s affection even when the latter has grown older. Friends would share warmer exchanges than non-friends. Nevertheless, ways of expressing friendship in the context of Chinese culture may not really correspond to the symbolic gestures that represent the kinds of friendship familiar to Eskimos or Papuans or Ethiopians. Each culture has its own unique ways of conveying closeness; also unique ways of appreciating it. Even between the classes within a specific locality (e.g., the working class and middle class in a neighborhood), the concrete expressions of intimacy are not identical. In the Philippines, for example, the kiss-or cheek-to-cheek (beso-beso) greeting among women is more commonly practiced by the members of the upper class than the lower class who would normally just exchange pleasantries while touching each other’s hands, or giving “high-fives.” Cultural practices readily provide cues for expressions of intimacy and solidarity. Among the Navajo people, for instance, the “first smile ceremony” brings together families or neighbors as the beneficiary of a baby’s
first voluntary social smile sponsors a feast for the community.\textsuperscript{22} Other pre-established rituals related to birth, age- or status-related passage, sickness, and death necessarily promote expressions or opportunities for expressions of intimacy and solidarity.

More intense closeness is displayed between lovers than between acquaintances or friends. Lovers have special forms of bodily communications not allowed between siblings or parents and their children. For the latter, a lingering kiss, bodily groping, genital stroking, and intercourse are usually taboos. Intimacy could thus refer to the complex forms of emotional or bodily closeness which vary from diverse relationships in different places, cultures, and through time.

Emotional intimacy usually results to a more bodily closeness; or physical closeness may also generate stronger emotional bond. This is especially observable in the interactions between a caring mother and her infant. Even a relationship initially marked by a “negative” passion—anger—may actually turn towards appreciation and unexpected warmth, thus opening up towards intimacy. It is not uncommon though that a bond of friendship may later result into a conflict-ridden relationship leading towards disaffection.

The notion of intimacy would thus allow in a relationship the expression of some so-called negative forms of emotions like resentment, envy, or fear and their integration into the whole complex of “positive” emotions like love, joy, or ecstasy. It is thus possible to say that partners could maintain intimacy even as they express both loving and (some doses of) quarreling behavior. Hence, it is possible to characterize a mother-daughter bond as intimate love-hate relationship.

Intimacy may also be expressed physically. In most instances, this is based on emotional closeness or a pre-existing relationship. Although, in some cases where emotional closeness may not be present, physical intimacy may open up to possible emotional intimacy. For example, two persons who sit side-by-side inside a bus every morning go through an experience where a frequent entry into each other’s personal space is required. This may lead to more emotional closeness and bodily communication.

Physical closeness may involve various forms of touching or embracing. It may also be a sexual intimacy expressed through varying degrees of (1) physical closeness such as holding hands, embracing, kissing, and necking; (2) touching intimate parts such as petting, mutual masturbation, including outercourse like oral sex; or (3) penetration through the anus or the genitals. All of these may entail or result to personal joy or sharing of pleasure and an increase in emotional intimacy. Some African cultures, however, may hinder their women from experiencing the shared joys of sexual intercourse when some bodily seats of pleasure are taken away from them through the practice of genital mutilation or “female” circumcision.

“Human sexuality” is another notion which refers to various aspects of human life specifically connected with or related to the sexual characteristics of males and females. The term would include the physical and intra-psychic development, beliefs, attitudes and behaviors, and socio-cultural representations of gender, typical relationships and sexual activity, mate selection, and reproduction. Thus, written into every form of sexual experience are the ideational, attitudinal, behavioral aspects, which may reflect the expressive personal drives and/or the socio-cultural standards and symbolic representations. The term “sexual intimacy” is thus used to refer to an emotional communication expressed through sexual ways, taken in a very broad context-based sense. Sometimes it may

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be limited to tender caresses or eye contact or exchange of notes, and not necessarily involving genital or sexually-pleasurable sensations. The important factor to consider is the presence of the erotic element in every encounter. The “erotic” points to the presence of eros—desire (very often mutual desire) between “lovers”.

Further, expressions of affection or closeness are informed and circumscribed by socio-cultural traditions or group practice; in this sense, individual taste or preferences bear the influence of institutional and relational structures in a given society. Even political institutions, through public policies and legislations, impinge upon private lives. The laws of some countries—those that decriminalized homosexual acts, sanctioned same-sex marriages, allowed free dissemination of artificial contraceptives, or democratized divorce and abortion—have not failed to educate people on their personal sexual preferences.

Kissing between lovers in public may be acceptable in most modern cities of the West; but still, is a taboo in many Muslim countries.24 Although a gesture of welcome through lips-kissing between adult males may be an ordinary sight in some Arab cultures, or the practice of holding hands among Iranian males typical, these may still be interpreted as undesirable homosexual behaviors in other places. Butt-pinching/fondling, a playful gesture of greeting or recognition, among Filipino working-class males and the between-the-legs stroking among their female counterpart, is more common than we realize.

In the movie The Story of Us, the marriage counselor tells the couple that there are six, and not two, people present in bed in every act of sexual intercourse—the other four would be the couple’s parents. It could be said that a whole world is present (implicitly) in every act of copulation. The standards of masculinity

and femininity, the sanctioned conjugal partners, the acceptable coital positions, the more civilized ways of moaning and groaning, the proper time and place for intercourse, etc.—all of these bring a whole culture and people “meddling” in the very “private” act of sexual union. Actually, such a culture and host of relations are now embedded in the couple’s implicit memories and bodies, and in their whole ensemble of attitudes and behavior. “Sexual culture” may thus be considered as memorized by our body.

Other forms of intimacy may be present among members of a culture where sharing of property or resources is involved. However, such forms may not exhibit the quality of emotional closeness shared between friends, lovers or nuclearized family members in modern/late-modern cultures. Even associates in business may also share some intimate moments together; but, this already presuppose a certain bond closer to friendship than to business partnership.

It would seem presumptuous to come up with a definitive meaning of sexual intimacy that applies to every configuration of personal and collective sexual attitude and behavior within the worlds of capitalism/advanced-capitalism (late-stage capitalism). This would presuppose the possibility of harvesting information from every individual story or socio-cultural practice that seemingly flows endlessly towards less-predictable directions.

This study gives more interest in characterizing intimacy in the context of liberalism and capitalism; or, if one may look at it differently, it gives more interest in liberal-capitalism’s effects on solidarity and, thus, on intimacy. It presupposes intimacy’s reference to or basis in non-sexual forms and other close relationships such as those between parents and children as well as those among siblings, friends, or close relatives as they all happen to live, work, buy and consume products in liberal-capitalist societies.

In other words, an individual’s positive experiences of primary and non-sexual emotional closeness or negative/ambivalent experiences of detachment and alienation serve as substratum of other forms of intimacy or lack of intimacy. Sexual intimacy is a specific form of intimacy that finds grounding in those experiences. Sexual intimacy assumes an individual’s experiences on any stage of life and in every sphere of interaction.

Family background, childhood upbringing, community bonds, education, religion, gender-specific rules, social roles, laws, cultural symbols, public spaces, work, consumption habits, physiological capacity, neurological circuitry, and the body’s hormonal levels are all factors which shape one’s habits and character; including one’s self-expression through sex. The subject’s sexual behavior, therefore, specially depends on one’s character as one is marked by bio-psychological and socio-cultural determinants.

Character and habits are vigorously marked by the objective reality of social systems and structures like the liberal-capitalist system and its structures, where systemic-structural levels of involvements are open to persons. It is thus possible to speak of a liberal-capitalist-oriented subject whose bodily expressions incorporate (embody) the standards or limits set by liberal-capitalism. Thus, a subject’s attitudes and behavior also emits liberal-capitalist signs as the former serves the latter’s embodiment.

Nevertheless, subjects in liberal-capitalist contexts and in areas where liberal-capitalism is dominant cannot be simply characterized as totally determined by the objective traditional socio-cultural and modern/post-modern norms and collective relations. Many are in fact more self-affirmed by their belief in their individual uniqueness and their mobility within their chosen fields and spaces. They feel their dynamic personalities even as they are distracted and driven by their personal passions and not necessarily by systems economic, political or religious in character. In the West (Western Europe, United Kingdom, Unites States, Canada, Australia), it is no longer possible to speak of a mass of people that
is driven by homogeneous objective standards of behavior. Such homogeneous, mainly traditional, standards, if they “survive even today, are in a partial and, as it were, exploded state, in our cognitive structures and social structures.”

In other words, individuals cannot be totally railroaded by either traditions or liberal-capitalist directions. Even if individuals are indeed at the mercy of an objective reality, this reality cannot just be characterized as homogenous and simple. Aside from being characterized as complex and in constant flux, it may still be complicated by the rivalry or competition among various forces.

Capitalism itself has been restructured throughout its histories; never been the same since its vigorous runs during the Industrial and Productivity Revolutions. Today, capitalism thrives in many forms as it also finds reception among non-western cultures or even among socialist regimes like China and Vietnam. The objective face of capitalism somehow resists analysis. Its subjects are not that easy to categorize. What we know are the searing effects of the male-instituted means-end reasoning and axiomatic profit-making administration to human relations and closeness.

Before the Industrial Revolution or before urbanizations, it is perhaps less difficult for authorities in European centers of morality (or their cohorts in colonial Africa or Asia) to categorize expressions of sexual intimacies. It is still possible to identify individuals who are supposed to belong to a larger group that (a) moves within a territory, or culture, (b) thinks in terms of a common, shared, sometimes imposed, thought systems, and (c) behaves, more or less, uniformly. They are thus predictable because of unquestioned established social norms and effective external

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controls. Subjects then are relatively easier to be subjected towards conformity.

After a series of group-dismantling, tradition-breaking, and social-bonds disrupting developments (including World Wars I and II, co-ed schools, paid work, careers, urban consumer markets, migrations, global financing and information processing centers, the internet and information technology, etc.), familiar relationships have been drastically affected; emotional closeness and intimate behaviors have suffered the consequences of, for example, full-time work, efficiency standards, and the urban crowd; sexual expressions eventually went along the unconventional. That is, more dynamic, customized, multiple, and even wobbly contours and rhythms of individual choices as well as flows of behavior come about. They have become more and more removed from a fixed model or a future expectation based on a long-standing tradition. It would not be difficult to imagine certain differences between the expressions of intimacies that emerge from within the undisrupted traditional environments and from those environments affected by the demands of modern living which usually upset very important social bonds and, thus, agitate persons and their taken-for-granted “virtues.”

However, it is still possible to identify more constant elements and correlates of individual eccentric or not-eccentric attitudes and behavior. Within capitalism, some elements adhere to indispensable requirements inherent to business or profit-making ventures. Such elements are found in broad fields of various pursuits and struggles. As identifiable properties, these elements could provide possible leads for tracking down patterns of individual or group movements and directions.

Within the broad fields are markers which label individuals (employers, employees, managers, human resources, consumers), directions that tell them where they belong (production line, administration building, common space, private space), menus that list what to order and expect (buy-one-take-one, à la carte, fast
food, promo), rules that tell them how to behave (be professional, be punctual, no loitering, for employees only), and controls that set the boundaries of behavior (collective bargaining agreement, job descriptions, labor code, office hour). The individuals are thus expected to be developed or transformed into humans who will be, at least, “as acceptable as possible,” even as this would result to transformations of intimacy and solidarities. For the many, this is the way to become human.

It is thus against the various fields within capitalism that we may initially observe the characteristics and predicaments of intimacy and solidarity. A subsequent procedure is to look at them against the liberal and secular worldviews engendered by and supportive of capitalism (see Chapter Two).

III. Solidarities and Reconfigurations

Intimacies expressed through family ties, neighborhood mutual help, friendship, and extended family support systems are better grasped if viewed against the wider social background defined by industry and commerce. Industry and commerce, especially in the city, have dictated how people should conduct themselves in their everyday life. Business, employment, and trade gave shape to conditions that affect the choices and decisions of people; interactions tended to focus on what are considered by the market as requirements or necessary—forming humans who are disposed to the requirements of production and commerce. Relationships in various dimensions have thus carried the mark of work and commerce and waged work- and commerce-disposed people. One human dimension that suffers from impingements is that of intimacy, expressed either sexually or non-sexually.

Industry and commerce have their requirements. People need to abide by them; follow them. These requirements, like waged-work and buy-and-sell transactions, are first-order norms which all people in market economies cannot avoid. Nobody has legislated
positive laws to define exactly the face of industry and commerce as the acceptable state of economic affairs; these evolved through time and through those requirements which have become obligatory or quasi-obligatory for societies which further produced morals and laws (second-order norms) for its maintenance, preservation, and expansion. Previous to explicit morals and laws, the implicit requirements and dynamics of industry and commerce have become norms which people have to “obey” eventually.

Indeed, in order to live in the city, people have to negotiate through the ways that define life in the city. People must work and must have money in order to live like the “human being” that many of us would picture as normal. This is not to say that human life in the countryside does not involve work or the buying of necessities. The kind of work that we have in the city or in a business establishment is 8-5 or 9-6 work [some firms are able to adjust their schedules to 12hrs/day x 4 days or 13hrs/day x 3 days]; and this work is paid strictly according to contract; and it must conform to the rules of business. Farming or fishing in the countryside, in general, does not require strict conformity to written rationalized rules or rules narrowed-down to the bottom-line of business or bureaucratic politics. Instead they conform to so many unwritten or implicit Lebenswelt norms. Farm work or traditional agricultural lifestyle has given shape to some forms of solidarities and these are sensitive to the many implicit rules of traditional culture. In some parts of Batanes, where the Lebenswelt is surely not yet colonized by the market system, one could still

28 For Alfred Schutz, Lebenswelt or lifeworld is “‘the world of lived experience,’ which is made up of the life experiences of other people and how they impact upon us as individuals. The Lebenswelt consists of physical and social objects which are experienced by us as already existing and already organized. We assume that the Lebenswelt was there before we were born; we take it for granted and suspend doubt that things might be otherwise.” Shaun Best, A Beginners Guide to Social Theory (London: SAGE Publications, 2003), p. 117. “The lifeworld is the phenomenological terrain of sedimented tradition, shared contexts, knowledge and competencies—a complexity on which every communicative act depends.” Martin Morris, “Jürgen Habermas,” in Jon Simons, ed., Contemporary Critical Theorists: From Lacan to Said (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), p. 238.
find some stores unattended where buyers just get the stuff they want and may drop their payment into a designated box.²⁹

Work in the city is generally defined by the explicit rules imposed by the workplace as well as by the implicit rules of trade and commerce. In their everyday life, people cannot but be affected by such rules that they have made for themselves. To live like “the rest of humanity,” everyone must imbibe such rules. This would ensure their continued employment and subsistence, as well as the continued operations of business and commercial transactions of people. Even traditional-minded people exposed to the more traditional forms of life at home and their neighborhood will have to conform to the non-traditional rules of modern work. People could thus be exposed to various forms or levels of implicit contexts—the traditional and non-traditional or mixed environments.

Everyone must have to prepare and train for the kind of life framed by industry and commercial activities. Through schooling, people will further learn how to behave and conduct their lives. People will eventually believe that in order to succeed in life, they have to be prepared for the way to success, that is, through education or acquisition of skills for eventual employment. Thus, everyone must go to school for their eventual entry into work. When they get their jobs their wages will pay for their needs which, of course, will require money as medium of exchange.

People will, however, realize that once they get into work, get paid, buy goods and services, and pay for their bills, they will feel more pressured in facing other concerns like relationship with their spouses, children, relatives, neighbors, and friends. They will still have to worry about meeting the demands of such relations as well as the demands of their culture or their traditions. While being pressured by the demands of the workplace, they also have to

attend to their loved ones and to supposedly warm neighborly relations.

The problem with meeting the requirements of work or employment is that it gets tangled with meeting the requirements of many important relationships. Most of us who would not be able to meet the requirements of relationships must choose work in rationalized setups and thus eventually sacrifice relational bonding; more important values or heart-level principles (or affectional principles) could be sacrificed in favor of necessity or first-order norms which already bear different principles that strategize behavior. Moreover, the more feminine or womanly tendencies to establish bonds (cf. Gurian or Gilligan)\textsuperscript{30} will suffer from exclusion or subordination under the strict rules of rationalized business goals; thereby making the market society unfriendly to imperatives of intimacy. One by one, important bonds will be gradually dropped out in favor of waged or rationalized work: bonds with the neighbors, with the extended family, with relatives, with parents, with siblings, with former friends, with spouse, with children, and finally with oneself or even with God; consequently, generating impingements.

Thus, it is against the background of the collapse of traditional solidarities brought about by the imperatives of a male-configured industry and commerce that the issue of intimacy may be also examined. Impingements suffered by intimacy and solidarity may be understood here as brought about by preference for rational (pragmatic) principles to manage a context more appropriately handled by or imbued with affectional principles. In other words, to better understand the topic of intimacy, it is also important to examine the social conditions that affected the social bonds that previous generations have developed for themselves.

This process of examining at intimacy and the collapse of previous solidarities will also involve looking into some of the ways people have created to compensate for the loss of their previous bonds. In fact, we witness the creation of some forms of association (newer forms of solidarities) that serve to compensate for the loss of former ways of relating with one another. Unions have been formed in factories and offices, more formal associations organized by neighbors, welfare organizations established by the state, churches, businesses, and civil society. But we may ask, are all of these associations and their intended purpose to create favorable conditions for life able to establish the conditions for intimacy and for human-flourishing forms of solidarity?

The answer may be both yes and no. Some are better able to establish the conditions; others could only bring out so much. The rest are so specialized and thus limited in their promotion of conditions for life’s flourishing around the many areas of life: family life, neighborhood relations, friendship, sexual intimacy, fulfillment in work or career, and personal integration. Failure to meet the needs of people along these areas means trouble. Problems like teenage pregnancy, separations, loneliness, depression, neurosis, schizophrenia, diseases, to mention a few, are now better understood as related to issues of lack of intimacy and solidarity—not just related to anomie or failure in social integration.31 Even our approaches to solving our problems, like dealing with failures or sickness or death, are also defined by the way we conduct our life around work and spending which have subordinated much of our traditions to extrinsic, pragmatic and utilitarian values.

We shall look into the intertwined relationships between intimacy, solidarity, work, and other forms of associations that we have created for ourselves. In doing so, we might be able to understand better our problems. It is even my hope that we could iden-

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tify some other ways to cope with the loss of the many things we have sacrificed because of liberal-capitalist work.

IV. Capitalist Worlds

Some elements like private property, self-interested profit-making, and division of labor/waged-labor, appear as constants of capitalism. This does not mean that there is a monolithic capitalist form. These elements will take peculiar characteristics when grafted into or framed by specific socio-cultural beliefs, rituals, organizations, and other traditional practices. The so-called “self-interested profit-making” practiced in the hinterlands of Mindanao could take a more familial, traditional, and neighborly character compared to those businesses set up in urbanized liberal settings like New York or London. Thus, in a more neighborly and traditional communitarian setting, business managerial practices will also adjust to traditions like utang (credit or a debt without interest; no collateral or a post-dated cheque as guarantee for payment) or dagdag (a gratis measure added to what is actually bought) or tawad (bargain). While in a more formal liberal context, more capitalist businesses will take the logic of a means-end rationality punched into cash registers or etched in price tags; prices are fixed, debts are guaranteed by collateral, and items being sold are disposed according to strict pricing, accounting, and other formal procedures in business. The brand of capitalism rooted in or propagated by liberal settings identified with the more advanced or affluent societies of the so-called West usually develop into what is termed as liberal-capitalism (see below, Chapter Two, section III.A).

The “essence” of capitalism is in the recurring practices of capitalists who play around the elements of businesses which they own. Thus, the Indonesian capitalists, Nigerian capitalists, Peruvian capitalists, or Kiribati capitalists, will exhibit in their businesses the proper and efficient handling of the following indispensable elements: (a) private property (including symbolic capital like education and skills); (b) self-interest (such as that pursuit of profit,
honor, prestige, distinction); and, (c) the employment of their labor and the labor of others. There is an essentialist character to this description because capitalists tend to stick to what they consider as essential to their practice. In those three aforementioned basic elements, only acceptable combinations are actually allowed. The formula for such acceptable combinations must respect self-interest’s dictate over the use of capital and labor. If an “alien” category like sympathy, compassion, or eccentric desire is combined, the pre-defined set of combination automatically subordinates it or marks it as extrinsic or utilizes it for a marketing accommodation. Without the necessary requirements like collateral and capacity to pay, a mother/bank manager could not lend money to a fellow mother whose child is dying. The lady manager’s sympathy (which may not be absent) is not an element to efficiently run the bank. This illustrates the essence of constant and prohibitive combinations within capitalism. The chain of combinations has to constantly affirm a behavior towards self-interest; otherwise, there will be a disturbance in the capitalist order of things. (Note that the Communist Party’s interest in China’s capitalism also revolves around the self-interests of investors and workers whose rights to invest and appropriate income are centrally controlled.)

Capitalist practices follow some indispensable requirements which are reproduced across lands. These requirements, which may be reflected through a capital’s local representations, consti-

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32 Representation is a notion which refers to a depiction or the making present of one (which may be an image, idea, material reproduction, performance and simulation) by another. Something’s or someone’s presence is mediated by another thing or another person without which or whom the former may not be given presence in another realm (in the mind or in media). In this sense, anyone, anything, any idea or any action may depict or make present, faithfully or with distortion, another one, another thing, another idea or another action. A thing like the Apple iPad or a Manolo Blahnik pair of shoes, for example, may not only be a commodity with a monetary value for the capitalist but also a communicator of other meanings for it suggests and depicts a certain distinctive value identical to affluence, elegance, luxury while its possessors can be re-presented too as among the “chic” or “cool”.

The distinction made by Gayatri Spivak is relevant to the present study: “Gayatri
stitute the mainstay structural elements of capitalist processes. Such processes may also take a range of characteristics in various countries. But, no matter how the centralized system in China operates, or a specific socio-economic indicator like Bhutan’s Gross National Health works, or businesses of Chinese families in Binondo, Manila function, a mainstay structure may be easily identified; thus, constituting and preserving the capitalist character of different business enterprises scattered all over the world.

This is not to resurrect the discussion around surface/core, accidents/essence, form/matter, or body/soul distinctions. What is retrieved in these discussions around a capitalist focal point is a conceptual tool which could identify or tag elements that are constantly present among multiple cultural expressions. It is true that this study may be challenged to abandon attempts to identify cores when only the onion’s layers of skins would show. *This challenge is formidable but it could not prevent us from identifying the core with the constancy of skin layers.* In other words, externals may also serve to show what is intrinsically regular.

What seems to be more problematic is the subject’s side of reality where previous behavioral models, patterns of practices, ________________

Chakravorty Spivak makes a distinction between *Vertretung* and *Darstellung*. The former she defines as “stepping in someone’s place...to tread in someone’s shoes.” Representation in this sense is “political representation,” or a speaking for the needs and desires of somebody or something. *Darstellung* is representation as re-presentation, “placing there.” Representing is thus “proxy and portrait,” according to Spivak. The complicity between “speaking for” and “portraying” must be kept in mind (“Practical Politics of the Open End,” The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues.) Elsewhere, Spivak addresses the problem of “speaking in the name of”: “It is not a solution, the idea of the disenfranchised speaking for themselves, or the radical critics speaking for them; this question of representation, self-representation, representing others, is a problem.” Spivak recommends “persistent critique” to guard against “constructing the Other simply as an object of knowledge, leaving out the real Others because of the ones who are getting access into public places due to these waves of benevolence and so on” (“Questions of Multi-Culturalism” The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues) (http://www.english.emory.edu/Bahri/Representation.html [accessed May 8, 2006]). See Dani Cavallaro, *Critical and Cultural Theory* (London/New Brunswick, NJ: The Athlone Press, 2001), pp. 38ff.; Jean Baudrillard, *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign*, trans. Charles Levin (St. Louis: Telos, c1970, 1981).
values and beliefs are channeled and filtered through millions of personalized desires or preferences. A young urban professional, a married male politician, a conservative housewife, a rock-and-roll singer, a university professor, a rank-and-file worker—all of them, and others, could make expectations about understanding sexuality baffling. The moment one gets a glimpse of the subjects’ expressions of intimacies, other forms would shape up; probably representing some previous patterns but almost always introducing new twists. Some are moral, others are merely tactful or proper, and the rest are multiple; not that easy to classify. Factors on the side of the subject are not merely elusive; but, they really defy generalizations. One could observe how sexual attitudes and behaviors have moved towards personalized/customized and less predictable forms in capitalism-pervaded places like the United States, The Netherlands, the Scandinavian countries, England, France, and Germany. However, such shifting forms seem to prevent a potentially fruitful theorizing or ways of organizing experiences and predicting behavior.

These seem to block the way towards a more enduring explanation: the constancy of change, the dynamism, as well as the openness and flow of persons taking charge of identity and goals. For example, the case of a woman like Samantha is not easy to make moral sense.

Samantha was abandoned by David, her husband, for a younger and more beautiful partner. He left her with their adolescent son and a credit card, but with no waged-work/job to give her a greater sense of security and independence. Weeks later, her husband filed for a divorce. Samantha became more depressed; for days she could not concentrate on any routine. She went on a shopping spree and a daily ritual of self-pity and weeping. Because of that, her husband converted the credit card into a debit card. All this time, Samantha had no one on her side to accompany and really support her. One day, she went on a date with a guy. After dinner, they were in bed and were supposed to have sex but Sa-
Samantha was resisting because of the unfamiliar bed manners of the man. Weeks passed and Samantha was still wallowing in her loneliness and depression. One day, she met a guy (King) who breathed gentleness, kindness, and thoughtfulness. But Samantha continued feeling depressed; nursing her wounded self and tried, one night, to masturbate. She was not successful in this attempt to gain pleasure or relief and she even felt more unhappy. King was so helpful in providing her some diversion: walking dogs, eating out, watching movies, and chatting over coffee or dinner. Nine weeks passed and Samantha found out she is pregnant—her husband’s. She felt more miserable; cried and cried and cried. She made an appointment with a doctor for an abortion. On the appointed day, she passed on the fetus into the toilet bowl. She didn’t have to go to the clinic anymore. After a few days, King was in her place to keep her company; took care of her—prepared her dinner, breakfast, put her son to bed, took care of other little chores. One night, they discovered their mutual attraction and need for each other; they made love. They found out that they could, in fact, be happier if they were together. Samantha’s husband came later to confess his mistakes and told her that he wanted to go back to her and start life all over again. Samantha chose King, instead.  

Samantha’s story is not just something about her or her husband’s intentions. It is also about the effect of the world that has given shape to “individualistic” lifestyles and environments that put premium on freedom, rights, autonomy and the unceasing urge towards success/progress. To make judgment about the morality or appropriateness of her behavior (masturbation, “abortion,” sexual intercourse with another man) would have to take into account her life story and her environment. Thus, reflections on behavior may have to bear in mind the nature of choice and action as “coordinated entities” which embody various “unintended”

elements and not only present bodily activities or performances that are connected to intentional contents. This way, choices and action may no longer be excessively viewed as stuffs for repair or rehabilitation but offered some opening directed towards alternative or better-life scenarios—conditions of possibility for a better life; conditions that enable desire for a flourishing life to be fulfilled; new backgrounds that form liberating dispositions, that liberate abilities, virtues, and enhance or extend further creative capacities. Such social (and cultural) conditions entail some demands for social engagement in the promotion and creation of whole intimacy and solidarity situations/scenarios and not simply to arrive at a certain verdict on acts. We are somehow being challenged to be in solidarity with Samantha; to help her restore order and bring back meaning to her life. The wait-and-see approach (“gradualist” approach in ethics) could also help us judge whether her choices would indeed pass as good; where we could validate those choices with the “fruits” they produce.\textsuperscript{34} The ethical systems that are already “finished” in our minds are unlike the quest embraced by people like Samantha who must walk through life meant to be a journey itself; ideally, an ethical journey.

Nevertheless, to be a subject in today’s world is to suffer impingements because of the pervasive presence and effects of a constantly evolving liberal-capitalism. This is not to say that the subject is no longer impinged by issues of race, ethnicity, gender, and age which are not necessarily totally vanquished by tradition or world systems. It so happens that liberal-capitalism tends to subordinate and eventually colonize other spheres of life, to destroy some established social bonds, and to adversely affect that very private sphere of sexual intimacy.

The notion of subjection of individuals to institutional and relational structures will be further illuminated by the following

discussion. This is useful for a better grasp of what it means to be impinged by liberal-capitalism.

V. **Society and Culture—Matrix and Schema for Personal Integration and Configuration**

Human beings could not have been born into a world of their choice. This is a determination that all natural beings cannot avoid. In one's world, kinship, biological paternity and maternity are beyond an offspring’s personal choice. The institutions and patterned relationships are simply there before choices. They have all been established before the subject has developed into a living organism or a cultural and social being. Individuals, however, may choose from whatever is possible from the feasible sets provided by their worlds. In such worlds, humans involve themselves with their fellows and in a lot of things; from these, humans would acquire character and their “second-nature.”

People regard their cultural and social standards as guiding and leading them towards the good. They teach children to think and do the same—making possible the imprinting of the myriad cultural and social schemata in their implicit memories which serve to trigger cues for feeling, thinking, and acting. When children adapt themselves to these standards it is more likely that they are following tested paths; paths confirmed by their ancestors as their sure ways towards flourishing of life. When they adopt or adapt to a particular pattern of behavior pre-judged as good by society, they have freed themselves from the more meticulous process of examining whether this pattern of behavior is good or not. It is the tendency of individuals to follow and adopt ways that were already

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35 Lyotard refers to the “first-nature humanity” as the indeterminate status of childhood or its residues, and could be branded as “inhuman” by the “second-nature humanity” which refers to the institution-mediated status of adult humanity; but, this “second-nature humanity” is also referred to as the “inhuman” that colonizes and dehumanizes the first-nature humanity. See Jean-François Lyotard, *The Inhuman: Reflections on Time*, trans. Geoffrey Bennington and Rachel Bowlby (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), pp. 1-7.
there before they were born. These enduring ways have survived and will survive even after individuals die.

Wang Lung and O-lan are characters who only knew the possibilities which their traditional Chinese world could offer and inform them. Kunta Kinte, before he fell victim to slave traders, could only think of security in the familiar age-old traditions of the Mandinka tribe. The pursuits and triumphs of Okonkwo have also been clearly cut out for him by the traditional Igbo culture of Nigeria. Conflicts and struggles are also overlaid by the traditions that enable individuals to maneuver for their shares of what they think the world offers to people. Mahasweta Devi has illustrated this in her stories about tribal societies in West Bengal. She tells about a hunting tribe who would “come out of the forest, go to the village market, place honey, leaves, roots, flowers, and silently take away whatever they need: rice, oil, spices.” They have no concept of money, but the mainstream culture has; they are branded as thieves (“inhuman”?) by the dominant culture’s imposition of commercial rules. The absence of common axis or lines of relationship (kinship, shared worldview, sympathy, etc.) precludes a more promising bond of solidarity between the tribal and mainstream societies.

The truth is that subjects, without their knowledge or consent, are helplessly thrown into the lap of their parents; and consequently into their environment and their world that is full of “things out there” which are considered necessary in the formation of ways of looking, feeling, thinking, acting, or appreciating. Such “things” include knowledge, beliefs, values, speech, language, images, social roles, models of behavior, patterned practices or

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40 Ibid., p. xiii.
rituals. An American born in China could not avoid learning Chinese or using chopsticks; a Filipino born in the Bicol region will most likely become fond of chili peppers and coconut milk; an Ilokano would not dislike eating the edible beetle. These are not conscious choices but largely unconscious habits, acquired through the usual socio-cultural processes that surround and shape individuals.

The subjects’ parents’ or elders’ world is where they find things that amaze, threaten, surprise, attract, challenge, frustrate, enliven, or stir desires. Passing through various stages of identity development, subjects eventually form part of that world and its effects on consciousness. Subjects unconsciously and sometimes consciously apprehend it and make it their own world; even at the expense of losing touch with their individual indeterminate drives. In some cultures, for example, individuals follow their elders’ choice of marriage partners. Some cultures even prescribe how people should smile or laugh or chew their food or spit their saliva or wipe their face or express satisfaction and dissatisfaction.

It is into the elders’ world where subjects integrate themselves with the rest of other beings; more or less. Infants, therefore, could only follow the procedures which culture-defined idea of maturity or humanity has prescribed for them. Some cultures define maturity as being more embedded into one’s tribe; others would define it as greater individual differentiation or autonomy. One has to be initiated into every practice that the culture has deemed acceptable in the areas of eating, defecating, and even reproducing. In the realm of sex, the post-partum taboo and the ius primae noctis or later droit du seigneur used to be norms in some simple societies. \(^{41}\) Individuals had to conform to such things.

There are many “things” in the outside world that impact on subjects. From different levels of apprehension or experience,

subjects are overwhelmed by their density. Still, depending on one’s vulnerability and resistance, such “things” eventually spell out the language with which identity can be described.

The “things” of the objective world are comprehended as facts; and as facts, they are important to subjects. But before subjects recognize “things” as palpable “something,” such “things” have already acted upon them. Being exposed to “things” is being exposed to their effects on subjects. One cannot think of being proactive without being “pro-acted” upon by other things.

First, because of the position of things relative to that of subjects, the latter have conditioned themselves to a certain way of looking. For instance, it is not difficult to see why most people look at the sky (or the symbolic world) as something “up there.” This is because subjects are standing on a ground that is “lower” than the sky. However, if people look at their place and the sky’s position against the background of the whole space called “universe,” then the sky as “up there” and our ground as “below” are no longer determinate spaces. From the multiple indeterminate points in the universe, any place can either be “up there” or “below.”

Second, being in this world means also reproducing the patterns set by culture. Cultural patterns are there “outside us;” but eventually, also forming “inside us.” This process of internalization may be less complicated in the context of simple indigenous tribes of Philippine hinterlands or small barrios dependent on simple farming or fishing; but, not as smooth in more complex urbanized settings where so many cases of “explosive” personalities, multiple identities, or unintegrated individuals appear. The still intact conventional road to internalization of those socio-cultural elements “outside us” is the reason why it is so easy for most individuals living in traditional contexts to experience the congruence between their ways of feeling, thinking, and acting on one hand, with the expectations set before them by a still solid socially-transmitted
culture on the other hand. This does not mean, however, that
culture is monolithic or that personal attitudes or behavior eternally constant. Neither is the process of internalization that simple;
especially when the process of individualization takes place within complex settings.

Third, cultural patterns handed down by previous generations can still be considered “treasure” by the many. These are the things
that form an identified heritage—a living repository of what are considered as necessary, valuable, indispensable, or meaningful. They confer/impose important collective traits/behaviors or marks that make or show subjects who they are or who should they be. Many times, these common behavioral traits or customs are forced on subjects like obligations (i.e., quasi-obligatory). Social expectations make a powerful pressure on every subject who is often caught in conformity or forced into submission albeit subconsciously. Social pressure is powerful because they are co-terminous with necessary relationships. They, more or less, lose their power when subjects acquire more external and internal space, thereby, gaining more autonomy, allowing them to become more critical to conventions; saying goodbye to previous dependencies. Some successful women from Africa, like the supermodels Iman and Waris Dirie, have been campaigning against the customary practice of genital mutilation; career women in Shanghai, Dongguan, and Chengdu have more power than their counterparts of ancient China against the traditional practice of husbands keeping concubines. Mahasweta Devi and Vandana Shiva have en-

42 In a communication process, the shared physical world as well as the internalized information or world-aspects of culture bring about better understanding among conversation partners. They are said to be in a high-context communication. There is not much need to verbalize through explicit codes what are already embedded in their worlds. On the other hand, two conversation partners who do not share contexts may have to be more explicit with their transmitted codes to bring about greater understanding. The latter are said to be in a low-context communication. See Edward T. Hall, Beyond Culture (New York: Anchor Books, 1977), p. 91.

joyed some prestige and power amidst India’s patriarchal and discriminatory customs (versus women and tribals) because of their education and middle class positions.44

Men and women of every culture cannot avoid being surrounded (or colonized) by the culture into which they are thrown; a culture which is more or less alive with their surviving culture bearers. Even if personal choice is involved, the determining aspects of a living tradition, no matter how weak, will still frame every decision. Thus, some intentions and decisions that are made in connection with economic production or commercial exchange will also be colored by the more generalized influence of culture.

Culture becomes especially more prominent when interactions framed within a local setting are informed by shared beliefs, rituals, and traditional forms of organization. In simple or tribal societies, the congruence between economic production/exchange and the age-old cultural traditions may still be operative. Thus, the strictly rationalized calculated transactions common to urban capitalist settings (cf. fixed prices or quid pro quo transactions) may seem strange to the indigenous Mandaya tribe of Southern Philippines whose shared idea of reciprocity or mutual-help informs their practices of exchange. For a Mandaya, it is not a problem that their culture will give a local twist to some capitalist practices. What turns out to be more problematic is when capitalist interests and means-end rationalization subordinate or suppress a Mandaya’s expectations of mutual help or solidarity. Some small-scale commercial transactions may, however, fit into the more traditional/cultural trading patterns which may begin with the seller’s assessment of the buyer’s capacity to pay and may pass through the haggling stage, and may end with either withdrawal of the buyer or completion of a deal. Hidden in the seller’s assessment of a buyer’s modest capacity is the appropriate price adjustment based on fellow-feeling and not strictly based on business.

This regard for the other’s lowly status is generously allowed by tradition; fixed-price scheme will only allow it in the presence of an explicit rational justification.

Culture does figure out in the fields of capitalism. Where different personalities struggle for places and positions, cultural elements may still be identified. These elements, as cultural capital, are either invested or pursued by capitalists who seek for honor, prestige, and recognition as well as by workers/employees who search for the meaning of personal dignity and sense of self-possession (power).

When a complex system of market-economic practices and their organizing rules puts pressure on a whole society, it subordinates or limits generalized elements of previous living traditions which used to function in consolidating and enlivening a people; their manifold rituals and practices included (cf. healing rituals performed by native healers who are branded as “quacks”). In urbanized capitalist settings which are, in general, more secularized than many traditional settings, the people’s attitudes and behavior will not be predominantly marked by the traditions of simple societies. Instead, they are influenced by the processes of liberal-capitalism which consistently revolve around the structures of private ownership, profit-making, and remunerated work. Thus the customary sharing of food among neighbors in rural areas could not be practiced by owners of restaurants or fast food outlets where cash is always required. Some people, however, may share their resources with their friends while they are in those cash-demanding fields.

Of multitudes, capitalistic market-economic structures have configured everyday life and have transformed societies as centers of production, commerce, and spending/consumption. It is not altogether an anomalous claim to speak of a “capitalist culture” which has gained some ascendancy and regularity, learned and shared by peoples as workers and consumers, handed down from one generation to the next generation, and quasi-obligatory to
everyone who is integrated into the system. It is in this pervasive sense that the dominant male-instituted capitalist culture penetrates every personal process or project of integration; especially as more and more persons and fields are shaped by the requirements of capitalist work and market exchange (and consequently reproduce a capitalist culture). This will happen when a uni-dimensional market-economic system subordinates or colonizes complex lifeworlds; and, in the process, attains preeminence over the broader and more integrative cultural systems. Transformed according to the efficiency-expectations of utilitarian or means-end reasoning, the physical world will showcase fields which exponentially multiply instrumental or quid pro quo relations. The use and exertion of knowledge and information to normalize relations also characterize present-day social processes. Political power nowadays is said to be characterized by its use of knowledge/power. Legislations that serve to create some “desirable” dispositions in citizens would follow the paths established by power/knowledge.45

A senior citizen who is visibly suffering from a debilitating illness has handed a doctor’s prescription to one of the store attendants in one of the Mercury Drug Store outlets in Marikina City. The store attendant informs the senior buyer that the latter could not avail himself of the senior-citizens’ discount since the prescription note did not bear the name of the patient. The poor man explodes with expletives against the strict application of the formal requirements of commerce and the law. With his trembling body and his contorted face revealing pain, he holds on to the shoulders of the other buyers, walks away slowly and leaves the store, extremely disappointed and furious over the subordination of the more ancient value of fellowship under the drug-store’s concrete impingements when it follows the formal requirements of commerce founded on modernity’s “up-to-date” laws or science.

So far, most encounters in the field are also supported by predispositions toward everyday civil formality, token greetings, perfunctory gestures, inattention, and personal shielding or defense of rights which nevertheless seeks control of the many aspects of our common world. There is no assurance that automatic help will flow from among the bystanders.

Even the private aspects of people’s lives like intimacy and sexual orientation are framed by culture or a capitalist “culture.” Culture, no matter how complex it becomes, is always that “web” (or complex of webs), or “canopy,” or “cage,” or “conscience,” or “resource,” configuring, to a great degree, every thought one produces, every affect one invests, or every decision one makes. This also takes for granted the complexity and variety of forms of socio-cultural determinations.

The expressions of intimacy, as well as solidarity, have been transformed in the midst of capitalist operations and imperatives that are observed to have affected human relationships and people's relationship with nature in some periods and places in history. In the following pages I will show how persons are formed as they negotiate through existing structures. The fundamental relationship between subjects and their world will clarify further how social and cultural structures impinge upon character and behavior.

VI. Personal and Social Formation: A Structures-Systems Perspective

A. Structure-System

The concept of structure is a useful instrument of explanation. Although the notion is saddled by its vigorous histories of construction and transformations within several academic field specialties, it is possible to distill from such sources a more generalized understanding. This study purports to draw out one which

\[46\] Discussions abound in sociology/philosophy (Durkheim, Marx, Veblen, Bourdieu), philosophical linguistics (de Saussure, Peirce, Chomsky, Searle), anthropology
is applicable for a broader generality across geography and culture. Moreover, the language of structure suggests fluidity because it is identified with relationships that could not be easily reduced to essentialist patterns; unless one is prepared to freeze meaning or history.

Structure is to be understood as the mutual relations of elements within a whole. Such relations determine fundamentally the character of the whole. This concept, which focuses on relations as paths or channels, compliments and builds up the eco-systems theory of human development. It puts emphasis on interdependencies within the whole that also serves as the environment or background/foreground/underground of human behavior. In other words, structure serves as pathway and platform for people’s predispositions, memory, and behavior.

While the concept of structure points to relations of elements and how these relations determine operations and procedures, the concept of system refers to the group of elements actually working together and following the paths determined by structures in order to do a certain job or to produce a certain purpose. This view about the system may be complemented by Foucault’s concept of apparatus/dispositif. Reproduced below is his explanation regarding the concept:

> What I’m trying to pick out with this term is, firstly, a thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions—in short, the said as

(Levi-Strauss, Radcliffe-Brown), psychology (Freud, Jung, Hebb, Bronfenbrenner), and many of their studies would interpenetrate as in the philosophical-linguistic model of Levi-Strauss’s structural anthropology, or the philosophical treatment of sociology of knowledge by Schutz and Luckmann.

much as the unsaid. Such are the elements of the apparatus. The apparatus itself is the system of relations that can be established between these elements. Secondly, what I am trying to identify in this apparatus is precisely the nature of the connection that can exist between these heterogeneous elements. Thus, a particular discourse can figure at one time as the programme of an institution, and at another it can function as a means of justifying or masking a practice which itself remains silent, or as a secondary re-interpretation of this practice, opening out for it a new field of rationality. In short, between these elements, whether discursive or non-discursive, there is a sort of interplay of shifts of position and modifications of function which can also vary very widely. Thirdly, I understand by the term ‘apparatus’ a sort of—shall we say—formation which has as its major function at a given historical moment that of responding to an urgent need. The apparatus thus has a dominant strategic function. This may have been, for example, the assimilation of a floating population found to be burdensome for an essentially mercantilist economy: there was a strategic imperative acting here as the matrix for an apparatus which gradually undertook the control or subjection of madness, mental illness and neurosis.48

It is in this Foucauldian sense that various socio-cultural/political elements may be brought together to form an ensemble or network of effective apparatus for a certain strategic purpose. By revealing the aspects of governance or strategies of power, the concept brings out what is implicit in the structure/system analysis.49 I also find this exercise very helpful in tracing the source or career of the superstructure (cf. Marx), the superego (cf. Freud), and even the will to power (cf. Nietzsche).

This more dynamic view of system does not preclude its reference to an organized whole; system thus refers both to a body of


integrated and integrating elements. It is important to note that diverse intertwining structures find their convergence within the solidifying definition of or activating processes within a system. It is, however, important to emphasize that the relationship between elements are more significant than the elements themselves; this relationship is characterized by a never-ending communication and exchange of impulses between and through points resembling that of a synapse (specialized junctions for signal transmissions between neurons; the point at which a nervous impulse passes from one neuron to another or the place where one neuron communicates with another). Once elements in the system are understood to be imbued with values and organized in communicative links like the network of neurons and synaptic points, the importance of relationships is better seen and appreciated. Socio-cultural structure, for example, may be pictured as both the myriad cross-linked pathways and impulses (association; value) that transmit messages to the world; such messages are thereby received and modulated according to the dispositions of societies or individuals.

The system defines the overall operations which drive structures to maintain their course in making the former operational and concrete through fields of interaction. This, of course, takes for granted an unproblematic system-structures entity. The taken-for-granted kinship system pictured by Pearl S. Buck in her novel *The Good Earth* is one good example. For the system to operate, fixed or predictable structures are reproduced by the characters Wang Lung and O-lan. They follow structured ways of dealing with their kin. The obligation to support elders, relatives, even the

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wicked ones, is ratified, as this is prescribed by the system. To do otherwise is to be haunted by the system. Wang Lung and family had to endure troubles while staying faithful to this system. They viewed the kinship structures as necessities and the only way to avoid falling down is to maintain them. Maintaining them is also a way of keeping the social order. This culture-bound approach did not, however, assure Wang Lung and family of problem-free management of their affairs; impingements followed them.

Present-day China offers urban work opportunities to many of its citizens who would consequently tend to break away from age-old traditions. Consequently, kinship systems are subordinated or sacrificed; individuals suffer the loss of previous solidarities, exposing themselves to unconventional and shrinking forms of relationships.

The structure’s meaning is focused on communicative relations of units (e.g., persons or beliefs) which produce distinctive effects on the system’s operations. The system also demarcates the functions of such relations. A change in basic structural relations thus produces a corresponding effect on the system’s operations, whereas the system’s rigid and stabilizing status limits these basic relations. Systems, thus, depend on the stable patterning of relations to maintain its normal operations. Notwithstanding the fact that structures seek their most stable positions within the system, some exogenous or endogenous elements, definitely appear to produce destabilizing and restructuring qualities. Chinua Achebe demonstrates how the entry of white men and Christianity has made “things fall apart” in his native Nigeria.\(^{51}\) Kyoko Mori is at pains in showing the cracks of Japanese culture since this also traced the wounds that the Japanese and American cultures have inflicted on her personality.\(^{52}\) In some African tribes, the birth of twins exposes people to a paradoxical situation. The tribes con-


sider the appearance of twins as a problem not only in terms of threat to their economic resources but also in terms of questions of succession, inheritance, and precedence. Such tribes resolve the issue by either eliminating them or bringing them into another realm (sacred) in order to preserve their everyday sense and system of normality.\(^{53}\)

As a functional concept applied in analysis, a system is valuable in looking at capitalism’s constitution of processes, apparatuses, and networks as it tries to find its best way to reproduce itself. Capitalism, as a system, and as observed throughout its histories, may still be rendered as a whole with varied and complex elements that need to be deployed toward efficiency; and thus, greater ordering. To maintain or even better itself, capitalism will have to discover, strategize, and maximize all the means necessary to pursue its fundamental purpose. Relative to their resiliency, conformity and resistance, subjects as well as their cultures, ideas, and things can be enlisted or denied of their roles towards directions consistent with capitalism’s character. Individuals, thus, will become capitalism’s resources (or liabilities); rendering persons constrained in their capacities outside efficiently-managed capitalist venues. Homes, neighborhoods, and communities will logically feel the effects of system-defined behavior on everyday life; the flows and directions of intimate relationships will get entangled with the market structures that configure or colonize the whole social order.

1. **Deep Structures (Cultural/Symbolic/Genetic/Ecological/Neuro-Physiological/Cognitive)**

Structures are viewed from their deep or surface dimensions. Deep structures are not only found in the inherent physical properties or logical processes of nature (cf. genes, epigenetic materials,

and hormones) but also reside in the people’s collective consciousness such as the fundamental units of culture (cf. Durkheim, Levi-Strauss). The latter cultural units may be learned or imposed; and so, is historical.  

As objective structures, cultural structures are shared in common by a group of people who live in a specific geographical location. They are sources and, at the same time, limits, of meaning, identity, directions, and schemas for individual and institutional behavior. As structures, they serve as models or channels not only of action or decisions but also of information or beliefs. They also converge into sites into which thought or desire could snap; from which intention and action originate. Action, thus, becomes not only an effect of intention but also of meanings resulted from sites “outside” the individual.

A longitudinal study of the current cultural structures of a community will reveal complex layers of customs, traditions, and other cultural components which have evolved through time. Developments and changes in history create impressions on people’s actions and conventions. As these changes become part of regularities, transformations in culture and in attitudes and behavior are sometimes accomplished. Eventually, the whole process of transformation is forgotten by most people. The Filipino culture, having gone through various transformations because of Malay, Chinese, Arabic, Spanish, and American influences, has attained a mixed and dynamic character able to integrate, with some ease, more foreign elements into its local base. Eating in a Filipino restaurant also means eating pinakbet along with Chinese noodles, paella, steak, chili con carne, spaghetti, shawarma, tacos, and ice cream.

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In most cases, the genetic expressions dovetail with some physio-cultural properties like skin coloration or shape of nostrils which are themselves products of human adaptations. That is, a lighter skin color is helpful to people in sun-hungry climates because of the need to absorb more light energy. An African or Asian darker skin (pigmentation) actually protects people from too much solar exposure. The shapes of nostrils appear larger among peoples of hot climates due to a need for greater ventilation; while among people of cold regions smaller nostrils protect their nasal-respiratory passages. These evolved epigenetic factors, as invisible units, are considered as fundamental determinants of visible “out-there” structures. These are also rooted in or originated from the most basic needs, drives, concerns, longings, and interests of individuals which are very often shooting out from some generative factors or experiences.

Geographical and climactic factors fashion people’s way of organizing and understanding themselves. The vital ideas of power, strength, and energy are based on and projected towards experiences with the cosmos when people are geographically predetermined in the process of self/community constitution. The Badjaos of Southern Philippines, who are used to living in make-shift boats, spend much of their time in the sea. Their rituals and language are full of images that point to the sea as life itself. Their relationship to the sea lends quality to their religion, self-

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understanding, and everyday activities. Their identity may not be rendered fixed on their sea-drenched character as many of them have integrated themselves into the different land-based Muslim communities. But, the way they communicate or interact with others cannot fail to reflect their age-old “sea-gypsy” characteristics.

As they focus their hopes on their land and waters, agricultural societies relate to their gods as source of fertility. Fertility cults in such societies serve to celebrate and keep hopes alive. The pastoralist Nuer’s lifeworld is pervaded with values and institutions that have taken shape out of their dependence on cattle. For example, individuals and groups take names after their favorite cows or oxen. Both ordinary and extraordinary conversations would always lead to cattle. Plans for marriage or feasts could not proceed without cattle wealth or possessions. Even their mouth-wash or hair conditioner like a dried dung and body cleanser such as cattle’s urine are expressive of an extraordinary intimacy with cattle. The Nuer’s cultural universe is indeed cattle-inhabited.

Moreover, it could be added that embeddedness in their natural habitat made the Russian people more familiar and adaptable to their regular winters. Napoleon’s 600,000 men in the 1812 invasion of Russia were reduced to helplessness mainly because of the Russians’ use of winter to overpower the French army. It was a similar mistake committed by the German troops when they attempted to invade Russia in World War II. Because of the German’s unfamiliarity to the structures of the Russian winter-life, they were unprepared to face the deadly -40°C cold.

Israel’s foundational historical experiences of slavery-to-liberation have given rise to a collective idea of a God as creator-liberator and of people as creative creature-liberated. Those formative experiences have given birth to formative values and ideas.

58 See Bruno Bottignolo, Celebrations with the Sun: An Overview of Religious Phenomena among the Badjaos (Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1995).
pertinent to the character and development of a people (cf. Genesis creation stories: Gen. 1:27 and 2:7). Great political upheavals like the Puritan, French, American Revolutions and the American Civil War further illustrate how people gain a common understanding of self/national identity which forms as deep structure molding myriads of interactions and communications. One of such formative and generative ideas has been founded on the British-French-American tradition of libertarianism is that of rights (discussed below).

Culturally speaking, cosmological and historical foundational structures are projected into or embodied in the shared, learned, traditional, and quasi-obligatory beliefs, rituals, organization and other ritualized practices of a society. Myths and rituals, as representations of vital ideas and affects, contain deep structures that are quite difficult to decode. A Filipino way of celebrating the presence of God through the ritual of sapi or spirit-possession or trance is an example. This indigenous ritual dramatizes a key structural scenario that reveals the way (the “pairing” or binary framework or tambalang lapit) many Filipinos view and relate to the fundamental coincidence of exteriority and interiority of the natural world as it is powered by primal spirits. In sapi, this natural exteriority/interiority unity will be represented in the commonsensical observation of the integrated human labas (exteriority) and loob (interiority), union between human beings and deity, and the harmony between suffering and power.

The ways some people organize or understand themselves into distinct sexes or classes have their origins in the most elementary processes of everyday living such as hunting, gardening, factory work, or domestic work. It is Aristotle who state that every


61 Ferdinand D. Dagmang, “Bahaylanism Reconsidered,” Diliman Review 42/1 (1999): 64-72; see below, Chapter Five, section II.B.

62 See Barbara Myerhoff, “The Deer-Maize-Peyote Symbol Complex Among the Huichol Indians of Mexico,” Anthropological Quarterly (1970), 64-68; Rosaldo and Atkin-
creature’s culture depends on how it obtains its food. This may be illustrated in the monarch’s seasonal migration from Ontario to Mexico and back to Ontario. It is guided by its instinctual dependence on and search for the milkweed plant strewn along its 30,000-mile path. In other words, the sources and reservoirs of meaning (beliefs, forms of classifications) are themselves rooted in elementary practices (first-order norms) of life; rituals and other repetitive practices in turn are loaded with key principles which are their sources of high-order meaning.

Language is an area where deep structures are embedded. It sways or explains people’s orientation, presuppositions, and decisions. Within the linguistic field are found taken-for-granted definitions/assumptions of who we are. For example, being a child has its consequent implications for behavior when with parents; different implications for a male and a female child; or, before a father or a mother. Being a capitalist means having the property and the right to invest to acquire profit or prestige (although this is not the best reason for somebody to die). It is also through language where social structures are conserved, mirrored, and projected. Through language, emergent groups are able to affirm and communicate among themselves. The Cockney language of London’s original East Ender lawbreakers, the gayspeak among homosexuals, and even the technical jargons of academics are examples of self-affirming language creations. Language continually modulates and amplifies human values and emotions.

The “turn to language” in philosophy puts emphasis on the ambiguity and contingency of claims to truth and meaning as well as on the necessity of communication and dialogue. Once language is recognized as not just a “thing” or an “instrument” but more as a system of structures that define constraints on every


personality formation, discourse, or activity, life processes must be taken in all their structured nature. The plurality of forms of language and their respective use also put a radical challenge to claims of universality. The seriousness of this challenge takes its significance as regards the status of action and knowledge itself; which are now seen to be constituted from the linguisticality of understanding. Because language bears its limits and uniqueness on survival techniques and truth claims, the search for subsistence, meaning, and truth has been increasingly taken as relation/communication-bound. The demand for communication and dialogue and the setting up of ideal parameters that enable greater freedom for a more genuine communication among subjects have never been greater.

2. Surface and Visible Socio-Cultural Structures

We may also identify structures with the relationships of visible cultural units which are determinants of diverse interactions, processes, and components. Some of these are basic and more resistant to change. In pointing out the visibility of a unit, its ideational or less-noticeable cognitive component will have to be taken for granted. The visible/invisible or surface/deep distinctions may only be possible in an analysis; for in actuality these are properties of the whole. The primacy of the visible may be considered, however, when we are pointing at empirically verifiable units or when pioneering collective activities that lead us towards a structuration process (cf. how patterns of economic activities lead towards the formation and promotion of ideas that regulate trade or how contracts between free and equal parties lead to the formation and promotion of ideas of rights and specific meaning of contractual obligations). The surface/visible categories may also apply to structures which are subject to immediate empirical verifi-

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cation or constant transformations like fashion and other modern designs connected with shape, length, texture, or color of materials.

The relations/communications between man and woman, humans and nature, buyer and seller, person and thing, mother and child, ruler and ruled, predator and prey, desire and symbol (linguistic/non-linguistic) are examples of structures which occupy central place in determining other relations and interactions or in showing the nature of the setting or different contexts of interaction. A partnership between a man and a woman in marriage could be considered as an enduring relationship. In traditional bourgeois homes, it is thought as a relationship between the man as the “head” or provider and the woman as the “heart” or housekeeper. Such a relationship will define the positions of both who will take respective roles.

In many late-modern homes, marriage is also considered as a partnership because it has evolved from non-traditional contexts such as public schools, offices, and other workplaces which have given shape to many relations of contracting equals or long-term encounters. While this modern picture of marriage has been in place in some homes, the roles identified with traditional societies have not vanished. The character of relationships may have changed but the man-woman partnership is enduring; notwithstanding the presence of and the challenges posed by man-man and woman-woman partnerships. It is also true, however, that expressions of man-woman relations are also caused by the determining presence of other structures like woman and work/private property (e.g., relations of dependence or autonomy). Ultimately, the macrosystem with all its symbolic representations (cf. Symbolic of Lacan, below) takes a primary position in the determination of relations; even as we regard its totality as dependent on the convergences of various structural elements into the everyday life of a society.

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Some surface structures may illustrate how relatively ingrained behavior could take a different turn with the introduction of alternative courses of action; along with their basic relations and interactions. In pre-Bayani Fernando Marikina, one of the cities within Metro Manila, Philippines, streets and sidewalks were practically user-unfriendly. When Mayor Bayani Fernando assumes office in 1991, a city-wide overhaul of facilities has kicked-off. Upgrading of infrastructures intensifies and government services rise to an unprecedented Philippine standard. This involves the maintenance of Marikina River, creation of bike paths, institution of a comprehensive health program that includes sports and educational facilities, greater professionalization of government services, establishment of a quasi-NGO college, and others. Subsequently, behavior in public areas gets affected and gradually takes a more disciplined mode. Although bad habits have rarely died out, many good habits spawn from the introduction of new ways of moving around. Many tree-lined sidewalks, for example, have provided people a space to walk in safety and comfort; away from the streets where human ants used to swarm because of the absence of sidewalks. Bike paths have been introduced. Then groups of government-sponsored bike-riding children become visible signs of a future bike-riding public. Educational and health centers were upgraded and better services from personnel became visible. These patterns of behavior that have existed in a material culture have generated new ideas in people. These ideas become evaluative not only of their own activities but also of those of other Metro Manila cities. What has transpired in Marikina is that an idea is translated into visible infrastructures which have consequently modified structures and have generated fresh ideas. After the September 26, 2009 devastation of Marikina caused by typhoon Ondoy (international code name: Ketsana), Marikina citizens still consider this transformed place or well-managed order as one benchmark for the city’s future reconstruction. This is not to claim, however, that such an encompassing mode of transforma-
tion is totally integrating the drives of subjects into society and culture.

Some patterns of behavior may also affect institutionalized and seemingly deep entrenched relations — the career of women won from their positioning in workplaces during the two World Wars have turned artificial forms of contraception into their ally. Decisions of women to limit fertility (like in Japan) have resulted into a labor and tax-related problematic situation. It leads to possible crises in many welfare economies.\footnote{Cf. Gøsta Esping-Andersen, Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).}

Overly-fertile low-income families in the Philippines have contributed to a comparable problem. Aside from the very low GDP that consequently spells few jobs, high Gini index, and inadequate government support, the overpopulation among the low-income groups has aggravated the booming low-skilled, less-qualified population. They could be absorbed though into low-skill servicing or manufacturing firms. But, such firms are not numerous. As a consequence, the reserve army of unemployed or by-the-dime laborers perennially expands. Those from the relatively low-fertile middle-income groups have regularly produced highly-skilled and educated progeny. The lack of world-class firms or those loaded with advanced technologies have not given them opportunities for high-paying jobs; thereby, contributing to the continuing transnational career migrations which have constantly reconfigured solidarities and identities.

3. Embodied Structures

People learn many things; but, most of the time, \textit{how} they have learned them is not part of their learning. What they have unconsciously learned from culture, for instance, they just repeat or reproduce unconsciously in their behavior. Such learned things
are registered as memories, lodged in every person’s brain. These memories enable people to effortlessly deal with everyday life and in the various ways of interaction or survival.

We know the proper time to eat, the proper time to sleep, the proper time to keep silent and to make noise; we also know the proper places to eat, to sleep, to entertain visitors, to urinate or defecate. However, there is no vivid remembrance as to how we have learned them or who exactly taught them to us. Such “learnings” we have acquired unconsciously, or subconsciously, or through ordinary routines done day in and day out. Most of these we imbibed through the examples or body language of our primary relations; most of these we have retained and repeated automatically in the presence and with the acknowledgment of our secondary relations.

Culture is transmitted through socialization. It is via social relations, through the acknowledged agents of socialization, that cultural structures are communicated and instilled in cognition and bodily dispositions. Typical behaviors of individuals who possess recognized roles provide everyday behaviors for younger members of society to subconsciously imitate and ultimately internalize; forming part of the young generation’s self-system. The formation of character takes into account the objective nature of structures as well as the subjective role of individuals who take active part in creating and re-creating their identities within limits imposed by structures. The subjective processing of input cannot however avoid the recognized circularity of understanding. Socialization will always pay homage to the primacy, in terms of its massivity and power, of objective structures. From this point of view, in reality, values are caught by members of society, embedded in their flesh.

This process of socialization, however, takes place within a framework of current hybrid factors of both traditional and mod-

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ern ways of relations and interactions. In the midst of modern progress, some age-old structures like the extended family structures found in many Asian, African, and South American cultures are still invoked in times of crisis. What some of us may decry as a negative product of progress, but positively valued by many, may actually be a weaker unit that collapses in limit-situations. For instance, radical individualism collapses or self-destructs in times of crisis. Weak communitarian support may emphasize strong individualism, but this could also mean fragile and vulnerable personal autonomy. This vulnerability is illustrated in Emile Durkheim’s study on suicide. He discovered the higher incidence of suicide among Protestants than among Catholics; and cases multiply during springtime when people go out and enjoy the air and the sun (today suicides in Western Europe peak during Christmas). He attributed this high suicide rate to the Protestant spirit’s demand for greater self-reliance and self-determination. Individualism/self-determined autonomy would put undue pressure on a lonely person’s coping capacity. As the Catholics then tended to gather together and relied on mutual-support, they were less vulnerable to the impact of loneliness. Suicide thus is an embodiment of loss of personal power and social solidarity in moments of distress. Not to get past very low GNP could also mean avoiding the high incidence of suicide in Japan, Finland, Belgium and in many parts of the colder Western European affluent countries.

There are bodily and psychic organismic structures as there are natural and socio-cultural environmental structures. What is important is to understand the role of these in the development of behavior. Thus, the dynamic interweavings of processes which involve the relations and the interactions of the different organismic and natural/environmental structures will have to inform every way of looking at human behavior and society.

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4. Power/Knowledge Structures

The socialization, interaction, and somatization process of behavior do not happen without some amount of coercion. At home, in the neighborhood, in school, public places, marketplace, malls, church, and state fields people normally exercise or experience power; more formalized power relations in public and commercial places; more familial or informal forms at home or households.

The more formal exercise of power is identified with the power to make important decisions in the field of business and in the field of politics. The larger the business, the more powerful are its authorities. Its rank-and-file personnel comply with business objectives, mandates, and norms which have become fixed by strategized practices\(^1\) and the science of business. Supervisors or administrators invested with greater power are also under the sway of strategic practices and science’s power.

In many liberal-democratic states, the executive, legislative, and judicial officials usually pass through elective or appointive processes. Thus, in general, political power is invested in and exercised by duly-constituted authorities. Nevertheless, such authorities would also come from a world shared with business. It is no wonder that many elected officials come from the ranks of business owners, executives, or moneyed class; while the rest earn support (finances and logistics) from the world of business itself.

Insofar as state power deals with how resources are allocated for different uses and distributed among various entities through the market process, political power cannot but “work with” capi-

\(^1\) Cf. strategic action: “Strategic action is distinguished from communicative actions under common traditions by the characteristic that deciding between possible alternative choices can in principle be made monologically—that means, ad hoc without reaching agreement, and indeed must be made so, because the rules of preference and the maxims binding on each individual partner have been brought into prior harmony.” Jürgen Habermas, *Theory and Practice*, trans. John Viertel (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988), 151.
talists. Politics’ concern with the national economy (a liberal-capitalist economy) makes the modern-day Western politics (whether liberal-democratic, Christian democratic, liberal republican, democratic liberal, or social democratic) a participant in the histories of modern-day liberal-capitalism. No matter how state policies would reflect concerns to control or regulate acquisitive-ness and exploitative tendencies among profit-makers, politics’ history cannot deny its involvement with the capitalists’ concern with the bottom line of a financial report. The state’s concern for the national economy, labor opportunities, natural resources, domestic and international trade, peace and order, and national security cannot but make state policies reflect a “spirit” that is congenial to the basic requirements for liberal-capitalism’s maintenance or expansion. Economy’s health is a constant worry of politics.

In terms of control, regulation, de-regulation, legalization, etc., Western politics is also a product of histories of interaction with capital as well as labor. But, insofar as capitalist business has been the source of power and wealth in towns and cities, the politics identified with urban settings is, by and large, the liberal mold of politics or its evolved kind. It shares a common spirit with capitalism. Today’s bureaucratic brand of political sciences bears that particular kind of spirit. Its impingements upon people and nature share the mark of the impulses and dynamics of capital.

Without the “spiritual” conditions for the possibility of private individual-capitalists to enter into business, capitalism neither flourishes nor grows into a dominant system that we know today. The development of the liberal armory or apparatus of rights, autonomy, liberty and freedom—with the help of or in consonance with state policies based on sciences—has made the West’s social order hospitable not only to capitalistic activities of private citizens but also to new forms of intimacies transacted by indi-

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individuals. Yet, it is also because of some sovereign private citizens’ activities that made these fundamental beliefs flourish.

Liberalism thus has broadly fueled impulses and processes in the fields of politics, the academe, and the market; although the principle may not exactly find similar concrete applications or forms in those various fields. Consequently, we have a liberalism highlighted as human rights and sovereignty in politics; as enlightenment in both its functionalist and critical modes in the academe; and rationalization (means-end rationality) in market economics and other administrative fields—these forms will, however, get intertwined in varying degrees in various circumstances or cultures (e.g., the right to own a gun or the personal right to choose a partner or fence once property is brought about by the ensemble of principles of rights, liberty, autonomy, sovereignty, enlightenment, and means-end reasoning); even in the practices of intimacy. The fields of politics, academe, and business will consistently fuel sexual beliefs and practices with their common liberal “spiritual power” already enshrined in various forms of knowledge: morals and laws, sciences of the academe, accumulated practices and theories in politics and economics. A personal drive towards sovereignty/autonomy also dovetails with a people’s sense of nationalism that propels nations to greater expansion (economic, political, and cultural) beyond their own territories. Positively or negatively, the “West’s libertarian, autonomous, enlightened, sovereign, rights-bearing subject” has become part (more or less) of the rest of the world’s subjects.

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B. Character Formation/Humanization—Snapping into and Behaving According to Objective Reality’s Rules and Boundaries

Homes, schools, offices, factories, churches, and other establishments or network of establishments in the modern/late-modern world are the typical fields where structures-system are instantiated, reproduced, and re-affirmed while interacting personalities are formed and reformed in the meantime. Those venues are also referred to as nodes of interaction where various personal communicative movements interconnect. Thus, the interlocking structures of economic, political, social, and symbolic capital may be found energizing. Such can be seen in a hospital where rationalized profit-making strategies may also mix with cultural expressions of care for the sick. Some cultural structures may even lock horns with liberal-capitalist structures in an NGO office or a theological school.

Behavior formation is primarily enculturation through socialization.\textsuperscript{75} It is relations and context dependent. Persons gain self-understanding and discover directions in their lives as they learn the acceptable patterns of beliefs, rituals, organizations, and other standardized behaviors through their primary and secondary significant relations. In other words, persons belonging to a capitalism-pervaded milieu will necessarily be formed consistent with the system’s character or limits; although sometimes, inputs from culture, close-personal interaction, or individual drives may disturb this formation. Thus, behavior is assumed not just as willing a rational action but largely as behaving according to some set patterns. The trouble with acquiring stable dispositions is that it

also involves the acquisition of some of culture’s bad habits. The custom of genital mutilation among Africans, the discrimination of the poor, women, and homosexuals by some groups—these are unconsciously imbibed by people who live in milieus that promote them.

Cultural patterns are learned. But, since they come from culture that is mainly male-dominated, learning is more rote and context- and gender-circumscribed than deliberate, premeditated, and neutral. Some people may feel capitalism’s adversarial or negative effects because these are factors in identity formation. Thus, agency and social transformation may not ignore the most basic manner of agency formation and fundamental socialization patterns common to either simple or complex societies. Notwithstanding the rare appearances of extraordinary precursors to change, induced shortcuts to personal or social change cannot claim efficacy beyond what is only possible within the boundaries of secondary socialization settings becoming laboratory sites. Samples of this include value formations or inculturation projects in schools or catechetical institutes. Laboratory experiments may not beg the question of opening up to the historical conditions of every action or social change. Culture change, as well as behavioral change, cannot be manufactured through strategies done within artificial settings. Indeed values are more caught that taught.

Interactions within capitalism have evolved. They are eventually shaped by its beginnings in distinct urban workplace-embedded structures as well as the various forces/elements which tried to regulate and humanize it or to bargain and trade with it. In other words, a set of patterns of the ideas and practices typical to capitalist activities, while producing its own fundamentals, rules, typical personalities, and roles has permeated and has confronted a wider society it helped to re-shape. As personalities affirm, balance, oppose or challenge the dominant capitalists, the latter held it necessary to lock into the private property-profit/interest core
structure; even as they interact/negotiate with the non-capitalist members of society.

In the Lacanian schema of human experience and identity formation,\(^76\) the subject is conceived as a lack and a radical split in need of stability or relative stability. This schema renders a view about humanity’s receptivity and vulnerability. Although full stability can never be realized through anything in the world of experience, the individual subject must still have to find her way after being “jettisoned” into the world.\(^77\) There, one is confronted by socio-cultural “things” which move or present as demanding or appealing; carving through several stages of formation.

One important stage of identity development is the process of identification with an image — the Imaginary of Lacan points to the “mirror stage” in every person’s development where the fragmented experiences of the infant is initially brought into unity or an image. It is like the infant’s assumption of her image in the mirror, or through similar experiences which would then take the place of its immediate identity. In this stage, the infant is brought into that process of identification, that is, where one is transformed giving an assumed image.

But, this image of one’s self, its phantasy, is necessarily incomplete, or fragmentary and lacking stability. That is why the individual needs the socio-symbolic world that encompasses economic and political systems, language and representations as well as that of the whole cultural universe. Such world is necessary for its wider protective “canopy” and more stabilizing “anchor” of signs and meanings. This is the movement through the stage of the Symbolic which encompasses the linguistic representations;


coursed through by persons seeking for a better field in its search for a more stable identity which the Imaginary cannot possibly provide. In other words, the subject’s coming into being is only possible through or by way of the Other (or the big Other) or cultural systems of meaning. A human person turning into a Filipino individual may not only be classified as one because of parental blood; but more so because of wallowing into the character-defining pool of signs and meanings. Such a pool becomes internalized even if it is subordinated by formalized rules and prescriptions in rationalized fields of interaction like the business offices.

The Real is another notion which is “best understood as that which has not yet been symbolized, remains to be symbolized, or even resists symbolization; and it may perfectly well exist “alongside” and in spite of a speaker’s considerable linguistic capabilities.” It could point to “drives” or desire which neither correspond to reality nor to the Imaginary and Symbolic. It is opaque to speech or analytic experience. The Real is a limiting concept for every individual’s phantasy or symbolization which cannot represent him in terms of the self. The experience of the Real is prior to the external Imaginary or Symbolic; the latter being unable to master or symbolize that Real which is always beyond it. For instance, a pre-oedipal world of experience is already open to the fetus when it is inside the womb of a mother. It is that which is “lacking in the symbolic order, the ineliminable residue of all articulation, the foreclosed element, which may be approached, but never grasped: the umbilical cord of the symbolic.” In this sense, the Real reminds about the objective lack of the Other, that every form of cultural system of meaning will also suffer the lack which the individual suffers on the subjective level. In other words, all systemic elements, all forms of apparatuses, cannot but reflect the lack that is imposed on humanity, the creator of “things.”

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78 Fink, The Lacanian Subject, p. 25.
The subject, in its recourse through the Imaginary and the Symbolic, suffers the fate of being lost in its search for fullness and its constant search for that experience of *jouissance*.\(^{80}\) It is in this lack that desire in every human being is constantly stirred in every experience of emptiness. This desire is inevitably intertwined with every search for the self in and through the Symbolic as the latter, through its representations, also evokes in the subject that which it cannot possibly satisfy. Life for the individual in and through the Symbolic is a cycle of lack. This is what makes the individual conceived as a split—a lack (but still filled with desire). The individual who is thrown into the world is a broken being seeking fulfillment through means or through its perceived objective means which, by virtue of its finitude, can never satisfy desire.\(^ {81}\)

Character formation which is mainly identity formation on the level of the Symbolic of Lacan is, for the most part, enculturation/socialization. It is a result of exposure to routines, entry into language or non-linguistic signs. When these routines or symbolic universe depends on or acquire character from the world of liberal-capitalism, it can be said that these are also capitalist-impinged.

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\(^{80}\) "There is no adequate translation in English of this word. ‘Enjoyment’ conveys the sense, contained in *jouissance*, of enjoyment of rights, of property, etc. Unfortunately, in modern English, the word has lost the sexual connotations it still retains in French. *(Jouir* is slang for ‘to come’). ‘Pleasure’, on the other hand, is pre-empted by ‘plaisir’ — and Lacan uses the two terms quite differently. ‘Pleasure’ obeys the law of homeostasis that Freud evokes in ‘Beyond the Pleasure Principle’, whereby, through discharge, the psyche seeks the lowest possible level of tension. *Jouissance* transgresses this law and, in that respect, it is beyond the pleasure principle." \*Ibid., “Translator’s Note,”* p. xiii.

\(^{81}\) "For Lacan, the reality of human beings is constituted by three intertangled levels: the Symbolic, the Imaginary, and the Real. This triad can be nicely illustrated by the game of chess. The rules one has to follow in order to play it are its symbolic dimension: from the purely formal symbolic standpoint, ‘knight’ is defined only by the moves this figure can make. This level is clearly different from the imaginary one, namely the way in which different pieces are shaped and characterized by their names (king, queen, knight), and it is easy to envision a game with the same rules, but with a different imaginary, in which this figure would be called ‘messenger’ or ‘runner’ or whatever. Finally real is the entire complex set of contingent circumstances that affect the course of the game: the intelligence of the players, the unpredictable intrusions that may disconcert one player or directly cut the game short." Slavoj Žižek, *How to Read Lacan* (London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2006), pp. 8-9.
Such qualified routines or symbols, in turn, serve to mold personalities or character bearing some stamp of capitalism. Indeed, these personalities are also embodiments of liberal-capitalist values.

These values inform, influence, and dynamize the second-nature or automatic schemes of perception, appreciation, and action of a society and of its inhabitants. Norbert Elias and Pierre Bourdieu contributed much to the elaboration of this idea in the concept of *habitus*, seen both as enduring social and personal dispositions (see below). These values inform, influence, and dynamize the second-nature or automatic schemes of perception, appreciation, and action of a society and of its inhabitants. Norbert Elias and Pierre Bourdieu contributed much to the elaboration of this idea in the concept of *habitus*, seen both as enduring social and personal dispositions (see below).

82 Elias’s discussion on the “civilizing process” which grips every individual within various ecological-systems setting adds a more evolutionary movement to the concept of *habitus*. *Habitus* would thus refer to the evolved set of dispositions that are sensitive to the structures and “rules” of every society/culture.

83 *Habitus* refers to both the social *habitus* of a certain group of people and the personal *habitus* of an individual. In general terms, *habitus* refers to the generalized and habitual schemes of thought, appreciation and action. It points to the habitual dispositions of a society which every individual would internalize and become part of oneself as a second-nature ability. Their predispositions or determined typical ways of looking or viewing at things, ways of evaluating taste or values, ways of approaching an event or problem through action, prefigure everything that a group or a person may think, appreciate or do. Within a simple society a predominantly traditional shared *habitus* still thrive. In urban settings, more disjointed and multiple forms are found where an individual's *habitus* may mirror a complex environment.

84 “Introduced by Marcel Mauss as “body techniques” (*techniques du corps*) and further developed by Norbert Elias in the 1930s, *habitus* can sometimes be understood as those aspects of culture that are anchored in the body or daily practices of individuals, groups, societies, and nations. It includes the totality of learned habits, bodily skills, styles, tastes, and other non-discursive knowledges that might be said to “go without saying” for a specific group -- in that way it can be said to operate beneath the level of ideology.” http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Habitus/ (accessed June 14, 2006).


84 See Jonathan Fletcher, *Violence and Civilization: An Introduction to the Work of Nor-
The eco-systems model of behavioral analysis further adds force to our argument regarding the social environment’s impingements on attitude and character. This model has assumed the broadest possible field upon which evaluation of behavior is drawn. Its approach of interpreting behavior takes on the background of multiple environments. These are where such behavior is seen as situated and determined, in varying ways and through time, by the embodied self-system, microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem and macrosystem. Persons are seen as nested in these several interconnected layers of expanding ecological systems. In turn, such systems certainly interpenetrate and mutually influence one another. The web of relationships and interactions in and among the different layers serve to provide explanations to some acquired personal qualities. In other words, within layers are complex of structures which determine movements, relations, interactions, ideas, organizations, and rituals. Such a picture of persons nested in layers of expanding systems does not in any way suggest that personal life and ecological systems are neatly fitted together and to be viewed as immobile arrangements. Individual and ecological dynamisms are always a factor in history.

The self-system may also be referred to as the bio-ecological system which encompasses the person’s biophysical, intrapsychical, cognitive, and affective operations as well as interrelations between such operations. This self-system suggests the image of the individual shaped and reshaped by her own physical and psychical qualities that are also connected to processes outside her. A chronic asthma stemming from one’s genetic hypersensitive disposition, for example, may turn a child into a timid or overly-cautious person. The inner playful drive of an individual growing up without the presence of her/his father or a father figure may have a

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85 See Bronfenbrenner, *The Ecology of Human Development.*
problem integrating into a male-regulated social structure. The environment’s effect on individuals also produce hormonal changes and sometimes even trigger change down to the molecular level which sometimes translates into a behavior induced by dovetailing social conditions. Spring season could cause a drop in serotonin in some individuals, causing them to get more depressed and could push some of them, who are habitually socially alienated, to commit suicide. The case of the sickle-shaped red blood cells is a clear example of molecular transformation brought about by environmental determinants. In many malaria-infested areas, people have developed resistance to the parasites through the transformations of expressions of genetic information embedded in their red blood cells, causing the invasive parasite to “lose track” of its journey.

The microsystem refers to the surroundings closest to the child. This layer includes the relationships and interactions of the child to her immediate environment: home, school, day-care center and neighborhood. The relations and interactions happening in this layer have their strongest impact in two directions—from and toward the child. The microsystem itself may still have an impact over the other layers as interconnections within and without would produce corresponding results. The individual’s epigenetically determined asthma may also be triggered by fine dusts coming from a nearby poultry farm or cement factory. If her timid disposition is regarded by her neighbors as undesirable, a stamp may be put on her character as long as she believes her undesirability.

The mesosystem refers to a layer which provides the connection between the elements of the child’s microsystem. An example may be the relations and interactions between teacher and parents or between parents and neighbors. Here, some similarities or differences between a child’s parents and a neighbor’s parents may be perceived. If an asthmatic child’s parents approach the child’s

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86 See Arden and Linford, *Brain-Based Therapy with Children and Adolescents*, pp. 1-40.
condition negatively, such may collide with the child’s teacher whose encouraging approach to her sickly child will qualify future parent-teacher interactions. Their differences in approach to a child’s frailty point to a connection which is encompassed by the mesosystem.

The exosystem is a layer that points to larger social system which is external to the child. In this layer, the child does not participate directly; but, it affects her in a powerful manner. Her father’s workplace will have its own location, schedules, policies, and activities to follow. But, the workplace could affect the dynamics of, among others, parent-child interaction. Frequent overtime work or sustained absence in the case of an overseas work of a parent will create the conditions for shaping a distant, alienated, or too formal kind of relationship between one’s spouse or one’s child. The distance between home and work is also a factor in creating or not creating a more frequent and sustained interaction with the family.

The macrosystem constitutes the outermost layer in the child’s environment. Insofar as it refers to the cultural elements of a society, this layer does not refer to a specific environment. It is the most consistent of all influences inasmuch as it permeates all the other environments. If culture teaches the potency of turtle meat for curing asthma, the parents, children, and teachers may also share this cultural belief. If the market-economic system is capitalist, turtle meat may be capitalized and marketed as a cure for asthma. The macrosystem also highlights the shared, learned, traditional, and quasi-obligatory character of culture.

Capitalism, with its attendant liberal spirit, is one among the broader systems (cf. world religious systems or localized indigenous culture) which constitute the macrosystem. As the present-day dominant system, capitalism infiltrates and subjugates ecological systems and thus circumscribes action and human relations/interactions. This statement does not claim to erase the ability of persons to take some responsible choices or non-
capitalist choices; even if those choices are limited by the available sets of possibilities offered by systems and structures.

I now move into the next chapter which focuses on the world(s) of capitalism where subjects may either be seen finding or losing themselves while maneuvering for resources in every field of interaction. I will try to reconstruct a determinate social background against which we could see, in very broad view, the impinged predicaments of subjects; it is within this social background where the predicaments of intimacy (and solidarity) also unfold.
Chapter Two

The World(s) of Capitalism:
Where Subjects Maneuver and Struggle

Capitalism is the system solidified by the consistent practices of special persons who capitalize on their private property for some gain. It is a system baked by the histories of production, marketing, financing, merchandising, and servicing for profit. It has become the colossal profit-making apparatus of capitalists whose consistent behaviors could already be observed in the way they conducted themselves during the so-called Industrial Revolution (1780’s onwards). Despite the regulating and controlling presence of the state, the moderating and moralizing pressure of churches, the blistering protests and critiques from writers, and the supplicating resistance from the workers, some consistent practices of regular manufacturers, merchants, traders, agri-businessmen, service providers, managers, and financiers may be observed. Many of their shared strategy-driven qualities finally point at a capitalistic, and predominantly male, character. In various fields—factories, financing firms, service units, malls, agri-business farms, and e-commerce sites—structures reproduce the system which triggers and consequently enlists and transforms people and, eventually, their lifeworld.

Nevertheless, capitalism has metamorphosed. It has assumed complex forms as it landed in different countries of the world. Some forms resemble the early type. Others show more diverse post-industrial types or hybrid liberal-traditional and social-democratic forms. A type of business seems tied to a capitalist character for a particular period. Individuals have to blend into these variations, providing labor power/skills and assuming consumer/accumulator roles even as they are also bearers of some generalized world systems or indigenous cultural traditions not
necessarily recognized as asset in business. Through their pursuits and struggles, individuals show the ensemble of qualities which stem from various socio-cultural sources; including that of capitalism which has become the main source of income and consumables, prestige and honor, power and dignity, identity and recognition, for a multitude of people who unconsciously ratify it as the necessary system which has given shape to modernity’s fields. These fields have become necessary for many people whose first-order obligations no longer find expression through agricultural or traditional means and thus discover fulfillment in modernity’s brand of work and spending; and, as a consequence, people imbibes rational principles which are not necessarily linked to affectional principles that bind them together as kith or kin.

In this chapter, I will present a view that will highlight capitalism’s impingements. Although I may aim at some of capitalism’s basic and far-reaching features and objectives, I will be hitting many of the unintended effects of capitalistic aggregate realities. This actually skirts around the approach of pointing one’s finger at individual plans and intentions.

People devote most of their time within the fields—repeating and reproducing the system’s structures; all the while, taking for granted alienations, divisions, and separations as normal part of everyday life. In the process, they inadvertently subordinate and sacrifice important bonds and values. It is disturbing to see them pursuing and struggling for things which in the long run would cause their bonds to shrink into nuclear forms. It is indeed disconcerting to see people embrace fields that would cause their falling away from their loved ones—exactly the persons who inspire their pursuits and struggles.

I intend to bring into surface some unintended consequences of capitalist’s objectives or employee’s plans or consumer’s interest. Even if these people would be able to raise every nation’s GNP, they would ordinarily fail to take into account some very
significant by-products (GNT=Gross National Trouble; or GNB=Gross National Burden!) of their pursuits and ambitions. Much of their practices, routines, or struggles, would unfortunately compromise emotional closeness, family togetherness, kinship bonds, traditional fellowships, or intimate relationships.

I. Private and Public Transformations – Solidarities Fall Apart

When industrialization had become extensive in Western Europe and in Northeastern United States, the Industrial Revolution thereby spread, expanded, and transformed the structures of life in many areas of the world. Even the Igorots of the Mountain Province, Philippines or the Badjaos of Mindanao have not been able to avoid the impulses and promptings of the commercial and labor markets. The Igorots, in order to earn cash, must acquire newer skills apart from their age-old skills of cooking rice in bamboos or hunting game in the forest; the Badjaos cannot just rely on their swimming skills to be able to support their everyday needs from the market. In order to survive, the Aetas of upland Zambales must learn to work for the lowlander unat (straight haired) even if it entails breaking away from their ancient beliefs and rituals.

Capitalism has taken its roots among nations, at the same time contending with the various peculiar cultural systems. Although the ideological requirements of capitalism have gone along with its exportation to other nations, the presence of distinct cultural expressions has transformed capitalism into an acculturated or hybridized forms in some areas like today’s Bhutan (cf. their Gross National Health indicators vis-à-vis the Gross National Product economic indicator) or China with its centrally-directed economy and kinship system-guided businesses. However, for as long as a territory is integrated into the global capitalist economy, capitalism’s requisite structures, in most instances, will remain as mainstays. Diverse forms of capitalism indeed come into being as capital, profit accumulation, and labor are modified by religious
beliefs, local kinship systems, indigenous forms of property ownership and economic exchange, marginal and small-scale proprietorship; also, by equally modified forms of state-planned economies, present-day socialism, as well as liberalism in neo-liberalism.¹

Previous to the creation of factories, manufacturing is usually rural-based, home-based, hand-skills, or simple-machine dependent. Some workshops or guilds in towns are also producing goods in a limited manner. Here, family closeness and cooperation could also matter. These organized guilds, however, form a group distinct from the household industries found outside towns. Merchants supply the raw materials and the machines to such several households. Some so-called cottage industries still survive in very small scales in some areas of the world. Sometimes, the production cottages are also built on the money that is provided by the merchants who have hoped that the products they needed for the market would be best satisfied with their direct injection of funds to households. Within such households, the family members plus kith and kin, headed by the father of the family, have constituted the labor power. The husband and the wife and other relations, including their able-bodied children, closely worked together to produce clothing, foodstuffs, textile, and woodworks. This togetherness in household manufacturing is common to village work of pre-industrial age. What is not very common is the merchant whose ways are progressively mobile and relatively autonomous from the feudal arrangements.²

¹ “Neoliberalism is a philosophy in which the existence and operation of a market are valued in themselves, separately from any previous relationship with the production of goods and services, and without any attempt to justify them in terms of their effect on the production of goods and services; and where the operation of a market or market-like structure is seen as an ethic in itself, capable of acting as a guide for all human action, and substituting for all previously existing ethical beliefs.” http://web.inter.nl.net/users/Paul.Treanor/neoliberalism.html (accessed 13 April 2006).

² For a collection of readings on different topics about everyday life from the ancient world to the present see the two-volume work: Stanley Chodorow and Marcia Sortor, eds., The Other Side of Western Civilization: Readings in Everyday Life: The Ancient World to the Reformation, vol. 1, 5th ed. (Forth Worth, TX: Harcourt College Publishers, 2000);
In many places, work, including the agricultural and non-household-based, is largely a “privatized” or “familialized” affair in the sense that the economy revolves around the *oikos.* When work is household-based or adjoining it, family chores and intimacies interconnect with the manufacturing processes by virtue of a shared space. This household-based industry has a character different from agricultural labor but the feudal cultural setting is common. From the point of view of the household, work has a tenuous/half-hearted separation from the private-household concerns like child care, housecleaning, and family lunch. Gossips, jokes, and informal conversations are not discouraged. A flow of activities for household management continues despite the presence of manufacturing work; and, manufacturing work does not have to suffer from its “private” setting.

Technology that is used for these industries is still a familiar gadget setup in the living room. It is not only a case of the family intertwining with industry. Industry itself intertwines with the various aspects of family life. The structures of work and family life may not yet be read in opposing terms such as formal/informal (strictly based on contract vs. based on word of honor), professional/personal (based on merit vs. based on relationship), or detached/intimate (impersonal or “cold” relations vs. warm relations).

Cottage industries presuppose the *oikos* nearby. Household, in fact, includes the workshops and the workers who are necessarily stay-ins. The employer’s household is not limited to the family; no matter how extended this is. Even the craft-guild setup employs journeymen who could stay within the household. Workers’ ac-

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*Oikos* designates the unit identified in pre-modern times as “household.” Cf. the etymological origin of the terms *economics* and *ecology* which suggest proper household management.
Commodations are not autonomous entities; but they do form part of the definition of their employers’ household. The household as workplace does not necessarily exclude some endearing terms and familiar interactions. In some workplaces in the Philippines today, the more familiar Kuya (elder brother) and Tito (uncle) are yet to be replaced by the titles Sir, Boss, or Manager. The former are familial terms of endearment; the latter more official. In many cases, the more formal titles are de-formalized: Boss becomes “Bossing” or “Bosschief.” What cannot be expressed in words may be compensated by voice inflections: sing-song use of “Sir” which is usually coupled with Sir’s nickname (“Sir Toto” or “Ma’am Baby”).

Time for many workers is still non-reducible to definite schedules dictated by the operations of industrial machinery. The working day is not fixed to 8 or 12 hours. It could have been 10 or 14; depending on factors like the merchant’s lead-time, volume of order, number of workers, and others. Much depend on the supervision of the head of the family who has to act as a functionary of the merchant. Time pressure is not entirely absent but there are lesser stressors compared to the monotonous, specialized, and strictly programmed activities inside the factories. The workers in these cottage industries are exposed to a less demanding and less oikos-departing work, workspace, and work relations. An environment more similar to a family setup than a factory is maintained by virtue of the household which still promotes closeness and informality. This is still a familiar sight in some Manila workplaces today—after-work gatherings around bottles of beer or gin and pulutan (finger foods like peanut or chicharon [fried porkskin]).

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ritual further reinforces informality and familiarity within those workplaces.

The household-industry setup is problematic for merchants since it is not under their direct and immediate control. The families have much independence from the supervision of their merchants-financiers. The latter have to contend with unpredictable production output, household dependencies, or needs that affected manufacturing operations. While sickness or scarcity is a household risk, the quality of work and output could suffer or the raw materials which the merchants supplied could be sold by the workers. The cost of production is a constant concern for most merchants who worry over efficiency and competition. More and more merchants seeking for investment alternatives are slowly led to towns/cities and away from cottage manufacturing; thus, away from the rural household outlook and concerns. This signals the subsequent alienations which flow from the merchant’s decisions/interests and the workers position as dependents.

In due course, merchants turn to power-driven inventions—machines that eventually have replaced handwork. The factory, not the households, is the best place for machines and workers. This arrangement is replicated in other factories and many countries outside the first burst of industrial capitalism in England. This also turned towards ways of normalizing waged-work and workers’ character and behavior. Work, following this development, becomes a regularity already taken-for-granted as part of normal work for many societies. But, many groups of people are excluded from this work which already requires special skills and appropriate manners or mentality. For being penniless, many people are also excluded from the market circulation of produced goods. Other people such as workers and consumers, however, are privileged by virtue of their preferred skills and possession of cash. Unemployment and absence of money begin to mean greater vulnerability to all forms of social risks. Exposure to social risks becomes expanded and sustained. Those classes of unemployed
and penniless people have become identified with their “normal” regular exposure to risks. The fields that have become biased for skills and cash (biased against the unskilled, unschooled, and unwaged or cashless) have produced a reality that engenders both employment and unemployment, stability and insecurity.

The members of the previous household-cottage industries are the initial sources of skilled labor; especially those women who fill many textile and food production units. They outnumber the males in terms of familiarity with the yarn and spindle work. As the demand for goods expanded, the rural populations fill the need for additional labor. Rural and household labor, as a result, migrate to urban work. *Oikos*-rooted workers have been uprooted from their familial spheres but remain orientated to their private/household concerns and dependencies. Eventually, “activities and dependencies hitherto relegated to the framework of the household economy emerged from this confinement into the public sphere.”

The “publication” of private/household concerns evolved as rural people became part of a space now defined by social labor and commodity circulation. Household/private vicissitudes exploded in the face of a public reality. They are different from the familiar feudal world or the simple societies where social cohesion and control or supervision are still culturally thriving.

The general circulation of goods in the market gives people the opportunity to satisfy some of their needs through the cash connection. More and more people enter the cash economy. It is possible for those who engaged less in direct labor on the land and more in waged labor. Farmers who could directly subsist on their produce may find it difficult to buy grocery items for lack of cash, unless, of course, they sell some of their goods.

Necessities have to be satisfied; but, in the early days of capitalism, not all people have to be waged laborers to survive. Even if

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basic goods are sold in the market, people manage to survive through their own subsistence work. Other sources are via socio-cultural capital where automatic solidarities are still alive. One’s relatives are still somehow obliged to extend assistance to their less-fortunate family members. However, neither all those engaged in agricultural labor escape poverty and suffering nor those able to land a salaried job get secured in their status. In the meantime, their lives are gradually integrated into the public sphere where commodities are circulated for general spending/consumption. Those same commodities are potential goods for the alleviation of sufferings and insecurities or for the removal of risks confronting the more vulnerable: children, dependent women, disabled, elderly, unskilled, unemployed, and others. The latter group rarely have cash to acquire commodities/services from the market. Many people are not only forced to work away from the previous sources of security but are also pushed to sell their commodified labor (including their children’s labor) for wages which guaranteed connection to life’s necessities. The privatized production and publicized private goods have become the capitalist-bound structures of the satisfaction of some. But, such brought about im-pingements, the alienation and deprivation of others who would be objects of either welfare and compassion or neglect and indifference. People seeking assistance could no longer invoke kinship solidarity in a society not built around familial relations. Industrialization, thus, dissolves important bases for affectional relations by fragmenting traditional bonds.

In many senses, the former household production units do not threaten the integrity of the family or clan structure which was often built on a “labor intensive, three-generational social contract” welfare nexus. Even if some earners are also drawn into production work set away from their families, cottage industries in Third World countries nowadays are still household-maintained.

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6 Riemer and Fout, European Women, pp. 115ff.
7 Esping-Andersen, Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies, p. 53.
But where opportunity to work together is available, parents and children experience less alienation-inducing activities familiar to work in factories, offices, and other setups of modern capitalism. Tradition is still the fount of shared behavior in intact households where primary socializations follow some cultural patterns. Such patterns are not yet disrupted and eroded by regular absences of or separations from primary relations caused by urban work and other forms of migration.\footnote{Cf. Max Weber, \textit{Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretative Sociology}, vol. 1, Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, eds. (Berkeley/LA/London: University of California Press, 1978), pp. 375ff.} One may only look at how parents and children, as well as couples, are slowly separated, physically and emotionally, because of the demands of factory or office work. Children used to this kind of separation, when they became adults, had the greater chance of adapting to future separations. Today, families whose breadwinners are overseas workers weave not only tales of success but also agonizing stories caused by distance and separations.

Nevertheless, the traditional rural/agricultural life or cottage industries eventually get penetrated by the activities and products of private merchants-industrialists.\footnote{R. Critchfield, \textit{The Villagers: Changed Values, Altered Lives: The Closing of the Urban-Rural Gap} (New York: Anchor Books, 1994).} Work in household units and farms tend to migrate to production set-ups in urban settings. The highly-skilled move up the market-economic ladder but the un-skilled and low-skilled stay at the bottom. It is similar to today’s Third World low-skilled poor who perennially find it difficult integrating into urban living. However, low-skilled workers in some successful capitalist economies are, to some extent, already part of the so-called affluent workers.\footnote{F. Zuelig, \textit{The Worker in Affluent Society} (New York: Free Press, 1971).} Some blue-collar workers of today’s Western Europe can actually afford to take vacations to places like America’s Disneyland, Brazil’s Rio de Janeiro, Philippine’s Palawan, or Indonesia’s Bali.
Feudal structures/institutions still exist in the many Third World countries. In rural areas where villages and traditional cultures still survive, few landowners find and control huge properties while millions of landless peasants struggle for survival.\(^{11}\) What is clear is that despite their feudal-like character, vast territories and peasants are capitalized. In the Philippines, for example, huge tracts of land that are controlled by wealthy landowners are no longer used as feudal estates; but, as capital for mass production of non-subsistence agricultural products. These are cash crops like banana, pineapple, tobacco, or rubber. Workers are no longer treated as share-tenants but as waged workers à la factory waged laborers. This is because many huge feudal estates are converted into corporate entities which take the semblance of capitalistic enterprises. Some haciendas of Negros and Pampanga are now run as corporations—exempt from some agrarian reform provisions.

A common sight is the cyclical subsistence migrations of the unskilled or low-skilled agricultural workers towards the urbanized areas. They congregate in the familiar slum areas, shantytowns, favelas and “squatter” colonies found in the different cities of the Third World. Many of them are full of hope when they move out of their farm settings, only to realize that labor-market opportunities for the unskilled/low-skilled are scarce. They face multitude of social risks. They also pose burdens/challenges for the state, the churches, the wider society, and the capitalists.\(^{12}\)

Migration patterns today mirror industrial capitalism migrations of yesteryears. For instance, European industrialization caused people to migrate for circular subsistence and career. New


ways of working have sprouted around the decisions of private owners who deemed it more practicable to establish their own centers that are not necessarily close to the territories of prospective workers. Since then, private capitalists have thoroughly determined life processes which took public character and which demanded more regulated lifestyles meant for employment or wage-earning. The workplaces for production as well as markets for circulation of goods and services are also structures of everyday life and intimacies.

But, in due course, life processes have divorced from the many old-fashioned solidarity-based ways of settling private troubles. The concerns of former household workers eventually bow down to the directions of private capitalist production. The latter refers to the privatization of the process of market-economic reproduction that is just one side of the whole process of capitalist economic activity. The other side is its orientation towards the public market for commodity circulation. Both processes are the concerns of utilitarian individualism.\textsuperscript{13} “The economic activity that had become private had to be oriented toward a commodity market that had expanded under public direction and supervision; the economic conditions under which this activity now took place lay outside the confines of the single household; for the first time they were of general interest.”\textsuperscript{14} Activities connected with the survival of rural households are now allowed to appear in public.\textsuperscript{15}

Consequently, the welfare of the former household-based, thus private, workers is now visible before a newly constituted public. This “publication” is, however, a tension-filled process. Even workers get contaminated by the distinction between the privatized sphere as they begin to gain spaces that they recognize


\textsuperscript{14} Habermas, \textit{The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere}, p. 19.

as their own private sphere. Such sphere is distinct from the public sphere of labor and circulation of private goods. It separates them from their folks in the countryside. Slowly, their capacities for more extended forms of intimacy will become saddled with the demand, struggle, and ambition to be more autonomous individuals. Eventually, everyone is expected to manage that which one has acquired through labor. Household maintenance also applies to those whose households may only contain day-to-day meager provisions. In other words, the poor, the unskilled and the penniless, are also expected to observe and respect those ways and principles (privacy, contracts, property titles, rights, etc.) that have produced wealth for some, even if such would also mean their deprivation, neglect, or exclusion. This is another form of impingements, of systemic arm-twisting.

Moreover, consumers tend not to escape the privatizing culture of work and market. Many workers, however, do find it difficult to shake-off their memories of the idea of solid and extended families. The hard separation of public and private is still an ill-defined structure in the culturally-modulated minds of many traditional workers. This is also a source of frustration for many public personalities/officers who operate on the basis of public/private distinction. Workers tend to position themselves as if they belong to the capitalist’s or official’s extended family. Their feet may straddle the more formal field and their more familial household, but their hearts and minds are wholly embedded in a tradition-dense lifeworld.

It should be noted that the debate over the private/public dichotomies needs to be clearly distinguished from the concern for the privatization of a domain formerly identified among families within more cohesive societies. The debate over private/public distinction seeks to re-think the issue of gender division of labor against a more integrated view of private/public interconnections. For in reality, the home as private realms could be considered in subsidizing the public domains insofar as agents/workers could
not appear in public without their spouses’/families’ support. It could even be that the women’s unwaged domestic labor is the fundamental source of surplus value. *New Left Review* discussions conclude that a woman’s unwaged domestic labor subsidizes the private realm which in turn subsidizes the public realm. In this last sense, there is little discontinuity or separation between the private and the public realms. The only problem is that between the two, the male’s public is naturally ascribed the better value as work. Woman’s labor, which is last to be hired and first to be fired, is either more valued for beauty and appearance or better viewed in terms of reproductive status. That is why even if it means multiplying their burdens, many women would also aspire for professional work; in many societies, the recognition that women get in public carries a distinctive ring to it than homemaking or housewifery.

The fundamental sources of tension felt by many people today are (a) the privately appropriated means and processes of economic reproduction as well as (b) the publicized processes of commodity exchange in the market; including the labor market. In constant pursuit of their interests and preservation of gains, capitalists will be continually tugged into the two spheres. Within their privately-owned spheres, public issues constantly challenge them. Within the public spheres, their private interests are exposed to the public eye. These two spheres possess contradictory forces within and without.

Laborers, especially the low-skilled, are doubly disadvantaged: (1) within production units where they are exploited and dominated by private interests as well as (2) within the labor market where they are, by necessity, commodified even as they could increase the value of their physical capital through further training and education. As consumers, they are mostly captive utilizers of

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necessities and dreamers of inaccessible luxuries. Advertisers see to
it that they get a large share from the workers’ hard-earned money.
Having caught the spirit of the market, privileged consumers either
further seek to protect themselves from risks or extensively ex-
press their character through privatistic decisions that reflect both
aggressive market integration and wealth accumulation. Families
would spend in pre-need investments or even enter the stock-
market world and other financial speculations. This aggressiveness
could be perceived as expressive of the privileged consumers’
seemingly sovereign character and self-directed behavior within the
market. Such characters of sovereignty and self-direction also
mark many individuals in pursuit of intimate sexual relationships.
Sexual attractions could even be built on such qualities marked as
“sexy.”

In both public and private areas, workers are in constant
search for their place within the wider scheme of things. Within
production units, they slowly gain a different form of identity.
Individually as laborers and collectively as unionized labor they are
in constant contestations with the management. The patterns of
division of labor have formed workers into distinct individuals
while families are being uprooted from communities and becom-
ing part of the emerging *Gesellschaft*. As unionized labor, they
slowly gained an identity—a force to be reckoned with by private
capitalists and state functionaries.

The traditions of the past, which are still alive in the ways of
the workers, tangle with the new ways of the private individual-led
free enterprise set-ups. These traditional culture bearers have to
adapt to the new ways while the entrepreneurs install what is, for
them, necessary to preserve the basis of their new ways. Distinct-
tive rules have evolved because of such dynamics; in most cases,

(New York: Simon and Schuster., 1994); J.D. Davidson and L.W. Rees-Mogg, *The Great
18 See Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society.*
strict observance of business prescriptions and boundaries are emphasized; the dominance of the capitalists or investors has always spelled the difference.


Owensby emphasizes that: “The point is not that working conditions were brutal in those early days of capitalism. The condition of urban factory workers may have been no worse than that of the society’s peasants. The point is that wages and benefits paid bore little relationship to the economic value the workers created.”\footnote{W.L. Owensby, \textit{Economics for Prophets: A Primer on Concepts, Realities, and Values in Our Economic System} (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.1988), p. 27.} It has been perceived that big profits almost always translate as suffering on the ground while capitalists enjoyed successes at the expense of others. Very often, moralists or social reformers would judge capitalists negatively; but, the latter hardly considered their practice as a moral issue.\footnote{See Richard W. Miller, “Capitalism and Marxism,” in R.G. Frey and Christopher Heath Wellman, eds., \textit{A Companion to Applied Ethics} (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003): 62-74.}

It is in their climb towards dominance that capitalists, mainly males, are challenged by different forces: state, trade unions, socialists, critical social theorists, literary Bohemians, the Catholic church (cf. social encyclicals from Pope Leo XIII’s \textit{Rerum novarum} to John Paul II’s \textit{Centesimus annus}), and other religious groups, and the civil society through the NGOs. The privatized mode of
market-economic production as well as the public market offering privately-owned goods become contested areas where capitalist self-interest is subjected to supervision, control, regulation, challenges, and even mockery by forces external to capital. The state and church interventions are commonly directed against capitalist excesses as the former moves in to protect and uphold workers’ rights and demands. It is also in the context of these interventions and regulations directed against capitalism that the state’s social policy further gravitated into a distinct form of workers’ and consumers’ protection. While the public sphere is the concern of the state as object of assistance, capitalists stand up for the private sphere which they feel is properly theirs. Within their perceived private sphere, capitalists exercise their right to choose whether or not to get involved in other public concerns. Being sovereign citizens of a publicized sphere, they feel that they can decide for themselves in private; both for their own welfare and without coercion. Before the arrival of capitalism, mutual help is a common occurrence among community members. But with the onset of rationalized investments, extension of help has to become rational too.

There is a growing perception that capitalists are generally exploitative. They are recognized to be indifferent or abhorrent to compassion-based action, strategy, or social policy. When laborers and consumers and their respective families face risks which the capitalists either do not or refuse to absorb, the latter are thought to be without compassion. The correlation between reciprocity and solidarity is used to judge the capitalist who is not formally part of the world of laborers.

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22 Cf. the Catholic Social Teaching corpus in the Papal Encyclicals starting from Rerum novarum of 1891 as well as the different documents produced by Synods of Bishops, National and Regional Bishops Conferences.

The industrial revolution has impinged upon life as it transformed the Western world from basically rural and agricultural to a largely urban and industrial society. Though it brought many material benefits to society, the said revolution has created many problems that are still with us today. Among the numerous consequences are the (1) degraded and depleted environment; (2) disenfranchised indigenous peoples of former colonies; (3) discriminated races; (4) exploited laborers who endure separations, isolations, degradations and monotony in work; (5) the continued disintegration of traditional loyalties and solidarities; and, (6) the shrinking or loss of wider social bonds.

Dust settled. New apparatuses (cf. corporate social responsibility, sustainable development) and structures, roles, institutions, rituals, beliefs, standardized practices, and laws are put into place. The reciprocity familiar to previous generations is sidelined in the subsequent socio-economic adjustments. Reciprocity is expected to inform and affect people within the limited and traditional spaces of simple societies. The more extensive closeness commonly experienced in these societies has been pushed aside by the formalities associated with the coming of liberal-capitalism or economic liberalism. The present-day formalized concerns and expectations of capitalism that developed in the West have driven out such traditional reciprocity from its own arena. As the social field became more and more complex, the secularized, industrial-capitalist in character, and less tradition-bound people have narrowed down their social fields and mastered the art of civil inattention.24 In modern world encounters, public assistance passes through the more institutionalized and less automatic forms. These sources of welfare, together with less cooperative sources, provide the conditions for both benefits and deprivations. It is inevitable that citizens of capitalist societies will develop behaviors consistent

with such conditions—the same conditions blamed for the narrowing down of family closeness and intimate relations.

II. Formalization of Fields: Social Labor and Commodity Exchange

As industrialization spread, private investors and financial institutions provide the money for further investments of manufacturers and merchants. Then, huge financial firms have eventually taken over the control and organization of manufacturing. The development of local markets and, eventually, the world market is a condition for further industrial growth. Economies expand and unfold their basic foundations in the private capital and in the interests of private owners. This is despite capitalism being understood to uphold nation-building, family advancement, and individual development.

Private investments and interests have ruled production and management; but, the exploitation of work and nature has provided a central place in capitalism. In this sense, the capitalists depend on workers to produce goods and services that gain profits for the former. Market circulation/consumption of these goods and services constituted the “terminal” phase of public commerce. It is within this socio-economic context, broadly pictured, that we may also identify the many conditions for personal closeness and affection or lack of closeness and affection.

A. Securing Labor: Barricading and Privatizing the Subject

People are happy to have work; or to have gainful employment. Work, in such case, is perceived and emotionally qualified as favorable for survival or self-fulfillment. When people have become used to a certain kind of work their initial excitement over it vanishes, although the memory of its positive appraisal is still there. What makes persons happy while they continue working is
no longer the prospect of work. The source of happiness has become, normally, extrinsic to work.

Most workers/employees are not as lucky as some who become employed by reason of their artistic abilities or creative hobbies. Those who land a job because of their skills in designing clothes or playing basketball or writing movie scripts are usually (not always) fulfilled in their work because it is also their personal expression and their means of self-recognition. Others who merely work for wages would find satisfaction in things or people extrinsic to actual productive work. Of course, individuals in workplaces could establish some sense of recognition and acceptance (or closeness) among themselves; and this is also a source of fulfillment for some. Such is, however, still extrinsic to actual productive work.

Productive work in manufacturing or service sites does not necessarily offer intrinsic joy to workers, but who, in fact, are thankful to have their jobs. What they get from their employment, in terms of wages and benefits, are for them reasons enough to be grateful and happy. It is, however, a different story to tell as regards their emotional states vis-à-vis the effects of work on their bodies and on their personal relationships. To be happy to have acquired wealth, prestige, honor, and power through work does not always mean joy; because such endowments do not necessarily increase the quantity and quality of connection with those whom one desires to have greater closeness and intimacy. A good number of children of successful and not-so-successful businessmen and employees know the price of their parents’ successes. In fact, they register this as their number one concern: lack of attention from parents.25 This sought-after attention is normally sacrificed in favor of work’s compensation. With the way the young of today prepare for their future work, they might as well be rehearsing a repeat

25 See Maria Lourdes Arellano Carandang, Filipino Children Under Stress: Family Dynamics And Therapy (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1987).
performance and a reproduction of the same “unintended mistakes” committed by their parents whose foremost goal in their minds is to provide security, comfort, and happiness for their families.

The table below has been culled from one of my undergraduate classes in Ethics. I have instructed my students to inquire into the effects of waged-work on traditional morals as well as on the formation of an ethical disposition. I have told them that this matter is important to study in order to know a specific instance how objective reality affects our search for community, both on the level of ethics (theory) and on the level of ethical behavior (practice).

The students reflected on the question: What are the effects of changes in the manner of work on morality? It should be noted that the following are mere impressions and not based on a previous research. (Take note of the underscored items.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Effects on CHARACTER/PREDISPOSITION</th>
<th>WORK BEFORE (AGRICULTURAL)</th>
<th>WORK NOW (URBAN)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Simple lifestyle</td>
<td>• Improved lifestyle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Hardworking</td>
<td>• Competitive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Struggle for Survival (nature)</td>
<td>• Selfish planner</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Less competitions</td>
<td>• Strict</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lenient towards mistakes</td>
<td>• Easily get stressed and impatient</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Calm and patient</td>
<td>• Fast paced</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Rely on physical strengths</td>
<td>• Rely on intellectual strengths</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Use animals as tools</td>
<td>• Use machines for efficiency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Do the same thing everyday</td>
<td>• Survive on money</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Effects on VALUES** | • Less expectations  
• Easy and composed attitude  
• Prioritize fellow-men over work  
• Strong bonding among people  
• Traditional and religious  
• Informal | • Under control  
• Lots of expectations  
• Liberated and open-minded  
• Weak bonding among peers  
• Future-oriented  
• Formal  
• Greedy  
• Modern  
• Expensive |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Effects on STANDARDS of BEHAVIOR** | • Preservation (nature)  
• Simplicity  
• Contentment  
• Hospitality  
• Honesty  
• Friendly and approachable  
• Work for food  
• Basic needs  
• Practicality | • Selfish  
• Less time for family  
• Work becomes social status  
• Tricky  
• Authority of secular laws  
• Power  
• Money  
• Distinctions  
• Knowledge |
| • Simple, basic  
• With hard work comes survival  
• No educational attainments required  
• Helpful  
• Traditional | • Highly competitive, complicated  
• Educational attainments and working experiences required  
• Must be able to sell and present oneself to survive  
• Liberated  
• Critical decision |
A worker’s labor is, however, not one’s own. It will have to be acquired by a capitalist through the labor market—where individuals sell their labor. Thus, it would seem that the immediate and remote negative consequences of selling this labor could not be directly imputed on the employer. The predicaments of the workers’ intimate relationships because of labor could not be covered by the framework and provisions of contractual obligations. Meanwhile, the state has to guarantee the enforcement of the property rights involved. However, the relation of labor to capital is asymmetrical. Such could render the state either as an unwitting partner of a dominant capitalist or as a protector of the dependent laborer. But, as already mentioned, there is a public character emerging from the contractual agreement between the two individuals—as laborer or as capitalist.

As society evolves around capital and labor, the publication of interests necessarily follows. Although the production sphere is private insofar as it is the domain of private capital, it has gradually gained a public character insofar as it became a context for state interventions. Interventions may be in the forms of regulations or supervisions of activities and processes that have gained wider, and thus, public significance. Laws and their implementing agencies or regulatory boards are, of course, standard features of every society. The workers’ contestations (via labor unions or labor associations) as well as the private citizens’ involvement (via NGOs or religious groups) into capitalist-and-worker issues further brought capitalism’s private faces into public. In their self-interested conduct in public, such private faces deprived themselves of the defense against intrusion into their privacies. By their own public accom-
modations and intrusions, they can no longer imagine an absolute claim to private rights.

The private lives of their employees will, however, remain private and stay within the domain of the personal. Loneliness, alienation, divisions within the families are issues which cannot be legislated by the public provisions of obligations and contract. They should, however, be issues that must be handled well by the workers to maintain efficiency and productivity. Workers will have to work well on their private lives as well as on their emotions. Otherwise, they will have to face the consequences of being ineffective functionaries of employers. Employees who cease behaving as expected cannot bring productivity opportunities, something exploitable for greater progress (which may also produce distress).

1. Exploitation and Dependence

As people enter into the labor pool, work’s character rubs into every laborer’s dispositions. Even when people have experienced the negative consequences of routines, formalities, contractual obligations, the established order could only be ratified. It no longer needs justification even when it also produces unwanted effects or by-products that impinge on the dispositions of workers. Many of them, however, will try to minimize the negative impact of work on close or intimate relationships. Their attempts, however, will largely consist of immediate and momentary solutions; for instance, through the use of phones or mobile phones, through the internet’s messaging service provided by Yahoo Messenger, through gift-giving, through occasional outings, or through promises.

Direct labor on land does not require a laborer much of a sustained continuous time in order to produce what was necessary for him and his family. A farm worker need not even work the whole day to produce a day’s consumables. Neither does it require a great deal of skill because the fruits of the land only entail the
initial sowing and planting of seeds; and, in some cases, certain amount of maintenance. Even if one includes the aggregate skills crystallized in the tools and other materials used for agricultural production, the skills which are mainly muscle power put into land’s gifts, would seem insignificant. That is, considering that the value of the product harvested depends much on soil and sun. In fact, such skills are not even indispensable; and if employed, they are replaceable. One thing, however, is clear: farm workers have, in principle, more time for themselves and their families. If free time is indeed spent for closer relationships then solidarity among the rural folks has clearly benefited from it. One thing that NGOs and Church associations have found out is that it is, in fact, easier to organize a community of rural folks than urban workers. This could also show that their predispositions for group solidarity may have been fostered by, among other cultural factors, their ample time outside their not-so-regulated farmwork.

On the other hand, the industrial and the post-industrial labor require regulated time and more skills that produce goods of an acquired greater market value than the quantity invested in raw materials and labor power. In due course, capitalists made sure that their investments indeed will result to profits; even as they took advantage of nature and workers. In this sense, profit is a translation of rationalized exploitation.

Exploitation is not necessarily bad. To exploit the richness of the soil, or the abundance of fish or the opportunities offered by the government’s tax amnesty are some examples. To exploit the opportunity offered by workers who sell their labor for P200.00/day ($4/day) is something acceptable in the business world. To consider the effect of this kind of exploitation on the workers’ morale or well-being is another matter.

In manufacturing, the owner decides to exploit the labor of the worker in order to optimize profit. The worker does not have

a choice since he is compelled by the nature of owner-worker relations. This situation which always allows the possibility of surplus for the owner is the root of the alienations and struggles between capitalists and workers. The possession of labor by the owner-capitalist makes compulsion necessary for the extraction of surplus labor and, thus, surplus value. This is true anywhere the worker lands a job. His dependence on capital is necessary. Without capital, the worker is highly vulnerable to social risks. On many times, investors capitalize on this worker dependence by fixing the benefits for or the wages of their respective workers to the minimum. A reserve army of unemployed makes this possible. Unfortunately, on the other hand, the dependence of capital on labor is not translated into an automatic benefit for labor.

Even the nature of employment contract may be manipulated for profit maximization—"contractualization" is a practice of firms in the Philippines. By keeping laborers on limited contractual periods (6 months at most), this practice seeks to avoid the many benefits legislated in favor of longer contracts or tenured labor. Business firms rationalize this practice as a way to survive since they have to compete with the other Asian nations paying lower wages to their own workers.

When capital becomes too rigid in its privatized stance in production units as well as becomes maximally monetary in the market circulation of goods and services, the exploited and dependent laborers as well as the non-commodified members of society will always appeal for compassion and assistance. Some sectors are more passive, but others are more militant and organized in their "appeals." This is due to their vulnerability to social risks.

Exploitation, dependence, commodification, or capitalization—these are basic stressors which impinge on the dispositions

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of every employee. To view further the structures of intimacy or affection, we must read the personal against such “normal” backgrounds of character and behavior. The negative consequences of pursuit of profit are not just visible on the body and emotions of the capitalists; the workers also bear a large share of the pie of capitalist contradictions. Some non-fiction but historical works of Frances Trollope, Elizabeth Gaskell, Charles Dickens, George Eliot, D. H. Lawrence, Guy De Maupassant, and Émile Zola reflect such realities and thus decry the ills of industrial society. The powerful essays of John Ruskin echo their social concerns (see his *Unto This Last*). Some American movies in the 1990’s like *Jerry Maguire* and *Shall We Dance?* illustrate these problems; Filipino movies like *Insiang*, *Maynila, sa mga Kuko ng Liwanag*, *Sr. Stella L.*, *Madrasta*, *Anak*, and *Caregiver* are also good illustrations of the various negative effects of capitalism on people.

2. Industrial to Post-Industrial Separations

The rationalized exploitative calculations of capitalism will be felt unconsciously by all members of society as something natural. In fact, capitalists do not even have to offer justifications for their practices. Its axiomatic nature is one source of capitalism’s strength. The other source is in the schemes of thought and appreciation sedimented in the disposition of each member of society. If the latter produces suffering (stress, alienation, loneliness), the cause would be in the requirements to maintain the system. Contradictions, however, may still be tolerated and not regarded as “abnormally” problematic since capitalism has been widely perceived as the way to maintain order in society. There are more ways for a society to turn into a disorder; the accepted way of putting order into people’s lives may be, for the majority, the only way to achieve order—thus, the need to stick to it even when it produces undesirable by-products.

A normal work—a work normalized by the constant control of capitalist merchants-industrialists-financiers—is already built
into the everyday movements and consciousness of people. It co-exists with the still familiar hunting, food gathering, and land cultivation in the margins of mainstream societies. The latter kinds of work mainly yield gifts of the land while the urban ones are already characterized by products out of remunerated skills or creativity. The urban-based work is transported into the proper employment fields and pulled out regularly from the household or family setting.

The presence of the *petite bourgeoisie* in 18th to 19th century Europe should, however, qualify this too polarized picture of group development or urban-rural divide. It may seem idealized; but, the picture of a *petit bourgeois* shop, where the family, morality, and work all coincide, has attracted many writers and politicians who are “repelled by a proletarian social order which appeared atomized and bereft of either morality or cohesion.” Nevertheless, even the presence of the *petite bourgeoisie*, who most of the time only need the household workforce as a self-exploitation, would not destroy the picture that is created by employment and consumption fields. Their number does not completely challenge the picture of a world pervaded by the *bourgeois*, as well as the large industry, huge commercial and financial capital. Included in the list is the big-time retail trade where workers comprise the larger population of human resources that are rationalized as means for money-making. Engels’s observation may be appropriate here: “the petit bourgeois represents local interests, the bourgeois universal ones.”

In their 19th century shops, the *petite bourgeoisie* could shed light on how commerce tended towards a significant decrease on its

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31 Quoted in ibid., p. 113.
family-orientedness. At that time, the venues of their retail businesses and the set-ups of their other small enterprises were separated from the home. Such scenario more and more brought about the concern of keeping the wife from the shop so that she can concentrate on family upkeep. Even if retail and small-enterprise setups require the couples’ presence, the separation of business as run by the husband and the home as maintained by the wife was idealized; even if rarely feasible. It is an ideal for the petite bourgeoisie because a woman not freed from the shop was perceived as a suffering wife; and a wife who stayed at home is perceived to be well provided by her shopkeeper husband. Majority of the shops see no clear division of labor; but, as the shop and home become two distinct areas, the specific routines and roles between wife and husband become identified in accordance with their respective fields. It is just a matter of time to make such routines and fields define again the distinct “essences” of man and woman; that is, the man as public figure, breadwinner, head of the family and the woman as domestic figure, housewife, heart of the family.

The success in separating these two areas does also engender a separation between the sexes. In later generations such led to a greater instability of patriarchy and an accelerated development of feminist dissent. The reduction of the number of petite bourgeoisie household shops also leads to the more introspective and narrowly-based petite bourgeoisie family; reflecting a picture of a future nuclearized bourgeois families. Where wife, husband, and kids no longer needed a wider kin, family contraction became a network separate from an extended relations arrangement that is necessary to maintain a shop. This shrunk arrangement becomes a new venue where family, morality, and work take future modifications. It is in this shrunk arrangement that we observe the seeds of future atomized family structure, individual-driven forms of life-styles and intimacies. Families in most urbanized areas today are families

32 Ibid., pp. 98-99.
33 Ibid., p. 102.
consisting of father, mother and children as the only members; sometimes, a picture of a family is forced to accommodate a single-parent arrangement. In many countries, the latter scenario is no longer classified to be an “abnormal” family arrangement; there are too many of them to be grouped apart from the so-called normal. Ways of coping with this kind of situation have gradually developed as people discover other means (even if limited) of supporting one another.

A basic labor-product separation is multiplied a million times as workers churn out millions of goods through their labor. There is an enormous increase in the production of many kinds of goods from the industry; not necessarily meant for household subsistence. The power-driven machinery like a coal-powered steam engine and the centralized factories that are directly managed by stationary supervisor-owners maximized the enormous potential of specialization and division of labor as well as continued the standardized mode of production.

Commodities not intended for the workers’ households sometimes reach foreign markets without the workers’ knowledge. This separation is not problematic for as long as there are wages paid in exchange of creative skills. In this kind of arrangement, capital has built a chasm between the goods produced and the workers who are willing to sell their labor-power.

The production output follows the capitalist-industrialist’s free decision that is fundamentally disconnected from the traditional solidarities of rural communities. A business, for example, may only be preoccupied in producing thousands or millions of computer chips or LCD monitors even in the midst of a populace in critical need of food or medicines. Moreover, such community interests can no longer disturb a business enterprise as it strives to maximize gain. The enterprise succeeds only if not disrupted by production non-coefficients. The interest of the capitalist-industrialist defined most of his dealings with nature and other
people who have learned to reconfigure their goal state—a normal, healthy situation\textsuperscript{34}—to the former’s goals. The earlier founts of attitudes and behavior are also disconnected from their previous bearers.

The appearance of disembedded and transnational financial institutions has further redefined the nature of capitalism and that of the capitalist who is neither directly involved in production nor in commercial commodity trade. Although the capitalist-financiers position is placed above production and trade, the nature of his service business is still premised on trade and production. He has taken an autonomous image; but, not apart from the whole business network. He is so powerful that he could place the future of many debt-ridden Third World economies in perpetual precarious condition. Financiers are not bound by any economic or political contingency that arises from a borrower’s financial standing; borrowers may not also expect the financier’s benevolence in cases of local financial crises.\textsuperscript{35} Solidarities and familial connectedness are not disconnected from the separations created by the structures of capitalism.

The financier may be seen as a model of a disconnected and unreachable associate. One could become close to him only through the requirements of commerce. He maintains formal and contractual relations which are normally immune to the demands of closeness and affection. Life at the top could be lonely; but life at the bottom could be harsher and conflict-ridden. Both lives do not necessarily contribute to an increase in positive conditions for better intimate relationships.

\footnote{\textsuperscript{34} J. Habermas, \textit{Legitimation Crisis} (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988), p. 1.} \footnote{\textsuperscript{35} Cf. Asia Alliance of YMCAs, et al. \textit{Financial Crisis: Our Response} (Hongkong: Asia Alliance of YMCAs, 1998). Although a unilateral writing-off of $40M worth of debt of some 18 nations was recently initiated by some First World creditors, this did not turn into a gesture that is more global in scope.}
B. Public Circulation of Private Commodities

A common understanding identifies capitalism with the processes and practices of a market economy that is typified by the commercial exchange of goods and services in marketplaces, malls, groceries, boutiques, restaurants, fastfood centers, clinics, etc. Within the publicized market system of a market society, private citizens—merchants and consumers—seek to pursue their own interests in order to maximize the means available to them. This is not saying that all business owners or entrepreneurs are devoid of any intention to provide service to people. What it means is that the commercial railroad has provided an already-available familiar path for various interests. This railroad could assure the transport of captive consumers towards the market’s goods and services.

The supply and demand of goods and services under ideal, or unrealizable, conditions of free competition would determine fair price and quantity. The various mechanisms within the market environment would normally take care of the balance between supply and demand; with the ideal results of bringing better deals to both the merchants-producers and the laborers-consumers. This picture is so common that some would no longer consider the more complex and nuanced development which the different forms of capitalism have taken in history. In fact, if market economy would determine the character of capitalism, one will be forced to include some societies of antiquity which had already followed the market behaviors associated with commercial exchange. The trade between the natives of pre-Spanish Philippines and Arab, Chinese, and Portuguese traders36 take the character of regular commercial exchange; but, they are not yet the modern-day capitalist commerce prevalent at present.

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The non-stop, 24/7 commercial exchange that is found in modern settings is so extensive that it involves practically all sectors and functions of society. Services which are associated with care for the sick and the weak, education and guidance of young people, or construction of a community deep-well, may take the form of commercial transactions. In many traditional simple societies, such services are normally part of kinfolk or mutualist obligations; and thus, not capitalized. Today, even the most bizarre and macabre misfortunes that befall on some people become capital for profit. Samples of these are the recorded cases of rape, beheading of hostages, or suicide that are sold via the internet commerce. Also, there are some scholarly articles on the subject of sharing, compassion, self-giving and sacrifice that are on sale in the internet.

Trade, the basis of market dynamics, defines relations and interactions. As soon as an individual becomes familiar with the store or the market or the grocery or the mall, this trading-pattern of behavior will get into the consciousness of all individuals. Activities are then rational if goods and services are exchanged for gain. Gains are rational if they flow from the expected returns of investments. Goods and services which are needed by people must be acquired through monetary or financial exchange. Thus, a person becomes a passive/receptive consumer and is configured by the commercial processes by virtue of his need to buy goods which he no longer produces.\textsuperscript{37} Anything acquired or disposed in the market has to follow the buy-sell format; whether in cash or credit. This is a taken-for-granted reality; but, few people realize that buy-and-sell transactions also apply to hiring of workers who are part of the so-called labor-market. Goods sold in the market have to be produced by waged workers who are “subject to domination within the labor process by virtue of his need to sell his labor-power.”\textsuperscript{38}


\textsuperscript{38} Jon Elster, \textit{Making Sense of Marx} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985),
Early in life, children of both capitalists and laborer-consumers have learned this market-embedded pattern of activity. Regularized moments of cash-goods exchanges are familiar to 5- or even 4-year old children who get allowances for snacks and entertainment. Children of rich capitalists may have more for entertainment while the children of the poor get meager amount for simple necessities like Manila’s street foods.\(^\text{39}\) Compared to the children of poorer families, the children of the wealthy have less opportunity to learn the value of mutual aid since economic autonomy is their daily experience; self-sufficiency is also one of their stronger values. The poor may only survive if they share among themselves their meager resources; mutual help is thus one of their stronger values. Still, they are both initiated into a world where goods and services pass through the cash connection. This cash nexus will determine later transactions as they grow older. By then, they would have learned their lessons about monetary interactions. They now form part of a world where production and spending/consumption depend on those who can pay. Those who cannot pay are per se estranged from the cash/goods structures. Commerce, with its *quid pro quo* requirements, also translates into calculative and utilitarian relations rather than generosity and kindness; the former are traits that constantly aid disaffection, the latter towards greater affection.

1. **Stock Market and Finance Capitalism**

Some theories of capitalism focus not only on market economy but also on capital investments. They presuppose a money economy and the predominance of capital being invested in production areas that are no longer tied to subsistence level. Capital is accumulated from income and profits or by transfer of properties. The input of capital, increasing as the enterprise expands, is to be matched by the proportional output of production. Capitalist

\(^{39}\) Dagmang, “Instant Gratification,” p. 55
practice is now positively evaluated in terms of net investment and Gross National Product. The rate of personal and corporate savings is high in a capital-demanding economy. As demand for investments by the expanding production increases, other sources of capital spawns. The practice of borrowing from private and public funds has evolved and resulted to the creation of a credit system. In addition, the enormous profits that are gained from transnational transactions and exploits by the powerful economies have provided a source for huge capital demand. Moreover, as international competition spread, the growth of capitalism not only depended on the local capitalists’ drive for prestige or status but also relied on the urge to elevate a capitalist nation’s status before the whole world. Capitalism, in this sense, is also driven by nationalism.\(^{40}\) Transnational financiers would thus take pride in their control over transnational lendings. This character shown by the investment side of capitalist operations has given reasons for theories to identify capitalism with private ownership of capital, profit making, and financial investments.\(^{41}\)

The growth of banks and the stock market as centers for raising financial capital has expanded, to some extent, the meaning of capitalization—from an exclusively private ownership or institutional financing to the capitalistic contributions of the people. The development of banks is a correlate of the growth of industrial and commercial capitalism that needed larger capital than what a single individual investor could provide. The New York Stock Exchange’s history is a veritable school about capitalism; minus direct engagement in industrial or commercial enterprise. However, no matter how the stock market opens its floors to the public, it is still controlled by banks owned by the great financiers. Ranking among these were the banks owned by the Rothschilds and Barings of


England and the Morgan of New York. Free from government regulation, these became integral to the operations of industries of that age and of the succeeding years. These huge financiers do not directly involve themselves in the ins and outs of capitalist production and product circulation in markets. They are the super- or hyper-capitalists who operate above the heads of other capitalists. With the public’s participation, however, even the most astute of financial capitalists could not stop stock market crashes. Such crashes are also effects of collective panic behavior. In the stock exchange, the private property-profit structure is illustrated in its sacramental-representational form. In the late-stage capitalism, the hegemony of finance has been highlighted. In a Durkheimian sense, the hegemony of finance reflects a totemic capitalism; resources symbolized by money have become separate from their makers and supposed beneficiaries. The presence of “absent” territories of sources of production and income, render the unemployed and penniless bewildered, unable to locate where the source of their salvation may come from. The keepers and repositories of resources have become high priests or even demigods who may also demand revered ritual honors.

2. Transnational Public

In terms of capital and financial expertise, the present-day transnational corporations have slowly replaced the big banks of the industrial era. They have not only attained greater financial autonomy from their regular businesses but have also obtained financial resources from other currencies and countries where they

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extend their business ventures. Such global ventures further qualify the nature of relations and interactions of elements that are considered as fundamental to the foundations of capitalism.

As transnational transactions redefine relations—business firm to another firm, business to government, government to government—within familiar institutional spaces as well as undefined transnational spaces, transactions take the nature of the inevitable: as disembedded supranational activities which are more difficult to regulate and be subjected to institutionalized rules of commerce.\textsuperscript{45} As expected, supra-formalized business relations and interactions are catapulted into higher levels of business; and thus, super-alienated from those in disadvantaged position.\textsuperscript{46} The relations of capital with labor and consumer are greatly affected by the lack of traditional standards of behavior; informing disembedded owners and managers. This lack of contact due to separation multipliers and their ability to widen structural dependencies are frustrating, and many times deadly, for the workers on the ground. Sample structural dependencies are global financing, trans-national commerce, and corporate ownership. Budget allocations for servicing of debts to the IMF and World Bank take away a huge slice from the Philippine’s annual national budget. Around one-third or P344.4 billion of the 2006 budget went straight to \textit{interest} payments on foreign debts and in 2007, daily interest payment reached the P1 billion peso mark; not to mention the obligation to pay the principal debt (at the end of 2006, outstanding debt of the national government reached P3.851 trillion; total debt service for 2006 reached P854.374 billion).\textsuperscript{47}

III. Background and Foreground Structures for Free Enterprise

A. Liberal Society

Capitalism is generally identified with the free-enterprise system that finds its origins in Western Europe and Northeastern United States. It is distinct from both the centrally-controlled modern collective socialist system and the traditional collective-communitarian systems of simple or tribal societies that are found in many marginal areas of the world. China and Cuba may have introduced some amount of free enterprise; more in China than in Cuba. However, their politics today do not truly reflect the liberal and/or social-democratic traditions of the Western European and the Northern American economies. But, once capitalism is allowed to get in, liberal democracy is just at the gates. The rights identified with autonomous citizens (citizens who become more autonomous because of greater economic power) will inevitably grow into rights to make decisions in the realm of politics.

The so-called “inalienable and imprescriptible rights of man” have come to people as natural or human rights. The fact is that such rights, as they are understood in the liberal tradition, have only found their developed and well-articulated form toward the end of the 17th and 18th centuries. In other words, these are generated from the bosom of the industrial era as bolstered by the growth of humanism and from the challenges of the Reformation during the Renaissance period until their full flowering during the period of the Enlightenment. This developed notion of human rights (rights of man) has gone through evolutionary processes that involved considerable conflicts between individual interests and authoritarian practices of authorities.48 Specifically, the notion of human rights has developed within the context of polemics against

arbitrary intrusions by both religio-ecclesiastical and monarchical feudal different masters. It also has grown within the context of popular pressures-demands brought upon the people-constituted national states to complete what the latter is supposed to deliver for the welfare of its constituents.

It is during the 18th century in Western Europe and Northeastern United States when the momentous proclamations of the “inalienable and imprescriptible rights of man” come about. These proclamations crystallized those values represented by the English philosophies, English Puritanism, and the concern for freedom and toleration.49

The ideas of freedom and toleration have their classical academic expression in the philosophy of John Locke (1632-1704). Locke conceives that the rights of man are natural, fully rational, and of divine origin.50 Being natural, such rights entitle every individual to life, liberty, and property for his survival and growth. These ideas have their notable antecedents in the world-shaking trials of Charles I in 1649 and in the Glorious Revolution of 1688; which, according to some authors, have been given a philosophical justification by Locke.51 Those events and Locke’s ideas have prepared the way for the great declarations of inalienable rights in the declaration of June 12, 1776 in Virginia; which is then echoed in “The Unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united states of America” on July 4, 1776. Among others, they spelled out claims that are now familiar to us: (a) the natural equality of men [sic]; (b) that men are naturally/sacredly endowed with certain inalienable rights to Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness; and, (c) there is a necessity for a people-instituted government to secure those


51 Locke, Two Treatises of Government.
inalienable rights because the legitimacy of the government rests on safeguarding those same rights.

The American declaration has become the inspiration for the equally momentous declaration affixed to the French constitution: the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizens. In its essence, the French declaration of 1789 re-states the American declarations as well as the political and philosophical traditions shaping them. It reiterated the natural and sacred character of those rights that form the basis of every legitimate government. With its greater concretizations of liberty and pursuit of happiness in the claims of the rights to property, the French declaration went beyond the political claims of the Americans. They have done it for a better social ordering and an enhanced cultural patrimony. Nevertheless, both the American and the French declarations represent the libertarian claims/liberal tradition. Such claims or tradition are soon embraced by other nations as their inspiration for individual and property relations and for the ordering of their societies.

In the claims to their natural and sacred origin, the British Bill of Rights, the American, and the French declarations seek to ground the rights of man on a primordial foundation. As a result, they do not refer to those rights’ historical meaning as they are constituted in time and space and are couched in the language, sentiments, interests, and ethos of people behind the libertarian movements. These rights may have been affirmed as divinely-given rights; but, their original inspiration may not go farther than the rise of a counter-class and personalism/individualism in the theory and practice of society. Granted that the belief that God may “work” through this historical process of emancipation of individuals from despotism, it can be noted, however, that the evolution of the theory itself—of the constituted theory about the rights of man—should not be considered apart from its structural determinants. At best, the claim to sacredness expresses the conviction, the faith, of a people who trust that in their commitment to per-
sonal freedom from arbitrary intrusions of an external authority, God is with them. In this case, from a deistic perspective, God may also be pushed into a dominion separate from that of the autonomous human beings.

The more abstract principle of rights has its concrete instantiation (1) in every capitalist’s, worker’s, and consumer’s desire for autonomy or sovereign status (cf. Adam Smith) as well as in (2) the way his rights and other people’s rights are protected by the state. The Western model of democracy such as that of England, France, and United States needed the middle forces of the town dwellers in establishing democracy that is maintained under their rule and is legitimated through their philosophies or ideals. These central figures of democratic persuasion may not have succeeded well, however, without their traditional allies in the countryside. Their allies are the landed aristocracy, the nobility, and the upper classes who all pick up commercial interests through their property. Moore provides the case that an entry into liberal modern period should be preceded by conditions that are largely commercial-political in nature such as those commercialized ways of landed elite and their eventual assumption of state leadership by democratic principles, otherwise, democracy remains problematic.52 When the upper strata’s interests converge with liberal-capitalism, however, democracy suffers among workers and peasants; largely in areas of consumption, production, and political life.

In the expanded field of transnational capitalism, nationalism has served as a more visible coalescing principle of the rights of a nation or race akin to the well-defined rights of man.53 The hoped-for cooperation under talks of globalization may have to seriously consider the more localizing umbrella of a nation’s rights.

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53 See Poole, Nation and Identity.
Capitalism, from the point of view of investments, has rested on two essential elements: self-interest and private property. These twin elements make up the hub of capitalism. If private property is the fuel, self-interest is the fire. Self-interest is realized through profit-seeking or maximization of gains. It can be added that liberal tradition provided the light. Since then, it has been challenged or balanced by other lights of socialism and democratic socialism as well as traditions of Catholicism, East Asian Confucianism, and other lesser lights from local cultures.

To speak of the liberal tradition as the light of capital is to also speak of the development of the subjects of capital. Such is in terms of this light reflected through various representations like roles, patterns of work, and spending/consumption. The pursuit of autonomy as well as of ego-formation or ego-differentiation is made possible by what subjects would come to regard as a vehicle of character development. In this sense, the liberal tradition largely provides the symbolic world for those subjects who turn to liberal-capitalist representations to mold or re-animate themselves. Various forms of sexual and non-sexual intimacies have drawn out from the liberal tradition their cognitive reinforcements. It is also this liberal tradition that will turn intimacies into liberal/autonomous expressions, especially when individuals become more secularized and are no longer under the direct sway of religious structures.

The subject in modernity may be a very “strong” subject in terms of assertion of rights, liberty, freedom, and autonomy. This does not mean that he is that strong because he is not objectively determined by any socio-cultural pattern or force. It is precisely because of a mold or a force springing from a very specific setting that he becomes formed to be disposed as assertive of rights, liberty, freedom, and autonomy. In other words, a kind of person is shaped by that society and culture where he was born, nurtured, educated, and learned to work. A liberal-capitalist society needs to flourish; it demands the existence of functional and effective
agents – rights-bearing, libertarian, free, and autonomous agents. Agents know this; that is why they prepare themselves to be fit for that kind of society.

The following discussion on secularization will further explain, among others, the secular “spirit” of a liberal social order.

**B. Secularized Society**

The term “secularization” has a complex meaning. It can be viewed in different ways and from different levels.

Secularization process takes shape in both personal and societal levels. On the personal level, there is that sign of a decrease in the religiously motivated behavior and in the manifestation of one’s religious commitment through the traditional religious public rituals and other devotional activities. A person may, however, remain religious but no longer express this through the traditional public rituals. Personal behavior is thus more and more tied to one’s *saeculum*.

On the societal level, it can be spoken of as —


55 “A saeculum is a length of time roughly equal to the potential lifetime of a person or the equivalent of the complete renewal of a human population. The term was first used by the Etruscans. Originally it meant the period of time from the moment that something happened (for example the founding of a city) until the point in time that all people who had lived at the first moment had died. At that point a new saeculum would start. According to legend the Gods had accorded a certain amount of saecula to every people or civilization, the Etruscans themselves for example had been given ten saecula.”

“By the second century BC, Roman historians were using the saeculum to periodize their chronicles and track wars. At the time of the reign of emperor Augustus, the Romans decided that a saeculum was 110 years. In 17 BC Caesar Augustus organised Ludi saeculares (‘century-games’) for the first time to celebrate the ‘fifth saeculum of Rome’. Later emperors like Claudius and Septimius Severus have celebrated the passing of saecula with games at irregular intervals. In 248, Philip the Arab combined Ludi saeculares with the 1000th anniversary of the founding of Rome ‘ab urbe condita’. The new millennium that Rome entered was called the *Saeculum Novum*, a term that got a metaphysical connotation in Christianity, referring to the worldly age (hence ‘secular’).”

“A saeculum isn’t normally used for a fixed amount of time, in common usage it
tural/ideological and institutional levels of secularization. On the cultural/ideological level, less weight is attached to a religious or sacred system of beliefs when it comes to a search for a socio-integrative web of meanings. On the institutional level, the ascendance of the idea of the separation of church and state is a mark of the secularization process. Thus, the pre-eminence of the civil over the sacred institutions is recognized especially in the settling of questions that concern society as a whole. Secularization denotes the separation of the world and the church; and suggests the non-homogeneity of church and social life.\textsuperscript{56}

From the point of view of sociology, a way of understanding secularization is through the “standard” secularization hypothesis. That is, religion declines with the onset of modernity. This view believes that with the onset of science, an overarching power takes over the “sacred canopy” that spreads over the ethos, beliefs, and institutions of the previous age. According to this view, society leads to a state of irreversible state of irreligion as a result of scientific progress. The ascendance of science’s concurrent ethos, beliefs, and institutions will dislodge all vestiges of religion’s powerful sway over the previous age. With science’s preponderance, according to this view, religion becomes irrelevant or superfluous. But this view simplifies the whole matter because some facts disprove its claim. The growth of a movement, known collectively as the New Religious Movement in present day and the so-called civil religion that manifests strongly in the North American history, punctures the standardized understanding of secularization.\textsuperscript{57}


Moreover, it reduces the flow of history into a dualistic before-and-after history of a pre-industrial world to an industrial modern world; the two worlds being taken as two disjunctive epochs. It considers absolutely this temporal divide as if no threshold is possible for interpenetration. It simply states that the pre-industrial age will die out and the modern era live. One of its proponents’ statement is worth quoting: “change are irreversible” and that “religions are always dying. In the modern world it is not clear that they have any prospect of rebirth.”

It is clear that the “standard” secularization hypothesis is no longer tenable. In fact, it can be agreed with Lyon that its simplistic “evolutionary assumptions are not necessary to secularization theory and, moreover, that they tend to distort the evidence.” It can be added that the standard hypothesis misses the whole point about the complexity of human development. Dobbelaere argues that such a thesis is “stupid of their mechanical evolutionist implications: the laicization process is neither unidimensional nor inevitable and varies in pace, incidence and impact from place to place.” This means that secularization is not a theory to be generalized in terms of laicization and evolutionary irreversibility—a generalization scheme that amounts to a straight-jacketing of human development/change. In fact, Martin’s studies show that secularization has taken on different, complex patterns of development in different societies or even between different groups and


60 Lyon, “Rethinking Secularization: Retrospect and Prospect,” p. 237.
classes within those societies.\textsuperscript{62} Martin’s studies, among others, reminds of the complexity of the meaning of secularization.\textsuperscript{63}

From the point of view of theology, secularization is considered for its significance to the Christian faith. The concept of secularization itself has developed not only in the tradition of social theorizing but also “in efforts to do theology relevantly in the late twentieth century.”\textsuperscript{64} "Theology’s concerns apparently followed the footsteps of F. Gogarten\textsuperscript{65} who distinguishes between secularization and secularism; a distinction that is a function of theology’s contextual concerns. Thus, a number of theologians who, while not selling out their critical stance to the secular society, find a basic co-incidence in the secularization process with some biblical themes.\textsuperscript{66} Their approaches to secularization are more characterized by dialogue than outright condemnation. They exhibit a greater sensitivity to the changing circumstances and surrounding conditions of today’s churches.

An example of the latter group is Cox who refers to a liberating character of the secularization process.\textsuperscript{67} Cox shows how in the course of history the term \textit{saeculum} or “this present age” has attained a “second-class” status vis-à-vis the so-called eternal “religious world.” The church, having assimilated a more Hellenistic, spatial view of the world, has regarded the more Hebraic and

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\item[\textsuperscript{63}] Martin’s studies have shown the different patterns that the secularization process followed. Thus he speaks of the American, British, French (Latin), South American (extended Latin), Russian, Calvinist and Lutheran patterns. See ibid., pp. 5-7.
\item[\textsuperscript{64}] Lyon, “Rethinking Secularization: Retrospect and Prospect,” p. 240.
\item[\textsuperscript{65}] See Friederich Gogarten, \textit{Verhängnis und Hoffnung der Neuezeit} (Stuttgart: Friedrich Vorwerk Verlag, 1953) and Idem, \textit{Der Mensch zwischen Gott und Welt} (Stuttgart: Friedrich Vorwerk Verlag, 1956).
\item[\textsuperscript{66}] The following, among other authors, have tried to bring the Christian faith into dialogue with the secular setting: D. Bonhoeffer, F. Delekat, W. Hahn, T. Rendtorff, J.-B. Metz.
\item[\textsuperscript{67}] Harvey Cox, \textit{The Secular City: Secularization and Urbanization in Theological Perspective} (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1968).
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biblical *saeculum* as a passing one; an inferior dimension compared to the changeless *cosmos*. 68 *Saeculum* is a time word that denotes *aeon* for the Greeks. The church, in general, has resisted the positive direction of viewing the world in secular terms, i.e., in biblico-historical and dynamic terms. By viewing the secular process as a dilution of the imperfect and transient into what is perfect and changeless, the church soon equated the historical processes with “worldly” but not on the level of the spatial world. Thus, in the medieval synthesis we get a hierarchization of the spatial and temporal world: the spatial world as the higher and the changing world of history as the lower or “secular” one. 69 Then the term secularization took the meaning of separation of the worldly from the sacred, which can be observed in the many aspects of political, social and cultural secularizations. 70 Now secularization “implies a historical process . . . in which society and culture are delivered from tutelage to religious control and closed metaphysical world views.” 71

Secularization, forwards Cox, arises in large measure from the influence of biblical faith on the world. 72 It emphasizes the different dimensions of *disenchantment of nature* beginning with the Creation, *desacralization of politics* with the Exodus, and the *deconsecration of values* with the Sinai Covenant; especially with its prohibition of idols. 73

In a secular world, authority cannot anymore be solely placed on the religious authorities. Also, the secular sciences and the other disciplines possess their own authority by virtue of the modern citizen’s autonomy that constitutes them. In terms of function, these disciplines have become modernity’s authoritative sources of

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68 The notion refers to an orderly or harmonious system; from the Greek term κόσμος which could mean order or arrangement.


70 *Ibid.*, p. 34.


72 Cox has relied on the insights of the German theologian Friedrich Gogarten.

information and interpretations regarding origin and end. Modern citizens have stood up to claim rational authority. For them, anyone relying on external authority is considered immature. They claim that only a person’s autonomy, exorcized of all heteronomies, can be the principle of authority; and thus, of emancipation from external authorities. Thus, when autonomous and secularized individuals are facing moral problems, they usually base their decisions on principles not set by religion.

It is appropriate to reiterate here that present-day practices within capitalist contexts, as well as fields of practices or networks like markets, malls, offices, factories, and internet commerce sites, are imbued with liberal/democratic and secularized ideas. Practices, in this sense, are therefore “coordinated entities” which embody various elements. They do not just point to bodily activities or performances. They also point to a whole context and network of practices. Investing a private property (money) in business thus includes the background system of capitalism and its various structures; getting an education in a university would presuppose the objectives of getting a job and earning a living within a market society; choosing a bride or a groom may have to include the background pressure to become secure financially.

The notion of Praktik (cf. habitus of Elias and Bourdieu) will help us explain this point about “coordinated practice”: “A ‘practice’ (Praktik) is a routinized type of behavior which consists of several elements, interconnected to one another: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, ‘things’ and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotions and motivational knowledge.” Practice, as a coordinated entity, brings further reference to the “internal goods” of

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74 Kant says: “Enlightenment is man’s emergence from his self-imposed immaturity. Immaturity is the inability to use one’s understanding without guidance from another.” Immanuel Kant, “An Answer to the Question: What is Enlightenment,” http://philosophic.li/kant/what_is_enlightenment/ (accessed 15 October 2009).

practice;\textsuperscript{76} it does not refer alone to actual performance that is
driven limitedly by choice or intention. This concept of “practice”
will help us avoid the pitfalls of the intentionalist forms of analysis
or formulations about human behavior as product of conscious,
deliberative, clear, and distinct reflection.\textsuperscript{77} This intentionalist way
does not have that broader approach in understanding action or
practice present in the more integrative or “culturalist” way of
understanding. The latter presupposes the role or the influence of
background, foreground, and somatic and intra-psychic structures
in every moment of appreciation, apprehension, and action. Acts
or practices that could promote or wreck intimacy may have to be
viewed in terms of coordinated practices.

IV. Conclusions

Economic as well as ideological gains (the Western type) have
turned persons into liberal-autonomous individuals. These have
become the same gains that would eventually send persons to-
wards greater isolation or privatization—too unwilling and unable
to return to traditional solidarities and broader social bonds. Finding
oneself as an autonomous subject in secularized liberal-
capitalist contexts does not necessarily translate into gaining an
ability to pursue broader social connections. Even family and
sexual intimacies will have to lose those previous solidarities that
have provided some grounding for more socially sensitive person-
alities.

Vulnerability to risks also spells, for many, harder struggles to
work for wages and greater determination to face up to the harsh-
ness of urbanized, liberal-capitalist dominated, mode of life. But

\textsuperscript{76} Cf. MacIntyre, \textit{After Virtue}, pp. 190, 193-94.

\textsuperscript{77} Cf. \textit{Theory of Planned Behavior} which explains that human behaviour is planned
and is preceded by intention. I. Ajzen, “The Theory of Planned Behaviour,” \textit{Organisational
Behaviour and Human Decision Processes} 50/1 (1991): 179-211; I. Ajzen and M. Fishbein,
\textit{Understanding Attitudes and Predicting Social Behaviour} (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, Prentice Hall,
1980).
when life seems to be reduced to a uni-dimensional pursuit of resources for survival, an individual’s capacity for enriching emotional connections will inevitably suffer. If the road taken is profit-seeking or self-interested struggle for wealth, even somebody’s pursuit of distinction, honor, and prestige will endure the loss of resources necessary for more open and intimate communication with loved ones; loss of opportunities to express oneself through work, and; loss of venues and relations for more gratifying social integration.

In the next chapter, I will present some theories which contribute towards the understanding of processes that influence attitude and behavior. These theories will further help organize and understand (or predict) experiences of people as they become captive to the images, values, and practices associated with the civilized capitalist world. We will thus be further enlightened as to how the body, with its affective and emotional aspects, has been affected by capitalism.
Chapter Three

Theorizing (Sexual) Identities Amidst Connections and Disconnections

The previous chapter has focused on the capitalist world, with its processes, its secularized fields, and its cognitive armories. The present chapter will further highlight on the predicaments of subjects exposed to and confined within liberal-capitalism.

I will comment on the views of several authors—Marx, Elias, Weber, Freud, and Marcuse (with some assistance from Giddens, Foucault, de Certeau, and Baudrillard)—whose theories could help organize our views about Western liberal-capitalism’s wide-ranging impingements; mainly contradictory effects on various lifeworlds. Their analyses of estrangements, alienations, civilizing process, rationalizations, and transformations of the human and physical realities have offered views about Western society and identity as soaked by a male-constituted capitalism. These authors’ analyses, while mainly looking into social relations, do not fail to bring into relief the affected bodies and psyche of every sexual being. Their observations about their own societies could help produce a more coherent view of the way liberal-capitalism has given shape to a social order/disorder and to attitudes and behavior. Knowing people’s experiences within the core economies could show a picture as to how lifeworlds in the so-called peripheries or dependencies would be affected by the more globalized core capitalism of today.

Since the fall of the Soviet Union, and the collapse of its satellites in Eastern Europe, capitalism has been perceived by the majority of nations as the only viable global economic system; and because of its pervasiveness, capitalism has even transformed itself into the essential economic system.
Capitalism’s pervasiveness in the everyday life of people has evidently produced its own modern/late-modern culture and personalities. There are, of course, degrees of formations of modernity/late-modernity within today’s various capitalist economies. Variations in formations do not, however, preclude the fact that the basic backgrounds, platforms, canopies, and pathways of capitalism pervade everyday life. It conditions life as it provides conditions for life. It is, in fact, perceived as the precondition of human existence in many territories of today.

The heightened interdependencies and the consequent interconnections through networks of different processes/activities that are brought about by the schemes of division of labor in production units as well as schemes of marketing and consumption of both basic materials and finished products have brought together complex personalities and nationalities into varied negotiating tables. The traditional village labor and products are now penetrated or accessed by the globalized interlocking financing, manufacturing, servicing, and marketing schemes. There is some truth in the observation about the world transformed into a one whole “global village,” that is, for global production and consumption. That is mainly because of the continuing expansion of global capitalism propped up by borderless information technologies, entangling millions of individual pursuits into complex coordinates.

Interconnections and interdependencies abound. But, many of these revolve around interests which snap readily into the narrow structure of capitalism. The traditional lifeworld, with its cultural worldviews, local customs and traditions, indigenous identities, had to defer, in many instances, to the more dominant means-end reasoning of capitalist projects and schemes. Capitalist reasoning has almost always landed or crept into all aspects of life—eventually circumscribing and subordinating them. Even the Christian Biblical tradition of forgiveness and compassion will suffer from subordination in settings where the bottom-line of business predominates.
If male-instituted means-end reasoning also promotes relationships with narrowed-down goals, then it does, to a great extent, restrict human life in its multi-dimensional as well as its non means-end or non-utilitarian aspirations. In other words, means-end interests and processes engender estrangements and alienations in the many, far too many, established lifeworld practices and concerns which used to promote more kinship-based or neighborhood-based cohesive relations among people. Capitalism has developed and flourished. But, in the process, it has created a consequent irreversible havoc on various cultural traditions and identities, as well as on natural and built environments. It has, in effect, transformed the human world into its own factory, office, and shopping mall or convenience store. Persons maneuver in these fields but at the same time get maneuvered, gaining some things while losing very valuable intrinsic goods.

I. Distantiation from Subordinated Traditions – Snapping into the Restructured Material Conditions

The breakdown of the feudal institutions (lordship, vassalage, fiefdom, tenancy and the centrality of the land and patronage-fidelities) and other traditional socio-cultural arrangements of 19th century Europe is in no way caused by a single factor. Nevertheless, it is easy to identify industrial capitalism, which has evolved around the centralized production units-factories, as the single most powerful and fundamental trigger leading to socio-cultural breakdowns. These breakdowns have taken many paths and have produced many forms which engendered various social ills or perceived social ills. Various scholars have identified those ills as alienation, anomie, class conflicts, neo-colonial domination and dependence, civil apathy, possessive individualism, and others—all pointing to breakdown of bonds or intimacies leading towards collapse of solidarity.

The shift from the household-type to factory-based industry has not only disturbed and split the household from their members
but also from its traditional culture that has cradled it for generations. The capitalist factory industry is founded on totally different principles which have caused no small negative effects on traditional principles like kinship automatic solidarity and informal neighborly mutual help.

Traditional societies have depended on the stability of households composing it. It is, thus, quite understandable to observe tradition-keepers like the elders, leaders, and clergy complain against liberal and secular ideas. Such ideas have fostered and are fostered by industrial capitalism. They have disturbed household units. To the mind of traditionalists, failure to protest against liberalism would be tantamount to their disappearance as seat of authority. The perceived negative effects of liberal ideas and business practices on traditions are also a threat to the existence of tradition-bearers. Some authorities, however, are able to transform themselves into hybrid types and become more adaptable to the demands of change as triggered by industrialization (cf. agricultural barons shifting to wool,\(^1\) as well as enclosures of England,\(^2\) or

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1 The peasantry in England was eventually driven out of their fields by the inroads of capitalism in the form of sheep’s wool production. Thousands of acres of land which used to feed humans had been converted into sheep’s pasture. England’s transformation into capitalism, therefore, was caused not just by the town’s factories but also by countryside commerce. The profit principle rooted in private control over property did the trick in both forms. As soon as the royalty was emasculated after the Revolution of the 17th century the barriers to the enclosing landlords were removed and “prepared England for rule by a ‘committee of landlords’, a reasonably accurate if unflattering designation of Parliament in the eighteenth century.” Barrington Moore Jr., *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966), p. 19. The retention of power by the upper classes did not, however, prevent capitalist influence to penetrate and transform the countryside which already began long before the Civil War. Money and no longer birth was to form the basis of the aristocracy. Parliament became an instrument of landed capitalists.

2 As early as 16th century England, agricultural life among peasants was to be shattered by the growing practice of enclosures of land by the yeoman and even more by the landed upper class. These enclosures were “encroachments made by lord of manors or their farmers upon the land over which the manorial population had common rights or which lay in the open arable fields.” R.H. Tawney, *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1912), quoted in Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, p. 9.
Theorizing (Sexual) Identities

plamation owners shifting from tenancy to contractual paid work). The common people, however, could not share the advantages reaped by those privileged by the coming of capitalist industry.

The common people of a traditional mold could not keep their complaints as a secret against the secular “liberal culture” and the destabilizing effects of industrialization. Traditional family arrangements collapse due to urban migration and urban work. One’s daughter gets lost in the lure of city life. The “decadent” ways of their young get infected by unruly urban teenagers. Merchants (mostly male) are able to invade and exploit the countryside and wilderness. The more carefree and rights-bearing urbanites have developed a “disrespectful” attitude. Waged work extends from morning till night. These are some examples of the perceived signs or effects of industrialization. With its liberalizing worldview, it apparently wreaks havoc on the closely-knit lives of traditional people.

As the process of industrialization continues to grow and expand further, the drive of the urban centers towards the countryside and even beyond has not only generated a movement of change. Rather, this movement has also brought about a powerful pull upon the people of the more traditional villages. These people’s struggles and hope for a better life also push them towards the enticing urban center. Actually, it is not for economic reasons alone that villagers are lured towards the city. The move is also because of other opportunities like education and skills advance-

[3] The land assigned to the peasants by the feudal seigneur was supposed to yield produce meant for their family and the seigneur’s share. However, as soon as opportunities arise, some of those in the upper ranks of the peasantry—the yeoman—(presumably imitating the habits of the landed upper classes and their overlords) were also caught in the practice of commercialization of agriculture and so, thus, opening up a tendency towards individual discretion which departed from customary rules of the feudal arrangements. See also Mildred Campbell, The English Yeoman under Elizabeth and the Early Stuarts, 2nd ed. (London, 1960).
ment. Ambition, pursuit of prestige, improved reputation, and adventure are all present in the facts of migration.4

Moreover, tradition has played a role in the process of de-traditionalization. Considering the slow process of disintegration of former stable rural economies and the enticing “invitation” of urban work to supply what was lacking to peasants, the physical migration of tradition-bearing populace has contributed much to the population of town/city factories. These areas have, thereby, been transformed into centers of subsistent migration. Most of those who migrated were people who are driven not only by the need to avert further economic crisis in the countryside but also by the prospect of settling down within a set-up more promising for their future and more congenial to their increasingly forward-looking consciousness.5

Subsistent migrants and entrepreneurs/merchants move to and from urban areas. It is because of these physical migrations that the initial breakdown and splitting of traditional beliefs and practices are felt by those staying in the countryside as well as by those leaving it and settling down in the urban areas. It is inevitable that beliefs, norms, and practices transported from the countryside by traditional culture-bearers would have to clash with or be despised by the more dominant liberal-capitalist culture-bearers of urban centers. Because they habitually gain the upper hand in most economic or even cultural transactions (cf. the damage caused by non-villagers to the nighthunting practices of the traditional villages of Scandinavian countries6), the urbanites penetrate

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6 This courtship system collapsed in time. In Sweden “men who were not part of the system and who could remove themselves without having to marry the impregnated locals brought it to an end.” In Finland, the bicycle allowed some guys to break away from a group to overextend his “wooing radiuses”, with the dire consequences for the
various settings thru often-imposed liberal/instrumental beliefs and practices that eventually subordinate or exclude traditions.

What should be kept in mind is that village traditions have neither informed nor constituted the 18th or 19th century industrial capitalism. They come from differing starting points; they do not even share the same axis. Within liberal-capitalist economies, traditional beliefs and practices are actually considered more as intruders than as welcome visitors. Although some advanced-capitalism practices integrate native/indigenous cultural beliefs and practices into the business setup, it is a subordinating integration—done in view of managerial efficiency and the profit-motive; and certainly not as an intrinsic gesture of respect to a people’s culture.

The migrations instigated by factory-industry and the village people’s hope pinned on it would then be a main reason for the start of the transformation of institutions. People will be delivered and further transformed into this context of transformations and the eventual capitalist restructuring of society. Unintended consequences like environmental pollution, nature’s destruction, upsetting of eco-systems’ balance, global warming, and hurricanes packing more power and rains have become part of society’s future. Industry and commerce did not immediately understand its role and responsibility in the destruction of the ozone layer, in the rise of cases of eye ailments, especially in Australia and New Zealand, the Greenhouse Effect, and the melting of icecaps and glaciers. The commercial practice of “finning” of tiger sharks also means the dwindling of tuna population because of the lack of sharks that should check the tuna’s predators. The poaching of elephants for their ivory tusks; the hunting of some animals only for their coats; the harvesting of bird’s nests in tropical caves; the single-crop (banana, tobacco, pineapple, rubber, sugar cane) form of cultivation…all of these commercial ventures have produced dire consequences for nature and eventually for people.

II. Alienations: Scheduled Interconnections and Booked Disconnections

The emergence of capitalism highlights the flight of work and consumption, from rural communities to the urban capitalist centers. This is the original and far-reaching industry-induced separation (an “original sin”) upon which other forms of separation will appear or re-appear (other forms of “sin” like forcing children to become “independent” and allowing them to depend on their “premature maturities”).

In urbanized settings, the early morning domestic scurrying for work and school reflects the daily pull of jobsites to employees and prospective employees who must leave their abodes and get separated from their loved ones for 10 to 16 hrs. This normalized pattern of leave-separation brings about a fundamental rupture on families because of the regular engagements in the fields of learning or work. Even younger children will already be exposed to this kind of life as they also hurry up for their day-care centers or schools; the high school or college level children will approximate the schedule of their parents who wake up at five in the morning, leave home at six a.m., and return home at six or seven or nine p.m. or even midnight. The primary and warm relations at home will be breached until the household members gather in again for the renewal of affective interactions through common rituals and activities. If this coming together and renewal of affective sharing are wanting, we will have potential cases of breached relations and deficit intimacies becoming more recurrent or even permanent. Today’s nuclear and single-parent families, which are perceived as “normal,” are features that have come about because of the more fundamental breaching patterns caused by waged work. Intimacy-deficit households will also become more “normal.”

Grocery or market visits have drawn consumers away from the earth or wilderness for their supplies of food and other products (including health and beauty products). Employment and
shopping do not only show people’s integration into urban society’s socio-economic processes, but also exposure to possibilities of being cut off from diverse life-giving or health-promoting activities (like unhurried common breakfast, shared meals, shared leisure, contact with the soil through games or gardening, regular visits to elders, or enjoyment of other non-utilitarian activities).

People become different persons when they leave their abodes for the workplace or the market. They assume identities that abide by the rules and prescriptions of male-instituted rationalized systems. They become employees or buyers whose freedom adapt to the templates of commerce. The moment people return to their homes, they shift back to household or neighborly identities but never to regain that previous self untainted by the business world’s second-nature formal calculations. Once they have signed contracts with employers, sacrificed family presence with remote goals, exchanged their labor for wages, parted with the hard-earned money for goods, and missed the presence of kin in common or mutual-help endeavors, people will become more familiar with the requisites of rationalizing means for ends; for the more enticing extrinsic goods than the intrinsic goods gained from the Lebenswelt. This will become the platform of the gradual change of treating former ends (kinship solidarity) as mere means for survival.

In urban centers, capitalists have been dominant. Their presence and their principles and activities have penetrated everyday life. They serve as necessary “partners” to every individual who would depend on them for their everyday pursuits or survival.

Capitalists are not disinterested partners. Their partnership with the workers is based on self-interested behavior. It is a partnership with self-interest. If people are willing to be part of this arrangement, as workers are willing to be enlisted, then they could be considered capitalist-interest partners even if the capitalists are intent on setting up their businesses detached from the people’s communities.
As capitalism forms its typical productive forces, as it sets up its appropriate organization, as it establishes venues for the circulation of goods, as it provides fields for workers and consumers, and as it generates its distinctive legitimating ideas, capitalism eventually shapes a social order and its citizens whose characters and virtues conform to work and spending requirements.

Employees or workers have to follow the paths and flows of the present socio-economic history. Even as they are committed to their ambitions, they will have to suspend (as much as possible) their private lives while they are inside the workplace. Ideally, for most workers within workplaces, the very personal desires have to be unspoken; not to be expressed. In the process, one is somehow forced to sacrifice or postpone the satisfaction of his affective needs opening up to affective scarcity.

As capitalism eventually takes its fundamental shape, it gains its autonomy away from the spaces, culture, and authorities that are identified with the feudal or simple agrarian-based societies. Nevertheless, its history is also the unfolding of fields, processes, products, and procedures that produce alienations.

Some forms of alienation act insidiously and fundamentally into molding attitudes and behavior. They drive people within capitalist fields towards greater involvement and conviction which further reinforce various forms of separation from the Lebenswelt or the household. These forms of alienations have become part of our state of affairs. Thus, they are present even without our awareness of them, even if we deny them, even if we think otherwise.

Alienations do impinge upon consciousness and behavior. They can mold enduring dispositions. In this sense, these alienations are internalized and become part of individual selves.

The “original sin” of fundamental rupture in the family should not be so alarming if the family members, especially the young ones, belong to the temperamental category described by Thomas and Chess as “easy”: “These infants approach objects
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with an engaging mood, are regular in rhythmicity, respond well to new situations, and are typically cheerful. They comprise 40% of the population.” Some, however, are “slow to warm up” (15%) or “difficult” (10%)—that when exposed to unfamiliar situations or strange caregivers would surely suffer stress, and further stress from the distressing inner storm brought about by the external rupture. The Sturm und Drang phenomenon will thus be further dramatized in the lives of those who suffer from “storm and stress.”

No matter how the present social transformations are assessed, the meaning of alienation should be read against the broader context of what is dubbed as post-capitalist. Post-capitalism is a setting which, for some theorists, is understood to be beyond the Marxian productionist form of alienation. It should be made clear, however, that even previous to the Marxian idea of alienation, different forms of alienation have already been linked to a non-capitalist era. Some of these forms may have been grafted into the capitalist structures; and thus, acquired a character no longer identified with established traditions. For example, male domination in the feudal age has found its modern expression within fields where male rule has been translated into the “rights of man.” Positions of authority are still male-dominated as fields are the domains appropriate for males.

Indeed, alienation may have to be viewed against the backdrop of a more complex historical reality where structures are determined by either consolidations or separations. There are previous traditional venues and relationships which used to have their own brands of alienations but are then transformed and aggravated by the dominance of capitalist core mainstays. As a consequence, alienating situations have been engendered. Such alienation occurs due to the capitalist processes of production and spending/consumption. Some of these processes are about having

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7 A. Thomas and S. Chess, Temperament and Development (New York: Brunner/Mazel, 1977), as cited in Arden and Linford, Brain-Based Therapy with Children and Adolescents, p. 28.
(1) people deviate from traditions, (2) family members separate from one another, (3) human beings assaulting nature, (4) people estranged from their neighbors, and (5) individual memory and imagination manipulated away from what is substantive and real.

Therefore, alienation may be examined not only as an alienation within labor or market contexts but also as alienations either because of spending/consumption and labor patterns or despite the non-existence of capitalist labor or cash for the market of goods. Nowadays, generating value need not extract surplus value from productive labor. Alienation can expand beyond assembly lines. Spending/consumption behavioral patterns or objects of consumption now do engender fundamental forms of alienation. One example is the alienating situation in the enjoyment/leisure-consumption behavior of affluent people of the West vis-à-vis the survival/subsistence-consumption patterns of the poor in the former colonial enclaves in South America, Africa, and Asia.

A. Industrial Production-based Alienation in Marx

Marx did not deal with the subject of sexuality directly. But, his analysis of capitalism is concerned with the effects of capitalist processes on people, on their character, and on their minds and bodies. His theory of alienation is a key to understanding the many social problems that do have manifestations in sexuality and ecology.8 This is given more focus by Marcuse, discussed below.

8 Karl Marx formulated a double critique against capitalism which stands accused of exploiting not only laborers but also the natural environment. He wrote about this double-exploitation of humans and nature: “Capitalist technology, therefore, develops technology and the combining together of various processes into a social whole, only by sapping the original sources of all wealth—the soil and the laborer.” (Karl Marx, Capital: Critique of Political Economy, trans. from the third German edition by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling [New York: Random House, 1906], p. 556.) Marx has denounced the sapping and spoliation of nature, long before Rachel Carson, Barry Commoner, and Aldo Leopold have raised important ecological issues. See also Paul Burkett, Marx and Nature: A Red and Green Perspective (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999; John Bellamy Foster, Marx’s Ecology: Materialism and Nature (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000); Kozo Mayumi, The Origins of Ecological Economics: The Bioeconomics of Georgescu-Roegen (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 81ff.
Marx’s concept of alienation has its roots in the capitalist production contexts of the early Industrial capitalism. Today’s production/manufacturing set-ups in post-capitalist economies have characteristics different from what Marx observes. Moreover, today’s manufacturing capitalism (especially the “lighter” industries) is marginal to the service capitalism of the so-called core economies. What is left of production/manufacturing may now be populated by either the core’s “developing” sectors, including the “developing” nations’ production set-ups or by the imported labor from “developing” countries or from those exported offshore.

Marx’s meaning of alienation may even be challenged inasmuch as the material base/bases of post-capitalist settings have already acquired drastic transformations. His analysis is based on simpler material structures. Such analysis springs from an original ethico-political starting point which has generated the concept of alienation along productionist contexts and emancipatory concerns for victims-protagonist proletarians. Problems engendered by consumption patterns have not yet generated much theorizing. It is, thus, possible to hear claims that there are less alienations in post-capitalist economies that have displayed mainly service capitalism and where production workers are involved and inspired by better wage-returns.

Thus, theorizing alienation today may not necessarily mean toeing the Marxist line. The concept may have to evolve into broad or complex forms; matching the dense and convoluted experiences of change within industrial and “post-industrial” societies.

In Marx’s first thesis on Feuerbach, praxis is seen as a sensuous human activity; that is, in the form of labor. It is through labor that human beings self-create and self-actualize. Through the product of labor, humans produce themselves as objectified humanity. It is also the nature of humans to be productive for they cannot survive
unless they produce. It is through labor that an individual relates with other human beings. The product produced by someone is one’s activity in an objectified or congealed form within a historically conditioned social matrix; in Marx’s time, it is an industrial capitalist economy (as political economy).

For Marx, one is alienated in one’s labor. In an alienating situation, i.e., as in a dependent economic relations, the ideal activity for human association becomes oppressive. Capitalist labor thus becomes an alienating activity. Humans are deprived of initiative or decision to do what really humanizes them and their surroundings. Even in the way one accomplishes one’s work, an extrinsic determination is imposed. One plays no part in deciding what to do or how to do it. In the products of labor, waged workers are deprived of the right to control. Among fellow workers, competition and antagonism render healthy relations as extremely difficult. In a capitalistically structured life, the distinctive relations of a person to one’s self, one’s potentialities/possibilities, as a human being, to others and to nature are splintered. A harmonious set of relations is difficult to expect in a context where people are expected to fit a centered format that is compatible with strategic planning, administration, competition and profit. In business strategies, the dominant players, mostly male, set themselves apart from the ordinary people. They establish their own controlled and

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9 Human beings are able to think – humans have reason. This distinguishes them from animals (Aristotle). Men distinguish themselves from animals as soon as they begin to produce their means of subsistence. See Karl Marx, *German Ideology* in *Writings of the Young Marx on Philosophy and Society*, ed. and trans. Loy D. Easton and Kurt H. Guddat (Garden City, N. Y.: Anchor Books, 1967), 409; also in *Karl Marx-Frederick Engels Collected Works*, vol. 5 (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1976), 31.

10 Karl Marx, *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts (1844)*, in *Writings of the Young Marx*, 289.

norm-defined space—making this as their center from which they impose what is proper for others.

Thus, human labor has a double meaning. Labor, in the positive praxis sense, is a sensuous human activity that expresses the humanity of every agent in a free and social manner. In the negative sense, labor in an alienating situation dehumanizes the agent. One’s products and the expressions of the self are no longer under one’s control. The context has even become hostile to people since they are a negation of human potentialities. Commenting on Marx, R. J. Bernstein writes:

Objectification becomes alienation only in a given historical social setting. When man exists in a social situation where the objects that he produces and the “system” in which these are exchanged is such that his products gain a mastery over him and dehumanize him, then this form of objectification is alienation. Alienation has no fundamental ontological status, it is a historical condition, and one of Marx’s chief endeavors was to lay bare the structures of the historical social situations in which objectification becomes alienation.12

The work-based understanding of alienation in Marx emphasizes its objective character. Thus, it focuses on the quasi-obligatory alienation that is glued to relations of production.

Alienation, however, may be understood in more concrete terms. It may be seen as estrangement from one’s creations and from the creative process of production. It is an estrangement between subjects: between the subjects-possessors of objective products/commodities, whether tangible or intangible, and the subjects-commodity whose roles as subjects-creators are demoted by their waged identities. Focusing on the objective dimension of alienation may emphasize the nature of estrangement between the workers and their “species being.” But, it does not make one

immediately conscious of the mediating subjects of such estrangement.\textsuperscript{13}

Moreover, workers have been treated as sovereign customers/consumers by the market. The market has given them the opportunity to get some attention and respect; albeit by reasons extrinsic from their worth as human beings. Such scheme has, thereby, created further a wider chasm/estrangement from intrinsic human values. This Marxian view of alienation is expressed by Fink as he explains that the notion of castration of Lacan is closely related to alienation and separation:

Castration can thus be associated with other processes in other domains: in the economic register, capitalism requires the extraction or subtraction from the worker of a certain quantum of value, “surplus value.” That value (which is not so much a plus or surplus as a minus from the worker’s point of view) is taken away from the worker—the worker is subjected to an experience of loss—and transferred to the Other qua “free” market. Surplus value, equated...with surplus jouissance (Lacan’s \textit{plus-de-jouir}), circulates in an “alien” world of “abstract market forces.” Capitalism creates a loss in its field, which allows an enormous market mechanism to develop. Similarly, our advent as speaking beings creates a loss, and that loss is at the center of civilization and culture.\textsuperscript{14}

\subsection*{B. Industrial to “Post-Industrial” Transformations}

As the population of towns and cities grow, the demand for more products has multiplied. This provided further impetus towards the greater increase in production inside the factories. As the need to increase production develops, more financial support from the hands of capitalists results. It also made work inside the factories as routinary and monotonous. An author has documented the following in 1905:

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{14} Fink, \textit{The Lacanian Subject}, p. 100.
\end{quote}
Each one of the hundreds of parts of a mowing machine was made separately, and sometimes handled by hundreds of men. When [one man]...worked there was a machine which cut and stamped a certain piece of steel about two square inches in size; the pieces came tumbling out upon a tray and all that human hands had to do was to pile them in regular rows and change the trays at intervals. This was done by a single [person].... Thirty thousand of these pieces he handled every day, nine or ten millions every year. Nearby him sat men bending over whirling grind-stones, putting the finishing touches to the steel knives of the reapers; picking them out of a basket with the right hand, pressing first one side and then the other against the stone, and finally dropping them with the left hand into another basket. One of these men...sharpened three thousand pieces of steel a day for thirteen years.15

Mass demand has needed mass production. It has led to the division of overspecialized forms of labor. In order to meet the demand for more goods and the need to supply them at a low price, merchants have devised ways to cut down on expenses through more efficient ways of using capital and labor. They have bought more power-driven machines that widely introduced the practice of division of labor inside the factories.

In this arrangement, the workers may show some cooperative relations but their labor is in fact forcing them to emit mere aspects of themselves; while other aspects of their personality are not given proper attention. In this regard, workers will be estranged from their nature as integrated human beings. Their nature also “suffers” from being treated as means when production becomes several degrees removed from their communities’ cycle of life. Even issues of health cannot be invoked as one’s body produces signals for “flight from danger.” The needs of the body as it feels the effect (diabetes) of onslaught of biochemical reactions (the brain stimulating continuous unnecessary release of sugar) result-

ing from the negative feedbacks of work and stress are not critical enough to merit reduction of alienation. The worker cannot just leave the workplace by reason of stress because of contract, workload, or deadlines.

Marx has anticipated the coming of a new breed of workers who no longer fit into the early-stage capitalism that puts emphasis on manufacturing and division of labor. A clear separation between muscle-dependent and information-based workers is illustrated here. Today’s multitude of young and versatile workers can identify with Marx’s late stage capitalist workers who:

> replace the detail-worker, crippled by life-long repetition of one and the same trivial operation, and thus reduced to the mere fragment of man, by the fully developed individual, fit for a variety of labors, ready to face any change of productions, and to whom the different social functions he performs are but so many modes of giving free scope to his own natural and acquired powers. (*Capital I*: 487-8)

With the advent of the versatile worker, Marx has hoped for the demise of capitalism and the growth of communism. Of course, he could not have fully anticipated the way advanced economies today have redefined the roles of capitalists and workers whose work patterns, organization, rituals, and beliefs could eventually give shape to a “post-capitalist” order or “post-industrial” capitalism.

Some authors believe that the growth of managerial institutions in more advanced economies is a transition leading to a post-capitalist order dominated by a new managerial ruling class.\(^\text{16}\) The capitalist in the “post-capitalist” refers to the former active capitalist who was owner and manager at the same time. This shift in the character of service-laborers from commodity-subordinates to initiators and executives tells us a lesson in the way capitalism could develop as it moves away from the more traditional ar-

\(^{16}\) Duménil and Lévy, “Periodizing Capitalism,” p. 152.
rangement into a more stewardship form of advanced capitalism. Although a radical surrender of authority may not be expected, the meaning of ownership and work in capitalism will now have to be relativized by such a development. Nevertheless, capitalism without capitalist-owners is unthinkable. To expect that the purpose of management is no longer for the purpose of gain is to destroy the system imperative. The manager is a steward not of any public interest but of the “bottom line.” The post-capitalist scenario may highlight some structural transformations in ownership, management, and class patterns. But, the capitalist-self-bound private property-interest mainstay is still in place as more and more ownership will be concentrated within financial institutions; including the most powerful globalized ones.

C. Industrial Economy to Knowledge Economy

Discussions about post-capitalism, post-industrial capitalism, or capitalism in late-modernity attempt to explain the characteristics of advanced capitalism in developed societies/economies as well as the pockets of developed capitalism in developing (read: maldeveloped or undeveloped) economies.17 Their studies are also applicable to late-modern set-ups in some economically backward settings like those in Manila, Bangkok, and Bombay.

While it is suggestive of a system outside or after capitalism, post-capitalism is still capitalism as it exhibits the mainstays: profit-making, private property, and waged labor. The term points to a capitalist stage different from the modern capitalism of the Industrial and Production eras from 1700’s to 1930’s. While the late-modern character of capitalism may not be totally absent in the modern capitalist settings, post-capitalism clearly magnifies and emphasizes it.

In post-capitalism, capital is no longer restricted to money as a means to exploit labor and nature in order to earn more money

or profit. Capital in post-capitalism has already acknowledged the centrality of knowledge. Under post-capitalism, knowledge is also capital/private property. Labor may also be metamorphosed intellectual/managerial labor, a labor that also synthesizes nature. Production has become information/knowledge processing. Thus, post-capitalism is an economic system that is organized around the central asset of information/knowledge.\(^\text{18}\)

The Industrial Revolution has exhibited the manufacture-based form of capitalism in most industrialized countries. As it progresses, however, a different kind of industrial capitalism develops along the lines of further exploitation of information/knowledge for greater knowledge and for its extensive applications for production. The Productivity Revolution was inevitable as more and more production units applied knowledge to work.\(^\text{19}\) As a result, more and more knowledge/information-dependent work requires a different breed of workers—the more intellectually and managerially astute ones and their monochronic ways of dealing with formal work.\(^\text{20}\) The United States, Western Europe, and Japan have reaped production dividends from their additional investments on research, and education, and their production-applicability. Other countries that follow their example, but having possessed other contributing factors such as land distribution and development of domestic-based industries, have also risen to become the newly-developed economies (cf. Tiger economies of

\(^\text{18}\) Cf. Bourdieu’s notion of capital which is more expansive than that of Marx. See Cheleen Mahar and Christopher Wilkes, “Piere Bourdieu,” in Jon Simons, ed. Contemporary Critical Theorists, p. 223ff.


\(^\text{20}\) This refers to a way of handling time. “Monochronic is characteristic of low-involvement peoples, who compartmentalize time; they schedule one thing at a time and become disoriented if they have to deal with too many things at once. Polychronic people, possibly because they are so much involved with each other, tend to keep several operations at once, like jugglers.” Edward T. Hall, The Hidden Dimension (New York: Anchor Books, 1969), p. 173; see also Edward T. Hall, Beyond Culture (New York: Anchor Books, 1977), pp.17ff.; and The Silent Language (New York: Anchor Books, 1973), pp.152ff.
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Asia). It is doubtful though whether workers in these economies will no longer experience capital as an overpowering entity; with which much of their time and creativity are traded.

D. Knowledge/Information-Bound Identities

Information as capital is not a material which can visibly run from one hand to another. It may even be less-noticeable in transactions. This is why the bond that has previously existed between a parent and a child through a heritable land or capital is no longer durably maintained. Such happens when the next generation decides in favor of an education that has prospects that can ignore the elder’s land or money. It is true that a son-entrepreneur may have a reason to be grateful to his father for his education and for a personal computer set. But, the information that could carry him towards excellence and success will be a knowledge stamped on his individuality; not on a cattle’s hide or a manufacturer’s product. Modern/Late-modern knowledge’s provenance may not be referred back to traditions and properties of elders. The individual is inchoately cut off from a previous world because of the autonomy proffered by his acquisition of a knowledge that engenders other possible worlds and non-traditional forms of interactions.

Relationships which used to move around land, cattle, or factory may now have unstable footing in information-based transactions like digital processes or internet exchange. Moreover, elders may not be able to tag along the non-material as they are used to running around land or shops with their familiar material settings. If adjustments are not made and communications not bridged, possible alienations between elders and their descendants could follow.

Since knowledge is far too dispersed and numerous, individuals are diffused through the myriad of knowledge that links to further knowledge and further diffusion. Social relations built around these loci are thus broadened to complex spheres of interest. This leads to a multiple range of relationship forms that have
very low degree of solidarity or a high degree of individualism. The individual can be further differentiated amidst other multiple zones of knowledge and representations which abound everywhere.

E. Knowledge/Information-Based Globalizations

Distinct from the specialized capitalist industrialist, commercial, service and agri-business types, finance capitalists belong to a breed of capitalists who are three or four degrees detached from production workers and market consumers.

The impersonal, pervasive and highly invisible transactions in high-finance capitalism have determined social relations. Such relations have become types of post-industrial communications that are efficient, global, deregulated, and infotech-powered transactions.21 Through all the exchanges, highly-placed personalities will penetrate capital market exchanges. That is, without getting involved in the processes of manufacturing and commercial market transactions in order to earn one’s income. Work in this case is predominantly shaped by over-the-network service capitalism.

Finance capitalism therefore skips, or moves beyond, the previous capitalist road of production or exchange of manufactured goods for profit. This does not mean, however, that it does not have a link with the masses of industrial workers. Positioned at the high altar of capitalism, finance capitalism occupies the top spot as a world-systems logistics and control center. In that capacity, high finance is part of the causal links to the disadvantaged position of populations of debt-ridden Asian, African, and Latin American nations. Nevertheless, its high priests have no bonds with the masses. When they fail and effect cascading market crash-

es, whole economies are dragged into the pit that they have created. It is doubtful, however, if they will feel the impingements and sufferings that they have further caused on people dependent on limited resources.

Within local or national areas, which have become mere sites for global e-commerce, successful manufacturers and market moguls may establish their own financing outfit for themselves or open them to a wider public. The nature of exchange no longer belongs to subsistence activities. It now belongs to secondary/tertiary concerns or to more remote ventures or future-oriented activities. These activities include building a house, buying a car, opening a shop, starting a business, financing a building construction, or laying down roads and bridges as state infrastructure projects (cf. also big-time investors’ hedge and buyout funds).

The financial resources of the finance capitalists are thus immediately reserved for non-subsistence concerns. If church or government projects may need to finance food subsidies for people affected by drought or typhoons, they may have to be mediated through interest-bearing loans whenever they use the banks’ resources. In this case, the finance capitalists do not necessarily have to feel the urgency of emergency situations in order to continue fulfilling their social roles. They are “moved” insofar as they are asked to fulfill their roles.

It is in view of this absence of automatic concern that makes finance capitalism problematic in social amelioration or human solidarity. Its being problematic is more compelling than that of the pre-modern times. At that time, the resources of rich persons and rich countries are not really earmarked for the global finance markets. Since the resources of the wealthy peoples/nations are the most likely means to immediately meet the basic problems of the poor, their transfer into financial markets would render them virtually unavailable. As resources which belong to the finance markets, they become unavailable to charity, immediate creation of jobs, or for production of affordable goods.
Finance capitalism has also dominated market transactions worldwide. In this sense, capitalist activities down to the *sari-sari* store and street-vendor level are overlaid by the dominant and colonizing capital markets.

Its nature as several degrees detached from the ground makes finance capitalism a reflection of its goods. Money is its representation of entrepreneurship, exploitation of work, manipulation of nature, and accumulation of private property. Finance capitalism, as a foremost representational capitalism, no longer passes the more palpable sensuous forms of production and marketing of goods. It is a form of capitalist enterprise. It is also a form of marketing of services via representational goods that are “useless” or maybe a “mirage” to the subsistence needy. A disadvantaged citizen’s experience of alienation is, thus, a result of a chasm created by the nature of representational finance capitalism as it takes its abode above the most immediate earthly concerns.

Indeed, investors in financial markets are not expected to meet or personally face their managers, other employees, co-investors, consumers, raw materials, and products.

Finance capitalism therefore takes into another height/level the meaning of alienation. It is similar to a separation of a human being from a deity whose representation is derived from the economy or ecology of the worshipping individuals (cf. Marx’s fetishism of money).

This position of the non-active capitalist is far removed from the grounds of production and product circulation. Service capitalism has more and more replaced some manufacturing industries; especially in Japan and in many affluent Western European economies. But, manufacturing processes have been re-assigned by

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22 Literally, “assorted” or “variety”—a small-capital neighborhood convenience store found all over the Philippines.

owners to the cheap-labor setups in developing economies like China, Vietnam, and India. The so-called demise of the industrial/manufacturing worker in most affluent nations should not be seen as a replacement by service workers but merely a re-assignment of role to extension; often times, the dependent nations’ workforce serve as industry/manufacturing functionaries of core economies. Such a function is hundreds or thousands of positions away from the rank-and-file laborers and consumers. This absence on the ground is problematic because neither the disadvantaged workers have gone near the owner nor the owner has the opportunity for direct contact below. The super-institutional position of owners rarely provides avenue for affective communication with those who suffer from hunger or homelessness. Still this scenario does not offer a promise of direct responsibility; much less guarantee a sense of solidarity or community.

F. Alienation and the Affluent Worker

Undoubtedly, poverty is less of a problem in affluent settings. But, alienation is recognized as a major problem. In poor territories, poverty and alienation go hand in hand or are a correlative phenomena. Poverty causes alienation while alienation also causes poverty.

On the “brighter” side of the capitalist spectrum, there lies the affluent worker who is mainly situated in the dominant economies of Western Europe, North America, Australia, Japan, and the Asian Tiger economies. Their status as more sovereign, autonomous, enterprising, and globally dominating than their poorer counterparts in dependent economies of underdeveloped/developing countries is very often regarded as an indicator of a lesser or an absence of alienation. Alienation, however, may not be

limited to a production or non-involved work meaning. In affluent settings where the consumers have become central to every capitalist venture, another expanded meaning of alienation can be formulated.

In capitalism, production is not a common family affair; very often, spending/consumption is. In most cases, consumers will not consider work as intrinsically rewarding; shopping is. What used to be a way of expressing one’s self, like crafts, has become a means to acquire what the market has offered as needs. In the process of marketing and spending/consumption, what the market offers has become a way of expressing one’s self—in the sense that market selling and consumption become means of asserting one’s rights and freedom through utilization of capitalized goods.

Through their experience in the workplace as assets of employers, workers also learn how to become enterprising, rational, and calculating in their regard for themselves either as producers or as consumers. Being either objects of exploitation for gain or organizable assets towards excellence, workers can exhibit in their behaviors some forms of identity that the production units and consumer markets have established as qualifications or quality marks. In the world of capitalist or late-capitalist enterprises, the worker-consumers very often behave consistently according to their learned behavior in production or service units. Without realizing it, the consumers reinforce further what they have imbibed in their workplaces, what they have discriminately or indis-

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criminately consumed, and have symbolically represented for themselves in the market.

Although the capitalist work-field has determined a people’s disposition for socialized work, it has a less-direct contribution to the formation of patterns of spending/consumption behavior. What the field has engendered are the kinds of persons who have learned to protect, preserve, and express their private desires at a proper time and place. It is also within the socialized work-field and work-activities that individuals acquire schemes of private perception, thought and action. These schemes are oftentimes deliberately marginalized or ignored by the public realm’s capital-constrained strategies. Thus, in the process, as the individuals submit portions of themselves via socialized labor, most of their passions and other more private objectives or frustrations in life are not given real opportunities for expression or satisfaction. It explains these individuals’ tendency to separate and push back momentarily their private side. But, if possible, they liberally convey this through the more expressive forms of behavior like artistic activities, consumption of food, drink, or sex; or the exposure to exciting or beautiful experiences outside socialized work.

Workers, especially the affluent ones, sequester commodities; and thus, tend to express or even affirm themselves through products (or vice-versa) that did not bear the personal marks of their producers. Very often, these commodities represent values that enthrone private lives (cf. endorsers of products like movie stars and celebrities who bear a capital’s definition of beauty and excellence). Being deprived of the initial opportunity to express themselves in work, most consumers search for their identities or signs of desirable identities in what has become available in the open market.30 Alienation in production is compensated by self-


expression in spending/consumption or by secondary production through utilization (like cooking or other hobbies). Sequestration of experiences and properties by private individuals is also a sign of “identity shopping” or affirmation of autonomy. This, however, may multiply more compensatory and pacifying activities all pursuing pleasure-inducing and anesthetizing endorphins—reinforcing acquisitive and selfish tendencies.

III. Work and Habitualization

The 19th and 20th centuries of social transformation in the Western European contexts highlighted the processes of democratization, moralization and the spread of national feelings, consciousness, and ideals. This has been studied by Norbert Elias who points to it as part of a generalized civilizing process. This process is primarily linked to the generative patterns of life around groups like those found in the courtly life in France, or in the parliamentarization in England. These groups are most influential in the shaping up of behavioral standards that are more in line with the demands of an ever-growing complex urbanized world.

The growing awareness of the need to self-propel or self-discipline has resulted from the complex social pressures exerted on behavior; the need to propel and discipline one’s self has become the hallmark of a civilizing or manner-refining process. A more self-controlled way of carrying one’s self is learned slowly, both in primary and secondary settings, until it becomes everyone’s

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32 Cf. MacIntyre’s idea of internal and external goods in his discussion of the notion of practice in After Virtue, pp. 190ff.
“second-nature.” A characteristically more introspective disposition in people has evolved as a result of the formative influence of others whose presence would determine a more calculated and self-controlled release of drives or instincts. This contrasts to the traditional expectation for individual’s to be constantly yielding to external authorities.

With the most influential behavioral standards of the bourgeoisie who dominated state and industry, the industrial arena is an important field wherein such a civilizing process unfolds. In such a field where various agents maneuver and struggle for resources, the “increased sense of visibility of selves and others” contributes to a more generalized disposition towards civility or refinement. As “the constraint exerted by people on one another increased, the demand for ‘good behavior’ was raised more emphatically.” The widening of one’s public milieu and its greater complexity has pressured the individual’s internal space to have its self-control developed.

Elias focuses on the slow transformation of people’s attitudes and behavior through changes associated with the demands of a life of refinement. The expressions of refined behavior before a select circle of personalities have gradually infected the attitudinal and behavioral patterns of the rest of society; especially those of the emerging bourgeoisie. Through expressions of bodily comportments in eating, drinking, or carrying oneself in public, the civilizing process has been let loose and has eventually permeated everyday life. The exposure of every citizen before a larger group requires everyone to learn the art of self-control or self-restraint as regards natural functions and bodily behavior like sex, eating, drinking, and excretion. What has become more important for this civilizing process is no longer the impact of visible forms of control but the introspective process that has been gradually learned by every citizen in the presence of others, in the context of fami-

35 Ibid., p. 68.
lies, in occupational groups, and in relationships with state authorities or rulers. What people have learned through time within these important contexts for socialization and enculturation/structuration has become part of themselves as “second-nature” or habitus. It is the social habitus, which largely determines the individual’s personal habitus that is continually being nurtured by the presence of other habitus-bearing individuals in different social networks. To Elias, it is in this generalized civilizing process that sexuality has to be viewed. When looking at sexual attitudes and behavior at this way, one cannot fail to see how people have come to develop and evolve the way they are in concrete contexts and periods.

As set-ups organized around the rational/purposive interest of earning profits, business firms create environments for individuals. The top-to-bottom employer supervision has created not only regulations but also a more palpable interdependent horizontal routines. Such routines put pressure on, among others, self-discipline, respect of place, and mutual correction. The presence of mutually introspective agents working alongside one another has created a certain form of order and rational behavior that is consistent with the work-field rationalized by the employers themselves. Thus, the field of work-interdependence leads to the formation of enduring, much like second-nature, dispositions of self-control or self-discipline among the worker-subjects. Workers in work-fields know what to expect from one another – how to react to certain situations, what to anticipate and what emotions to express or hold back. It also creates an area for individualized training or specializations; a further condition for expanding the space for an individual’s inner world. This is possible because relationships of control, dependence, and interdependence become more intense within workplaces. Workhours for individuals are not only hours for the organization but also hours for one’s manifestation of “dedication” in line with the generalized aim-inhibited field of relations. Inevitable internal processes of self-awareness, self-control, self-
pity, or self-fulfillment are also co-terminous with the workers’ activities.

The capitalized work-field and dispositional factors contribute further to the growing *supervised interdependence* between workers. The socialized patterns of rules and activities, the sensuous presence of co-workers, and the socially-sanctioned worker-dispositions act altogether to produce a typical modern workplace; with modern workers and their further disposition-creating rules, rituals, and roles.

The introspective process is constantly replicated within jobsites and in the market spaces of exchange. It is a recurring process which acquires a character that is specific to the rational requirements within jobsites or marketplaces. The generalized civilizing process supposedly churns out packed citizens of refinement who are more attuned to societal manners. The jobsites/marketplace refinement process takes a more technically-controlled mode of transforming people into the ideal or qualified employees and spenders. Nevertheless, this process, which is more specific and distinct from Elias’s more generalized civilizing process, also adds a twist to every civilizing as well as individualizing process that demands of every person a greater reflexivity and self-restraint. Evident in jobsite and marketplace processes are the mutual adjustments produced by mutual observations and bodily presences of several actors who maneuver for spaces and resources available in society.

The everyday exercise of job skills or techniques also produces attitudinal and behavioral changes in individuals. The more technically-oriented routines may have been categorized as secondary to the primary family setting formation. But, in fact, these routines have attained primary importance in the transformation of individuals and their families. Work and expenditure/consumption

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have more profound effects on people than we realize. Family formation is placed at their mercy because of the prolonged, sustained, and repetitive nature of exposure and submission of the people to what are valued as necessary capitalistic work and as vital spending on market products; not to mention the dominance of the male and his representations.

The refinement of manners, including altering one’s emotions, through one’s work in jobsites and through one’s spending/consumption patterns also presupposes the reflexive process that is linked to the demands for self-control and adjustments. The jobsites’ regulations, repetitive movements, network of interdependent procedures, coordinated routines, divisions of labor, working hours, confined spaces, and co-workers’ observations induce from every worker a distinct understanding about one’s self and environment.

For the workers, the reflexive process related to one’s job is different from that which involves self-control or self-restraint in matters of manners or etiquette. Etiquette is wider in its application than the specialized instrumental work manners or work ethic.

Work manners may be more important within the workplace, than one’s social manners. If one’s social manners are less refined than the standards of civil society, work qualifications and required activities will take over manners. In other words, work manners will have to force individual and social manners to follow instrumental reason that is framed by considerations of means that are aimed to produce desirable ends; i.e., means-end reasoning. Work manners, therefore, become instrumentalized manners that will not allow free expression of unique individual or traditional cultural manners free expression; unless, such do not violate the core elements of capitalism. It would even be more favorable to the

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firm if individual or cultural habits could support or firm up the structures of profit-making.

As one becomes more attuned to the world of work, consciousness about the distinctions between self (and one’s culture) and work becomes less and less a subject of immediate scrutiny. Previously more open to direct awareness, work also creates more chances for self-observation. As a waged worker advances in experience or age, self-identity is forced to find solace in wages and consumer goods.

For veteran workers, the internalization of processes, of workers’ time and space, of the multiple factors which make one a worker, and of others etc., have become part of one’s ability that has already been wedded to the world of business work. One becomes more skillful and masterful of what one does everyday without necessarily expressing one’s emotions or private desires into it. In this sense, the efficient worker can express quasi-machine characteristics.

A worker also tends to fail to be constantly present to one’s history and to be less critically aware of one’s environment. To a great extent, one becomes a necessary neutral, if not positive, fixture in the world of work. This development is followed by the onset of habitualization that also brings about a certain closure to historical and critical consciousness; unless, of course, the world has become problematic or another world has been opened up. When one is habituated to certain tasks, procedures, schedules, spatial-contours, mechanical or personal controls, pressures, arrangements, and others, he also acquires certain capacities, special schemes of perception, appreciation, and action that are built into one’s abilities. Such acquisitions not just functionally specific to one’s work but also applicable, to some extent, to the other aspects of one’s life. One’s habits at home may be curtailed or prevented from free expression at jobsites. But, one’s character that is acquired through habitual activities at home does still serve as a ground for the acquisition of other routines. It consequently
produces modifications in one’s character; and so on. When the worker is happy with the job, there is no subjective perception of the problem of alienation from what one is supposed to derive from work – personal happiness. However, when the worker fails to derive joy from work, there will always be the production of negative by-products of such alienation: unhealthy feelings of loneliness, absence of self-fulfillment, lack of drive or energy, negative perceptions about one’s life, stress, enervation, and disease (like the work-induced diabetes type 2, heart ailment, or cancer). This is not to say that all forms of loneliness or lack of self-appreciation come from experiences of alienation in work. This is just to say that alienation could bring about other negative, although unintended, consequences. (In this regard, interpreting the link between the unconscious and reality has occupied Freud and his interpreters. Research into the biochemistry of work-related stress and loneliness are also gaining ground in some sociopsychological studies.)

Capitalism does not just produce alienated workers/individuals in jobsites and leave them feeling unfulfilled perennially without end. Capitalism also seeks alienation-ready individuals whose manners are not only refined but also sturdy or adjustable, modifiable, disposed, or even eager to absorb the negative by-products of the system. Such scheme contributes to the failure in making life worthwhile for many people. As more civilized and versatile job applicants are available, the more the profit-making enterprise will be able to concentrate more on its purpose. There is thus every reason for all employers to enter into an active campaign for greater refinement in manners or civility since this would mean lesser problem for them: a perfect worker-job fit or personal-corporate dovetailing of interests. Civilizing process, therefore, serves the realization of a more cohesive society of workers and consumers.

Inasmuch as the field of employment and trade/consumption could produce habitualization or conformity, it also breeds resis-
tance to some extent. Several factors could influence the formation of variations in the employee’s attitude and behavior: but, one’s ability for self-restraint is a major factor. It is a self-restraint based not only on established norms but also a self-restraint based on the established patterns of bodily movements and activities in different fields where the other’s presence hammers on human senses and sensibilities. Elias’ concept of *figurations* as an interdependency network helps point out the complexity of the fields and the dynamics inherent to such fields; it helps in conceptually organizing the channels of cooperation and competition for everyone. Being determined involuntarily by similarly situated mass of other individuals, some people must work according to their employer’s pre-arranged job descriptions; or shop and must adjust to every trader’s offer. The mutual presence of co-workers and co-shoppers alone provides dynamics for self-restraint as they negotiate different fields. This is when “reflections, presence of mind, consideration, role taking, and the ability to bear and control conflicts” transpire. The varied fields are also encumbered by the regulatory presence of authorities along with the more diffused power-presence in agreements and contracts, policies, discourses, price-tags, warranty certificates, advertisements, expiration dates and others. Michel Foucault’s studies on the development and deployment of power/knowledge to produce disciplined and useful citizens in various fields is another way of showing the formation of normalized behavior in today’s liberal-capitalist societies.

Coordinated jobs become productive only if done according to the internal logic of economic practice. Everyone’s awareness of the importance of coordination stimulates mutual expectations that spring up from each worker’s consciousness.

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This argument may seem to veer away from a generally regarded positive evaluation of the individuation process as differentiation. It moves towards a less-autonomous and dependence-producing formation process. It is true that the individual's substance may be filled with conformism and dependence whose content may seem inconsistent with the formation of individualism. But, a more important process is when the individual gains wider internal space as a possible domain for further self-propagation, and fertilization of individualism, and some forms of autonomy. The values of freedom and autonomy will also gradually populate every worker's inner space. This happens no matter how these values are gained or expressed through work as well as through spending or consumption.

The process of gaining self-control or self-restraint by workers, thus, passes through work and spending/consumption processes. Accumulating throughout the histories of capitalist societies, especially those of the affluent ones, liberal and autonomous exercises achieve vigorous effects. Self-control and self-restraint have thus taken the face of liberal and autonomous individuals whose self-expressions are largely privatized and whose experiences are sequestered for private needs. The workers' gains in work as well as in expenditure/consumption are also gains towards privatizations. Such gains have tremendous implications for acts of resistance that are not necessarily expressed in public. The resistance is unexpressed because it is disallowed or is largely under private custody. More of the emotionally debilitating effects of work may be expressed through resistance. But, they come in form of individualized expressions through customized sequestrations of pleasure or private joys of spending or consumption. As every individual seeks reprieve from the tiring or stressful effects of necessary work, sexual attitudes and behavior may be the channels of resistance or release. It is through those channels that the repressed could also return and flow.
Capitalism provides spaces for workers. Outside of work, workers can rejuvenate themselves through leisure and consumption. This activity does presuppose that one has some cash from wages or income from other sources in order to pay for one’s needs. The lack of cash or skills and the absence of work are deadly for people looking for a place in capitalist societies.

One’s ability or inability to control one’s self in work does not necessarily convert into an automatic self-control in spending/consumption. Neither is it automatic in interactions which are, to some extent, expressions of consumption habits as compensatory or self-seeking habits. On the contrary, self-seeking spending/consumption patterns pass through the liberty channel more than social-control channels. Although, manipulation of liberty through the market may also be a form of social-control.

IV. Freud and Productive Civilization

The analysis of Freud regarding the expression or restricted expression of sexuality within the civilizing process of industrialization/capitalism has highlighted the effects of patriarchal dominance on both the public and private life. With the emphasis on the development of an autonomous self in a civilized culture, modern civilization has to maintain a certain relationship with what is considered as irrational: nature. As patriarchy releases and channels its energy towards the civilizing processes, it has to exert its control over what it perceives as threat to civility as well as to male or technical rationality. The dominant position of the male will, thus, be felt in the control of the “animal” or “natural” tendencies especially on children and women. With grids of heterosexuality, double standard, active male/passive female roles and asexual children, the cultural matrix becomes further curtailed or “subordinated to the advantages of ascetic sexuality characterized by sexual continence, monogamy and rational sex.”

40 Gail Hawkes, *A Sociology of Sex and Sexuality* (Buckingham/Philadelphia: Open
Being dominated by men, the social world has marginalized not only the “pleasure principle” but also “second sex.” In effect, the relative inhibition of eros/passion in the rationalized domains of production/market has made the social world a male territory that produces injured males\textsuperscript{41} who have inhibited, mother-deprived,\textsuperscript{42} and hungry-for-love (love-takers) personalities. Their aims in the production/public domains have inhibited their emotional expressions as well as their love relationships. In other words, daily exposure and devotion to work have failed to achieve “wholeness.” These dejected males may, however, seek compensation in the eros-filled domestic arena where women in general are supposed to fulfill the function of de-stressing warm wives-mothers. Aim-inhibited love relationships,\textsuperscript{43} therefore, are in many instances expressive of compensatory sexuality; thus, a self-seeking sexuality perpetuates the de-stressor role of women. Women, who cannot avoid the stressful conditions at home, can doubly suffer double-stressful roles as wives and mothers. Such makes sexual expression within capitalism so different from the naturalist or anatomical expression of sexuality.

Since males, through work, are constantly detached from tradition, dogma, and emotion, sexual identity becomes a lifestyle issue. The issue is also distanced from tradition, dogma, and control of society. But, as soon as women enter the world of work, her socialized presence becomes a disturbing story for the males’ sense of dominion over the public and the private realm.


\textsuperscript{42}The mother is a representation of someone who is very close, warm and intimate to somebody.

People are supposed to develop their identities and have control. However, lost in the world of work, the males coast along with their inadequacies. Finding themselves expert in instrumental activities, many males have become stunted in their abilities to nurture emotional ties or promote intimate communication. But, for as long as their dominant patriarchal prerogatives are still enjoyed, their stunted nature will not be critically noticed.⁴⁴

When the individual has sought or has found one’s self in the social world of work and expenditure/consumption, sexuality also inaugurates its movement away from traditions, dogma, and generations (kin/relations). Sexuality expresses its way through and among the free labor power and liberal consumption of goods. Sexuality forges and releases itself as a product of the social world. But when the social world has failed to respect eros/passion, sexuality itself has been inappropriately marginalized; yet is allowed to reproduce/germinate in the margins. But the marginal eventually has penetrated the center. Then, sexuality has never been the same again—no longer does one get punished for being free, autonomous, and creative. In this regard, “perversions” have pressured some societies to accept pluralisms in their midst.⁴⁵

V. Rationalization and Attitudes/Behavior Formation

Max Weber’s rationalization theory provides another broad matrix that paves the way for a distinct understanding of capitalism and its effect on persons and their sexuality. In his work, a classic formulation of the duality of rationality structures points to the ambiguity of rationality in capitalist processes; thus producing both enabling and disabling effects.⁴⁶ Freedom and un-freedom are both unintended effects; but, they are unceasingly productive of contradictory sexual attitudes and behaviors.

⁴⁴ Giddens, The Transformation of Intimacy, pp. 115ff.
⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 32-34.
The capitalist processes affect every individual who is caught, as worker or consumer, in its rationalizations functioning like “a housing as hard as steel” (ein stabihartes Gerhause) as it provides both a restraint and a sense of security. As a result of its consistent rationalization of resources along the means-end road, capitalism would logically impose itself on other spheres or as a consequence railroad for other spheres of human interaction. Within workplaces, sexual asceticism or inhibited expression of eros in general, is a natural course to follow. Within domestic spheres, sexual ordering through marriage becomes a norm. It seems that sex, being considered irrational, finds in marriage or in the conjugal union of husband and wife the appropriate rationalizing institution in capitalist settings. This would shape the restricted desires in individuals who have been denied their uninhibited “natural” expression. Curtailing “natural expression” injures the emotional health of many people.

A more profound consequence of the dominance of a means-end reasoning is people’s captivity not only around manufactured products but also around the interests and knowledge—theories, information, discourses, laws, and norms which are propagated as values in society. The communication of instrumental reasoning that is required by the internal structure of capitalism may not be evident to workers and consumers who are also its readers or hearers. In other words, critical distanciation from capitalism or instrumental reasoning may not be a proper stance to be expected from capitalist-spirit bearers. They are simply embedded within the structure. When interests and values are enmeshed in products, information, and relationships, they become too dense and complex objects of immediate and clear understanding. After all, people usually grasp their everyday lifeworld from the point of view of common sense. It is because of this common-sensical viewpoint that the web of interlocking mechanisms of social life escapes critical attention. Instrumental reasoning which is built

into everyday transactions, thus, escapes as legitimate even as it subordinates more substantive values like friendship, compassion, or simple fun that are derived from play or games.

VI. Surplus-Repression and Surplus Offer of Gratification

Marcuse’s Eros and Civilization extends the Freudian, and to some extent, Weberian, analysis of socially repressed sexuality; but, with greater focus of this within the context of the workplace. Thus, in Marcuse’s synthesis, Marx’s problematization of work meets the Freudian problematization of the civilizing process.

In Marcuse’s discussions of surplus-repression or “the restrictions necessitated by social domination” and of performance principle or “the prevailing historical form of the reality principle,” the integration of Freudian and Marxian elements can be identified as follows:

For the vast majority of the population, the scope and mode of satisfaction are determined by their own labor; but their labor is work for an apparatus which they do not control, which operates as an independent power to which individuals must submit if they want to live. And it becomes the more alien the more specialized the division of labor becomes. Men do not live their own lives but perform pre-established functions. While they work, they do not fulfill their own needs and faculties but work in alienation. Work has now become general, and so have the restrictions placed upon the libido: labor time, which is the largest part of the individual’s life time, is painful time, for alienated labor is absence of gratification, negation of the pleasure principle. Libido is diverted for socially useful performances in which the individual works for himself only in so far as he works for the apparatus, engaged

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49 Ibid., p. 44; see also pp. 46ff.
50 Ibid.
in activities that mostly do not coincide with his own faculties and desires.\textsuperscript{51}

The integration highlights an analysis that uses the study of the unconscious as a further means of laying bare the mechanisms of social repression.

Marcuse does not claim that the road to emancipation from the excess of repression is the attainment of a condition devoid of any repression. In fact, he affirms that a certain amount of repression is necessary for a society to function. He calls this basic repression as: “the ‘modifications’ of the instincts necessary for the perpetuation of the human race in civilization.”\textsuperscript{52}

It is also necessary to point out that the surplus-repression Marcuse is talking about is a gendered one. Throughout history, reality (cf. Freud’s reality principle) has been dominated by the male (cf. Freud’s phallus principle). Under capitalism, surplus-repression is male instigated and male perpetuated. This is a significant qualification since transformations in sexuality today involve constant tension between the male and the female. Although still ambiguous in many instances, the female role has gained a place in the midst of male-dominated workplace/marketplace.

Following Freud, Marcuse re-affirms the formative nature of gratifications, or failure of gratifications of the desires in every person’s life. Insofar as the person strives, all memories of gratification inform all forms of striving. Every person would strive to re-capture all past gratifications insofar as these would be opened up by everyday reality. Of course, this becomes impossible since one’s instincts and impulses do not always dovetail with the requirements of today’s reality; especially amidst reality of alienation in labor. One has to even repress those memories and strivings for

\textsuperscript{51} Ibid., p. 51.
\textsuperscript{52} Ibid., p. 44.
lost gratifications; otherwise, be continually disturbed by the stirrings of gratification-seeking desires. However, individuals realize this: that by embracing present-day socio-economic realities and their representations (cf. the objective Imaginary-Symbolic tandem of Lacan)\textsuperscript{53} one could take a share of the gratifying provisions or provisional gratifications offered by society. Society itself only relinquishes once the individual surrenders impulses for pleasure or for life gratification in general.

In a similar grain, once people accept the performance principle, they will experience some form of gratification provided that they are ready to cut down their search for joy. That is why people tend to focus more on the immediate gratifications offered by reality. They do this rather than struggle for the real emancipation of their life-instincts, i.e., the eros principle of life, from the grip of stultifying market structures. People, thus, lose self or get alienated through a sacrifice of their happiness for some “detour gratifications.”\textsuperscript{54} This state of alienation will not, of course, form into a condition of unproblematic harmony where tension between life-instincts and surplus-repression is absent. Marcuse has highlighted Freud’s suspicion regarding the fundamental regressive or ‘conservative’ tendency in all instinctual life (cf. “the return of the repressed”): “a compulsion inherent in organic life to restore an earlier state of things which the living entity has been obliged to abandon under the pressure of external disturbing forces.”\textsuperscript{55} Insofar as the individual lacks any alternative to the existing reality, he will have to face a lifelong struggle between life-instincts strivings on the one hand as well as a life-denial and acceptance of restric-

\begin{footnotes}
\item[53] The Imaginary is a stage in every person’s development where the fragmented experiences of the infant is initially brought into unity, an image, which would then take the place of one’s immediate identity. In this stage, the infant is brought into that process of identification, that is, where one is transformed in assuming an image. The Symbolic is the linguistic representation, course through by persons seeking for a better field in its search for a more stable identity which the Imaginary cannot possibly provide.
\end{footnotes}
tions on the other. The conscious worker does not only control desires but also coordinates, alters, and organizes one’s deeper instincts and impulses so as to minimize conflicts with the reality of the dominant public spheres.\textsuperscript{56} Most people will even rationalize those life-strivings as disturbances of the basic drives. Because these are unwanted, they thereby further legitimize surplus-repression. Marcuse expound that “with the progress of civilization and with the growth of the individual, the memory traces of the unity between freedom and necessity become submerged in the acceptance of the necessity of unfreedom; rational and rationalized, memory itself bows to the reality principle.”\textsuperscript{57}

In reality or the performance principle, workers are no longer assured of inherent gratification. It is in the present-day consumption where individuals would fight for their right to enjoy whatever they think would satisfy their impulses or instincts towards pleasure. Such is seen through spending. It is, however, not a secret that the market is one extension of capitalism where male domination is still felt with some amount of complicity from the female, without, of course, discounting the fact of the growing transgressions by the “other sexes.”

A. From Subsistence Production to Market’s Detour Gratifications\textsuperscript{58}

In our world, goods are waiting as “potentially gratifying objects” for consumers. Within contexts dominated by instrumental activities, what is gratifying or fulfilling is not solely for the consumers to determine; but mainly for the manufacturers.

The traditional/simple societies in the past produce their own goods for consumption. They have the freedom, no matter how

\textsuperscript{56} Cf. Marcuse, \textit{Eros and Civilization}, p. 41.
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., p. 43.
\textsuperscript{58} This section is a rework of portions of my article “Instant Gratification,” \textit{Concilium} 4 (1999): 49-58.
limited, to determine what is necessary and what is something they can live without. The simplicity of their material culture has not only determined their needs but also their imagination to create things beyond what is necessary.

The question of what is gratifying for waged-consumers who merely buy what they need may only be answered by their cash supply and the market's inventory. Today, consumers need not worry about availability since the market is flooded with all kinds of goods. What they have to worry, if they are aware of it, is the way the market is saturated with goods that do not necessarily cater to their life-instincts. The most saleable items in the market need not be necessities. Business cannot flourish if it concentrates on “deeper” needs. It can only expand if they flood the public with offers of wants.

In most pre-modern societies and some underdeveloped/developing societies, where persons/groups producing their own consumable goods can be found, the element of waiting-in-patience before actual consumption and gratification can also be seen. Somehow, the waiting-in-patience component of production-consumption, is part of the whole story of survival and gratification as families and clans or people in closely-knit communities work patiently to produce their own goods. It is normal to wait patiently for the brewing of a very satisfying barrel of beer, for the aging of a most exhilarating drink, or for the careful knitting of a clothing material for quality pullovers. In most cases, of patient waiting, a certain form of “postponement” of gratification is welcome. “Postponement” in this case is quite an anachronism. Postponement of gratification implies individual capacity and the objective possibility of bringing about gratification. In many pre-modern cases, postponement is unavoidable both subjectively and objectively. Many subjects are naturally waiting for the produce and the object of their desires. In today’s markets, objects are created even before subjects are aware of them.
As more complex patterns of production, exchange, and consumption of goods develop, the more the supply and availability of objects become overwhelming. As more “alien” goods are introduced into the market, the more the people who know nothing of new products become aware of the mediating waiting-in-patience factor for production and gratification. Hence, gratification can no longer account for waiting-in-patience because it is now divorced from a tradition- or family-based patient production.

As goods become more abundant, the subjects get more bombarded by surplus-stimulations. Such overwhelming omnipresent “alien” objects disturb focus and tend to influence, or overpower choice. As restricted by the tacit horizon of goods, choice has become a market-trained choice. Such goods even induce in many a forgetfulness about what is once considered as fundamental: common or household work to produce goods for one’s needs and pleasures or sometimes waiting for inheritance from one’s folks. The household is no longer a matrix for common work to produce its goods. Almost everybody is now taking for granted the necessity of waged-labor goods in buying for the satisfaction of needs and wants. Thus, there is a separation from the household. Waiting-in-patience is now meant for the money to be earned in buying products which are ready-made or prepared by others who are not necessarily one’s consociates or acquaintances. The consumption of products now involves buying from markets of people whose main end is not sharing but earning money. This is done mainly through the process of non-tradition-bound or impersonal commercial transactions; not without traces of surplus-repression.

Goods and services that are produced and sold in the impersonal and community-detached markets of capitalism are to be assumed as potentially gratifying. The capitalist market’s drive to manufacture and offer these goods and services are correlates of

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the consumers’ desires and needs. Necessarily, the handlers of the market do not just produce goods and services. They work in view of every consumer’s desire and potential wants for products. They also see to it that consent among consumers are manufactured through more and more manipulative advertising. Thus, we find in the global market the development of a highly rationalized and strategized system of production that tries to set its own acceptable levels and patterns of spending/consumption. This kind of production-consumption dynamics is well-monitored while maintaining incessant pounding on consumers’ passions that long for gratification. For its manufacturing strategies, capitalism has now focused on the consumer.

If the economy has to maintain robust standards, spending/consumption activity has to be stimulated. All sectors of society are targeted; most specially the more numerous. Note that the young teenagers and the young adults sometimes comprise more than 40% of a country’s population. That is why most of the choices today are “juveniled” because so many goods are tailored for juvenile taste. An economy that is pumped up by spending/consumption will continue to be secure for as long as spending/consumption-stimulation is a priority.

One of the most successful ways of inducing desire and manufacturing consent is the promise of instant gratification. The market’s offer of instant gratification may be seen in two interrelated areas: (1) availability of products and (2) functionality or effectivity.

Gratification is announced by producers. It is felt by individual consumers thru the availability, or even with a promise of availability, of instantly consumable food, sex, sports, clothes, information, religion, and other things. Individuals who are open to the suggestions of the media and other information outlets are captured by a deluge of choice data that stimulate attention, attract support, maintain patronage, and disseminate favorable opinions about certain goods and services. Many products are packaged and
offered as gratifying; that is, even before they are tried and tested by the public. Their acceptability rests on well-publicized approval ratings by the public or by consumer proxies like the in-house scientific research team, state controls, consumer societies, media, and others. In other words, subjects who consume such goods are not entirely free to exercise first-hand critical choice. This is because a whole bundle of determining factors is already let loose even before they see the products. What individuals may consume is no longer dictated by a choice of what to produce because they no longer produce what they consume. At times, others are frustrated because what they need to consume are no longer sold in the market because producers have ceased producing them for lack of a determined number of captive or possessed consumers. One can be reminded of the lessons that capitalists have learned from the years of Great Depression when a glut of electronic and transportation goods flood a market of supposed consumers who merely want soup and bread or a decent work. The case of the “orphan diseases” may have to be mentioned here. These are rare diseases which are not “adopted” by pharmaceutical industries for their research and development of medicines for the simple reason that such diseases are not very common and thus do not promise fat returns from the market. Corporate decisions to offer gratifying items to consumers are not simply built on the desire to gratify.

Even if a product has been in the market for years, is enjoying a seal of superior quality, and has a track record of public acceptability, as measured by sales and profits, the product handlers cannot just sit in passive contentment and merely allow popularity to be in-charge of the product’s future. With the challenges posed by competitors, with the discoveries of new technologies and raw materials, and with the consumers’ ceaseless search for what satisfies or excites, market handlers are in constant search for ways to maintain their hold on people and expand its turf. Having all factors considered, the question of consumer gratification is the most important. As a result, a whole culture of gratification-oriented marketing dominates the market-oriented
society. Thus, products packaged with guarantees of satisfaction and consumer options like a “3-day testing” or “return if not satisfied” are very common. This whole culture of guaranteeing satisfaction has led to disastrous results because it does pervade or colonizes the lifeworld of individuals. Patience has been overtaken by the more attractive values of efficiency, productivity, and sophistication.

Today, things for sale are there even before one is born or even when one is already gone. Products made by others are available for our spending/consumption; consequently, making many of us as consumers of others’ products. Certain patterns of production and spending/consumption have developed. Such patterns have functioned as molds into which personalities are shaped. Everyone becomes driven by the complex paths of production and spending/consumption.

Some products or goods are offered to satisfy the basic needs of people while others are meant to satisfy one’s search for “higher” things. The former are more aptly termed as “gratifying” while the latter may be more appropriately called “fulfilling.” Both goods, however, are now items for sale. The best detergent and the best counseling for self-fulfillment are available for those who can pay for them. Seen from the perspective of the world capitalistic market, sandwiches, health, leisure, education, security, and divine blessing have something in common: a price tag.

Producers, in their constant search for saleable goods, preempt consumers’ needs by introducing products that substitute for what is real. In some overly congested and polluted cities, oxygen packs or fresh air are already for sale. Even one’s need for someone to nurture is fed by the market’s newly-developed toys and virtual realities.

In their habit of searching for what is more stimulating, consumers help producers manufacture goods whose features elicit excitement. In many cases, gratification and fulfillment become
synonymous with excitement. Eventually, consumers develop the habit of judging other goods, including the more intangible ones like intimacy, friendship, and love, according to their capacity to excite their repressed or buried desires or even their ability to entice sublimated desires. These are scenarios when the values of the market could twist people’s minds at the expense of the more substantive human values treasured by many cultures.

**B. The Disadvantaged and Deficit Gratification**

Aside from the low-salary schemes perpetrated by the majority of business firms in many poorer nations, the lack of social security benefits, and the perennial economic crises, and the more fundamental forms of oppression come hand-in-hand with work.

It is a common knowledge that some people are forced to take up work/roles that they do not like. But, they do their work just to meet the demands of survival. People usually do not find in their roles the fulfillment that human beings do long for. They simply fulfill roles; and thus, roles are provisional. The factories or the offices are not the usual places where people could experience self-affirmation and fulfillment. People are not happy in monotonous and business-aligned jobs. In these places, most patterns of activities do not promote free expression of ambitions, legitimate aspirations, or calling. They are even counter-productive in the sense that they do not engender a more relaxed, free, and joyful disposition. Such kind of basic disposition can promote generosity and cooperation among workers.

Take the case of a worker in a canning factory. If he is assigned to press sardines in cans before they are finally sealed, then he presses a can brought by a conveyor belt in every second that he works. For seven to nine hours, he operates and moves 20,000 to 30,000 cans a day. This is his assignment for one whole day of every whole week, in one whole year. A year of work yields 6 million monotonous strokes; and, this is not at all enjoyable. A
punishing drudgery it is; and, a surplus of repression. In his post, the worker looks forward to very short breaks or to the end of the day so he can probably rush home or hangout. Workers are, of course, happier and relaxed in leisure activities. A lot of them find happiness and fulfillment in the simple appreciation of their wives, children, or select friends. Through these more self-gratifying activities, the compensation for the goods that are lost through repression may actually predominate an individual’s enjoyment. Unfortunately, a male’s compensation for the lost self in work may be translated into the female’s submission to the phallus.

Moreover, “normal” interactions are usually not possible because work is too specialized and strictly controlled. It is often not to one’s own inclination. The dull factory settings, the monotonous work in the offices, and the disheartening government service have been areas of life where self-satisfaction is very low in supply and where self-esteem can also hang precariously. In many household, either the husband or the wife becomes habitually absent. In these settings, many subjects, especially the young ones, who are deprived of the essential forms of gratification can be found. Eventually, they form part of that whole reserved army of potential subjects who seek gratification. They are the same multitude whose appetite and capacity to pay have become the consumer mass base of the producers or investors’ market stock.

On the surface of things, the presence of goods and the need for them present a symbiosis for the maintenance of a whole network of relationships that are natural to a market setup. Classical economics may not question the existing division of labor, the taken-for-granted buy and sell format, the notion of private property, and the institutions that support and legitimize all of these. Problems, however, arise as soon as one looks at this “normal” picture either from the perspective of those who suffer or simply from those who are deprived of the basic things in life. Institutions that make up our society as a whole will soon have to be problematized as more and more of the capitalist institutions’ ill effects or
unfavorable consequences are seen to affect the millions of inhabitants of poorer nations.

Amidst the glut of goods is a multitude of poor people who seek fulfillment and gratification but who are unable to get hold of potentially gratifying commodities. Instant gratification offered by the market is real for the rich; but is something distant for the poor. Some alternatives may actually offer more compensatory substitutes.

This is not to say that instant gratification is beyond the reach of the poor. It is reachable; but, in tiny measures and only on a few items. To illustrate, affluent societies sell many of their commodities in regular containers or bundles to their citizens who have the capacity to pay. Cigarettes are sold in packs, soy sauce in bottles, butter/margarine in bigger parcels, or food in whole servings. In poorer countries, cigarettes are also sold by sticks, shampoo in mini-sachets, soy sauce by tablespoonfuls, butter by spread, or food in a quarter or eighth part. In Manila and other areas in the Philippines, chicken extremities such as feet (fondly called “Adidas”), head (“helmet” or “Kojak”), chicken entrails (“IUD”), cooked curdled blood (“Betamax”), and pig’s ears are barbecued and sold in the streets for the common citizen to enjoy. On the other hand, those with more ample resources can regularly visit Kentucky Fried Chicken or McDonald’s restaurants. Such a disparity of capacity and enjoyment of resources further illustrates the meaning of division of classes. This fact qualifies the slogan “class struggle” not as a fight over goods but a distress-causing condition that further heightens rich-poor difference/estrangement. From this perspective, instant gratification is a distress-inducing fact for many poor people who regard goods as desirable. It is unlikely that the poor masses would think otherwise because they are part of the captive majority who also patronize the market. Rarely does one see people who refuse to be captivated by the aggressive advertising campaigns of market handlers. Aggressive promotions do not exempt anybody from the objective of manu-
Challenging these aggressions is like crying in the wilderness; especially when consumer activists are such a rare breed and oftentimes marginalized.

Consumers perceive themselves as autonomous, enterprising, and calculating searchers. Consumer behavior is basically discriminating. Consumer groups are self-regulated but also open to new forms of control in corporate management, public relations, and advertising campaigns in the market. These also indicate the nature of their confinement in a market where their worth in work has been pre-empted by compromise through wages and identity-forming organization principles. Thus, whether as workers or consumers, people become seduced and possessed by a gnawing desire to find joy or fulfillment in any product or consummable with which they could again, or over and over again, express and identify themselves; albeit only in episodic or, fleeting moments. In fact, the consumers’ drive to find themselves in goods are of desperate and hopeless desires because they are aimed at intrinsically empty products; that is, in themselves empty of substantive values. Ironically, spending/consumption practices have become ways of affirming one’s being as self-regulating, self-actualizing, and self-directing creative individual.

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60 “Food manufacturers and chain restaurants use aggressive and sophisticated marketing techniques to attract children’s attention, manipulate their food choices, and prompt them to pester their parents to purchase products. Harry Potter, Sponge Bob Squarepants, Winnie the Pooh, Elmo, games, contests, prizes and sports stars are enlisted to entice children to request low-nutrition foods.

Companies use advertising and other marketing techniques to sell more product and increase profits. While they are not intentionally trying to undermine children’s health, there is no disputing that the goal of food marketing aimed at children is to influence their food choices.” Center for Science in the Public Interest (CSPI), Pester ing Parents: How Food Companies Market Obesity to Children, (Washington, DC: Center for Science in the Public Interest, 2003), p. 1.


62 See Baudrillard, Selected Writings.

63 See, for example, Michel de Certeau, The Practice of Everyday Life (Berkeley:
Liberalism in political theory and practice dovetails with the non-political, but choice-filled and participative consumer. Liberal theorists and practitioners can identify their cherished ideas of liberty, rights, and freedom with the freedom that their brothers and sisters rightfully exhibit in the open field of commodities. To such consumers, shopping (and cooking, eating, lovemaking, etc.) is also liberating.

VII. Conclusions

As it has taken shape under capitalism, the male-instituted world of work and expenditure/consumption has engendered (1) economic and administrative privileges for some (mainly males), (2) deprivation for others, (3) estrangements that produce further estrangements or alienations and dejection, (4) civilizing process that normalize negative consequences of waged work, (5) subjects habituated to instrumental work, thereby translating some of their personal relations into utilitarian and provisional formats. Some of these impingements or negative features are self-evident while others are not. The more invisible have only become perceptible because of certain ways of seeing or understanding which are, in most instances, keys to further understanding. The types of alienation discussed by Marx have provided one of those keys to a better understanding of the problem of estrangements or the topic of imperiled sexual or non-sexual intimacies in modernity. Freud, Elias, Weber, and Marcuse have developed other ways of seeing—keys that opened up perspectives towards greater understanding of sexual attitudes and behavior of many individuals. Moreover, a combination of perspectives does offer a tremendous help for a fundamental understanding of ideational and operational relationships. By way of their studies, they have either implied or suggested some possible ways of escape: greater reliance on mutual-help among workers, expression of deeper personal desires through socialized work, emancipation of reason from the instru-
mentalizing format, and the fostering of camaraderie and mutual-support in the midst of dependencies—which provide promise of liberation from the grips of utilitarian labor and compensatory consumption habits. All of such forms of escape from negative situations and unintended consequences promote conditions for the formation of individuals capable of more wholesome expressions of closeness or intimacy. These would, thus, suggest further the need for more creative expressions of solidarities which could, of course, produce something good more than intimacy-deficit situations would require.

The next chapter turns through socio-cultural accounts viewed against the theoretical frameworks presented in the preceding chapters. This more historical approach will indicate transformations in attitudes and behavior under those conditions set by liberal-capitalism.
Chapter Four

Liberal-Capitalism and Traditional Socio-Cultural Systems

The general transformations of attitudes and behavior within liberal-capitalist settings also set the movement towards further societal and cultural transformations. To show how such transformations come about it is helpful to demonstrate how individuals and traditional communities appear transformed and changed as they move and struggle around transformed fields.

In this chapter, the focus is on the changing socio-cultural practices amidst the disrupting conditions and impingements set by the Western capitalist fields, processes, and structures. The more concrete historical accounts that will follow are, of course, superimposed by the structures-systems/ecological approach to interpretation.

I. Sexual Revolutions

Edward Shorter\(^1\) has identified two sexual revolutions—first at the onset of modernity and later during the tumultuous decolonization years. The first sexual revolution indicates an increase in sexual activity inferred through the 3-4 times rise of out-of-wedlock recorded pregnancies during the period 1750-1850. The 1850-1940 period has shown a decline in premarital pregnancies as well as marital fertility. According to Shorter, this suggests the use of contraceptive means. “The simultaneity in the timing of the marital and nonmarital fertility downslides is so close as to suggest

that contraception caused the drop in nonmarital conceptions as well."²

Using the data on the extraordinary number of pre-marital pregnancies during the industrial revolution, specifically in the 1750’s, Shorter explains that the sexual revolution could be a result of urbanization and economic modernization’s influence on the formation of egoistic behavior among people; especially the youth.

If the present-day patterns of sexual behavior among the youth in the United States and in Western Europe are used as gauge, Shorter’s claim regarding the effect of industrialization on sexual behavior seems to make sense. Although, his “egoism” argument which bridges industry and people can be scrutinized later. His conclusion about the late 18th century France and others, however, cannot stand in the light of a more accurate handling of data. A more meticulous study by Fairchilds³ has shown that Shorter is not aware that his data reflects a preponderance of rural over urban illegitimacy rates. The higher illegitimacy rate is recorded not from the urban settings but mainly from the traditional villages which were not yet permeated by capitalist schemes of thought and action. Traditional patterns of sexual behavior among the laboring classes in rural regions do indicate that sex before marriage is actually part and parcel of a planned future marriage.⁴

One of Fairchilds’ explanations is that poverty and the job opportunities in the city have led the males look for urban jobs and convince their partners to postpone marriage. However, many of them failed to return and fulfill their promises; thus, explaining better the high illegitimacy rates. The “out-of-wedlock” data could not immediately support the conclusion about the increase in

² Ibid., p. 83.
sexual activity; it could however point to the increase in non-fulfillment of promise or increase in cases of non-traditional partnerships.

Shorter’s theory on the formation of egoism among the youth may make sense only if he shows how this came about. But then, it may have been his way of describing the youth’s transformed attitudes and behavior that have resulted from the diminishing influence of traditions. He suggests that the new social conditions have effects not only on behavior but also on socio-cultural traditions, including the traditional moral systems. These behavior and traditions should have simply determined people. But then, Shorter’s argument will have to make way for explanations which could include more complex factors and different explanatory approaches.

Shorter has also identified the second sexual revolution that happened during the period 1955-1970. He attributes the increase in illegitimate fertility to the better diet that is available to most women. But, even with such data of increased fertility, the use of contraception is still widespread; although, it has created a mask on the real extent of sexual activity of unmarried couples.5

Shorter illustrates the two sexual revolutions data after data. The incidence of non-virginity among girls getting younger and younger, the increase in pre-marital sexual intercourse especially among students, and the prevalent use of the pill among the unmarried have become additional indicators of sexual revolution. He writes: “Students everywhere were doing it more, having more fun, and feeling less guilty about it afterwards.”6 But then he is


already referring to urban cases. His observations apply to several countries of the West and are confirmed by other similar studies.\(^7\)

Shorter’s account of the loss of communal life in the 60s and 70s coincides with the second sexual revolution. His evidences are the increasing sexual activities that are indicated by the increased incidence of pre-marital pregnancy and illegitimate births. The collapse of socio-cultural controls on every individual’s behavior has produced patterns of interaction that are now typical social interactions. In some societies today, the youth’s pre-marital, non-marital or unregulated sexual expressions are no longer seen as revolutionary. Although they are disturbing to some. But then, such present-day sexual behavior can be linked to what Shorter observed about the many French villages and small towns of the 60s and 70s: “Everywhere the story would be the same: the death of the annual calendar of festivities, or at least of those portions that drew family members into the life of a larger collectivity; the decline of community folklore; the huddling of the kin into cozy circle about the fire.”\(^8\) This statement does not only deal with loss but also the transformation of the household into a family of the more contracted or nuclear form. However, Shorter does not show how the fundamental structural causes can bring about such change. He offers some of these tentatively formulated reasons though:

> Market capitalism was probably at the root of the revolution in sentiment. At the same time that mentalities were undergoing the historic shift toward individualism and affection, the economic substructure of the world in which village people lived was in upheaval as well. It was most likely the replacement of this traditional “moral” economy with a modern...


marketplace economy that changed so thoroughly values and behavior.\(^9\)

Such hypothesis does not exactly show what in capitalism has produced individualism and how some elements or mechanisms have changed values and behavior. Consider Shorter’s further explanation:

How did capitalism help cause that powerful thrust of sentiment among the unmarried that I have called the romance revolution? To what extent may sleeping around before marriage and choosing partners on the basis of personal attraction rather than wealth be associated with economic change? The principal link here is the increased participation of young unmarried people, especially women, in the free-market labor force. The logic of the marketplace positively demands individualism: the system will succeed only if each participant ruthlessly pursues his own self-interest, buying cheap, selling dear, and enhancing his own interests at the cost of his competitors (i.e., his fellow citizens). Only if this variety of economic egoism is internalized will the free market come up to the high expectations of its apologists, for if people let humanitarian or communitarian considerations influence their economic behavior, the market becomes inefficient; the weak cease to be weeded out. Thus, the free market engraves upon all who are caught up in it the attitude: “Look out for number one.” (Italics supplied)

I am arguing that, among the common people whom the eighteenth century had forced into the marketplace, this egotistical economic mentality spread into various non-economic domains of life, specifically into those ties that bind the individual to the surrounding community. Egoism that was learned in the marketplace became transferred to community obligations and standards, to ties to the family and lineage—in short, to the whole domain of cultural rules that regulated familial and sexual behavior....once the rules of marketplace individualism had been learned, they easily took control of the whole arena of conscious attitudes. ...My argument is that for young people in

\(^9\) Ibid., pp. 255-256.
the late eighteenth-century Europe, the sexual and emotional wish to be free came from the capitalist marketplace.\textsuperscript{10} (Italics supplied)

Shorter identifies the role of capitalism in transforming people’s behavior, even the already internalized culture, into an egoistic character. His approach in explanation brings into contact two factors: economic egoism in capitalism and attitudes/behavior. The process is internalization or learning where capitalism predominates. The mechanisms of absorption, contagion, or diffusion are suggested. But as seen in Shorter’s use of available data, women who are not in capitalistic settings are also identified as part of the sexual revolution. This is a result of inheriting the egoistic character of capitalism. For some reasons, the internalization mechanism as suggested by internalization/learning process does not apply. The empirical evidence or behavior is available; but, without the supposedly spiritual factor of egoism. The signifier cannot simply be forced to reflect an imported signified. \textit{The fact is that behavioral changes happened even apart from the capitalist determined internalization of egoism.}

It is thus necessary to shift into a structural/ecological explanation. The structural/ecological approach can provide further light on why the sexual revolution has happened apart from conscious egoistical choice or intentional factors. Explaining unintentioned or unintended circumstances and consequences cannot be simply grasped by appealing to ego factors. Note that a metapsychological explanation à la Freud or Marcuse [see above] may also provide some light.

With Shorter, it can be assumed that capitalism is the broad system where transformations originate. A focus on its structures could hold the key to the process of change which is taken for granted by Shorter’s generalized version of the diffusion of a \textit{spirit} of egoism. Furthermore, the process of change involving various

\textsuperscript{10} Ibid., pp. 258-259.
structural lines does not simply map change. It can be seen later along the moral or cognitive level. What are affected, as they also become triggers of change, are relationships and interactions that are not necessarily products of volition or conscious choice. Less noticeable factors are also involved.

People are jolted by the revolutionary changes that are caused by the industrial and political revolutions. Since these operate on the level of work and expenditure/consumption or necessities, people have been snapping into the liberal capitalist framework. There are possible further splitting of identities here as previous patterns of work and expenditure/consumption have been somehow abandoned. Attitudes and behavior are first of all slowly affected by necessities within the dominant economic system: (1) the flows of objects and activities; (2) the regularized interactions; and, (3) the processes of thought, language, feelings, and action. They thereby shift the subject’s sense of self towards greater autonomy that is clearly marked by individualism, i.e., Shorter’s “egoism.”

The broader participation in the public labor and market spheres, not necessarily in politics has also assisted development towards empowerment of women; and later, those of adolescents/teenagers, and gays, and lesbians. The explanations, not merely intentions but structural reasons, for individual actions have further occupied the present study with the analyses offered by authors of the industrial and post-industrial periods—Marx, Freud, Weber, Elias, and Marcuse.

Shorter’s appeal to the effects of modernization and industrialization of society¹¹ are most of the time, too general. It leaves the question of how specific social elements in modernity or capitalism have actually worked to produce these revolutions. The changes in the family resulting in the greater intensity of relationship between the mother and her child, the compressed nuclear family, and the

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¹¹ Ibid., pp. 79ff.
heightened need for intimacy among family members are hailed as effects of a profound cause that is linked to modernity and its industry. He does not focus on explanations via modernity’s fields, their structural elements, and dynamics.

It is indeed possible to link this “wish to be free” with the surge of marketplace capitalism and its tendency to mold egoistical attitudes among people. But how to explain egoistical attitudes pushing young people in pre-capitalist or socialist societies to be free and express this via sexual forms is another problem. The sexual-revolution conclusion cannot immediately reveal the effects of social factors on attitudes and behavior. That is, without offering some explanations why the young are more involved and why this revolution has taken a sexual form in the first place. Moreover, the link between the economic egoism in marketplace and the sexual behavior of individual’s cannot be satisfactorily explained by just appealing to the “internalization” or “learning the rules of marketplace” argument. A background in the sociology of knowledge or in psychoanalysis may offer a suitable understanding of this “internalization” theory. But, it still requires much mental calisthenies when dealing with the different units of capitalist society and with the culture that informs it. It does allow conclusions about the “wish to be free” argument. It is still a long way towards a clearer grasp of this whole sexual revolution process.

In Shorter’s arguments, it may be appended that the industry-related growth of liberal-democratic ideals, the more automatic appropriation of rights by individuals, and the rise of the value of autonomy vs. authority are a contributing factors to the sexual revolutions. Thus, this reality of sexual revolution may not be simplistically explained by the egoism line of argument. Rather, egoism may not simply be explained as a product of the conscious choices of selfish individuals but more of an unintended consequence of intensifying individualism, self-centeredness, autonomy, freedom through patterns of private work and private expenditure/consumption.
Moreover, the complexity of this phenomenon must not be simplified by an appeal to the visible effects of societal changes on persons. Much of what modernity has effected on the nature of industry and work and vice-versa as well as on how these have impinged on individual consciousness are rather very complicated. They are not easy to identify because of their hidden-ness. However, Shorter’s explanations would sometimes hit the nail on its head when he actually points at a basic reason for sexual autonomy: “Not only did paid work give young women an inclination to escape the sexual restrictions of their parents and the town fathers, it also gave the possibility of doing so. Economically independent women have greater liberty than economically dependent ones, for paid work makes it possible to ignore parental admonitions and to shrug off the parson’s scolding.” But then, this is no mere effect of economic egoism. A whole complex of structural transformations is involved and would have to be identified for a more satisfactory explanation. This I will do in the following discussion.

II. Industrialization and Cultural Systems

In this section, I will try to show the complex stories of change which hit the previous lifeworlds and entangle individuals who have opened up to the inviting world of capitalist work and urban life. I will present some transformations in character and behavior as people distance themselves from traditions and move toward the disrupting realities established by the capitalist system.

A. Traditions, Kinship, and Family Systems

The issue of impingements upon intimacy and sexuality cannot be sufficiently understood without re-inserting these into the broader contexts of community traditions and structural transformations. The ensuing stories of greater libertarian and participatory sexualities cannot be viewed clearly without this background of transformations involving complex migrations, divisions, clashes, de-traditionalizations, familial contractions, liberalization, individu-
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alism, etc. which are reflected in the ways people behave in courtship, marriage, family life, and other sexual liaisons.

1. Courtship

In pre-industrial societies of the West, kinship customs as well as religious moral systems have provided young people as well as those of marriageable age the standard sources of guidelines and representations for an upright sexual behavior. It was, however, on the level of the practical, rather than on the theoretical or bureaucratic, that control or supervision over sex was more felt and effective among the rural or village inhabitants. The typical enforcement of standards of behavior followed the cultural-habit path. Sexual behavior was constrained, at most externally, not so much by ethical principles or religious moral systems but by socio-cultural considerations. This is no matter whether they are imbued or not with religion. This happened mainly in the context of the household, clan, village community, and the guilds in towns. Individual choice has to contend with such external pressures on behavior. Survival and social acceptance have circumscribed personal choice. In effect, personal choice is limited most of the time to its own unfulfilled wishes.

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The effects of kinship and community traditions on sexual life have been highlighted by Isabel Hull’s study about the 18th-19th century Germany. She concludes that sex is completely embedded in the socio-economic circumstance of people’s lives. Having a central role in organizing economic life, marriage exercises a conceptual monopoly over sexual expression. The relational aspects of sex form the focus; not on the physical or positional aspects. Privacy, not being a value, contributes to a distinctively traditional, that is, kinship-based and property concerned, understanding of sexuality. While the general populace may experience this traditional kinship or neighborhood-based supervision of sexuality, the Christian sexual culture still provides a vital content for some. Among the upper classes, Christian ethics has been connected to their way of living. “In these groups, the sexual initiation has been related to marriage and thus to the years after education is complete. For the upper classes and farmers, succession is still the main issue for parents trying to influence their children’s choice of partners.”

However, family, community (Gemeinde), peer group, and guild formed the contexts within which people acted sexually; they interpreted the material constraints on reproduction, pronounced the principles of popular morality, and set the goals toward which desire would (unconsciously) tend.

Traditional families have placed so much importance on the sexual behavior of their members for reasons that are different from the present society’s norms or the official teachings of the Catholic Church. A poorly chosen partner could “diminish the

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16 Ibid., p. 44.

17 Kontula and Haavio-Mannila, Sexual Pleasures, p. 54.

18 Ibid., p. 29.
family’s community standing and endanger its ties of mutual support with its neighbors.”\textsuperscript{19} Mutual determination within villages can be gleaned from its citizens’ very important concern over the drains on the community poor chest, addition of poor householders, and social divisiveness.\textsuperscript{20} All of these concerns put pressure on every sexual behavior. Thus, privacy in private matters is neither a natural right nor a recognized social right because sex is something that everyone has high stakes.

Many of the norms and values that are followed by the common people have their equivalents in the systematic codifications or repositories in the Christian centers of learning or administration. However, as sources of formation or information, they were, neither directly consulted nor used as the sole source of guide for everyday behavior. Popular culture, no matter how saturated or unsaturated by the Christian sexual ethics, provides the overall framework for everyday life.

Even in the presence of elaborate religious and canonical forms of norms, what is more felt is the presence of supervisors and rituals which really exert control upon individual behavior. Rituals of control and supervision even pass through the communitarian practices like the charivari and bundling/nightcourting\textsuperscript{21} groups’ pressure on their team. Even French kissing within a ritual——le «maraîchinage» ——is part of a controlled courtship practice.

\textsuperscript{19} Hull, \textit{State and Civil Society in Germany, 1700-1815}, p. 32.
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., p. 37.
\textsuperscript{21} A traditional courtship practice of mate selection done inside the girl’s room, which involves bodily closeness between partners of the opposite sex and which offers every opportunity for sexual-genital contact were it not for peer and elder sanctions preventing them. The purpose of the meeting is to allow the partners to choose the right mate. Sometimes the process would involve scores of male prospects grouped for the purpose, meeting the girl on different times or groupings before an engagement is sealed and only then would coitus be allowed. See K. Rob V. Wikman, “Die Einleitung der Ehe. Eine vergleichend ethnosoziologische Untersuchung über die Vorstufe der Ehe in den Sitten des schwedischen Volkstums,” \textit{Acta Academiae Aboensis Humaniora} XI:1. See also Shorter, \textit{The Making of the Modern Family}, pp. 102-105.
In Vendée, “maraîchinage” was a custom which allowed the boys and the girls, of fifteen years until their marriage, to embrace each other publicly and even, less openly, to fondle reciprocally. Young people stayed in group, undoubtedly to avoid being allowed themselves to carry too far. In Savoy, “albergement” gave freedom to the girls to receive in their bed (alberger) the boys who come to visit them on Saturdays and feastdays. But they kept their shirt and demanded promise to respect modesty, and leaving this to the fidelity of their partners. (The albergement became a ground for excommunication since 1609).22

In some provincial areas in the Philippines the practice of paninilibihan also involves kinship supervision over courtship. Paninilibihan literally means “providing service;” it is a traditional means to test and prove the sincerity and commitment of a suitor and at the same time a way of discovering the suitor’s character and ability to provide for a family’s needs. This would entail the suitor’s extended service (weeks or months or sometimes years) to the girl-family’s daily work requirements like fetching of water and firewood or watering the vegetable gardens. Sometimes, the whole clan would be involved in the assessment of the suitor’s intentions.

Traditional courtship is part of a larger cultural matrix. It is a practice which reflected in consistent ways the broad characteristics of the wider culture and social order. It is also the path of socialization for individuals. This means that culture is the road

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22 “En Vendée, le «maraîchinage» était une coutume qui permettait aux garçons et aux filles, de quinze ans jusqu’à leur mariage, de s’embrasser en public et même, moins ouvertement, de se caresser réciproquement. Les jeunes gens restaient en groupe, sans doute pour éviter de se laisser emporter trop loin. En Savoie, l’albergement donnait toute liberté aux jeunes filles d’accueillir dans leur lit (alberger) les garçons venus leur rendre visite le samedi et les jours de fête. Mais elles gardaient leur chemise et exigeraient la promesse que serait respectée leur pudicité, s’en remettant à la loyauté de leurs partenaires. (L’albergement devint d’ailleurs un motif d’excommunication à partir de 1609).” Madeleine Lazard, Les avenues de Féminité: les femmes et la Renaissance (Paris: Editions Fayard, 2001). See also Marcel Baudouin, Le Maraîchinage: Coutumes du pays de Monts (Vendée) (Réimpression de l’édition de Paris, 1932).
through which individuals would acquire, in matters of courtship, socially-acceptable identities as males or females. Identities must reflect attitudes and behavior that are consistent with the patterns set by society. The subject’s external behavior and society’s expectations should show congruence no matter how the subject feels. Usually, the individual’s distinctive feelings have to be sacrificed in favor of tradition. Such a gesture of individual sacrifice is even one of the ways of affirming one’s identity insofar as this is also represented by tradition. Desire has a safe and clear path along the age-old customs and before the community’s gaze. In modern/late-modern settings, desire is usually sacrificed or postponed in favor of work; but, gratified later on via consumption or other forms of compensatory activities.

The typical courtship practices have to be learned as necessary. They are part of the generational hand-me-downs; that are practiced like one of the community’s obligations. It is this quasi-obligatory nature of courtship rituals that also obliges the community to enforce the standard or typical form. As a reflection of the ways that traditional people behave during their time, the elders’ monitoring of the meeting between boys and girls is consistent with the ways people monitor one another in the different areas of human behavior or morality. In traditional culture, almost everyone checks everyone in all important matters. Courtship is very important for it involves the preservation of property or lineage interests. The social expectations which put pressure on everyone who enters into a marriage would undoubtedly affect behavior in and out of household contexts.

What is more important therefore is the couple’s fidelity to traditional forms of courtship. Tradition can sometimes contain elements that are contrary to the moral standards of the Christian Church. Thus, an approved courtship ritual may even include
sexual activity that often takes place in the woman’s bed. The unknown disapproved or unapproved courtship may also include sexual activity; but it is always done outdoors and in secret.²⁴ Sometimes, some forms of divination or ritualized “magic,” using the love-struck persons’ body parts and fluids like blood, saliva, excrement, hair, urine, and others are practiced to transmit love or ward off envy.²⁵

Involved in the encounter between boys and girls is the interest of the whole community insofar as this ritualized courtship is meant to preserve the very important socio-economic foundations of a group. Thus, the cultural practices serve the material interests of everyone; including those of the would-be couple. Couples are set by society’s norms of doing what is essential then: “grinding the grain, transmitting the property from generation to generation in an orderly way, clothing and feeding the members of the family sufficiently so that they wouldn’t become a burden to the rest of the community.”²⁶

Courtship has formed part of the moral considerations of traditional groups. Its preservation according to form serves as a social purpose greater than the expressive/affective interests of individual boys or girls. This is despite the institutional norms of the Church. The private considerations of individuals have to conform to group expectations. Moreover, in those days, the multiple areas of privacy which many moderns/late moderns enjoy and protect are still foreign. “Privacy” is still open to the “public.”

Boys are not allowed to approach girls in public places where courtship becomes an issue of supervision. In other words, some public activities are recognized for the courtship rituals. The point is that courtship must be bound by the visual-auditory presence of

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²⁴ Hull, *State and Civil Society in Germany, 1700-1815*, p. 33.
²⁵ See Gillis, “From Ritual to Romance.”
the elders. In some areas, serenades reflect this concern to make courtship a publicized matter. Ladies are constantly under the eyes of their mothers, aunts, elder sisters, chaperones, relatives, and the wider public. Thus, all courtship encounters are supposed to be under the watch of elders or the groups of boys and girls themselves within familiar fields of collective work or ritualized practices. *Veillées* (work evenings) in many European settings are not only occasions for collective work; but also, are venues for supervised courtship. Dancing among the youth is also a supervised occasion where elders’ expectations press heavily on the ways boys meet girls. In some areas, it is illegal for girls who have not yet been confirmed, around the age of 16, to attend dances unaccompanied by their mothers.

Courtship acceptance and rejection also pass through traditional forms. The grandparents or if absent, the parents of the girl will have the last say. Forms of rejection and acceptance are also set in conventional ways which involved a more kinship-based process. The boy being signaled to stay longer, the fireplace still blazing to signal a longer night for him were acceptance rituals. Rejection involves extinguishing the fireplace blaze, rolling up aprons, inverting silverwares, or allocating an empty sack for the boy. These are ways of convention which ensure greater acceptance, calmness, and equanimity no matter what the results would be.

Religious and secular festival in traditional societies form part of the whole agricultural calendar of events. They are ritualized and are, thus, predictably anticipated by everyone. These festivals too, form as matrices for courtship meetings that are consistently supervised by mother-elders, or formatted through a public setting.

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27 See ibid., pp. 124ff.
28 Ibid., p. 127
29 Ibid., pp. 140-141.
2. Marriage

The pre-modern or even the early modern norm of sex within marriage is more than a circumscribing of pleasure between married partners. It is also a way of controlling an act that carries “dangerous” consequences of that the unmarried people cannot handle. In other words, control over sex among the unmarried is a control over an act that could spell disaster to the socio-economic status of households and to the stability of society as a whole. Desire has to be inhibited by community considerations over economic matters that an ordinary individual has no claim.

True, there is the tradition of the sexual decision-making process based on the Penitentials (Fig.1). It reflects emphasis on forcing every sexual act to toe the sex-for-procreation line promoted by the traditionalist morality within Roman Catholicism. In this case, control of the sexual urge is rooted in the religious persons’ anxiety over the defiling effect of the so-called “lust.” There is also a fornication penalty that imposes fines and punishment on women. Such fornication act is judged by the town fathers or by a seigneurial court. There was still the fear of hell and purgatory instilled by the doctrines and the clergy on possible erring men and women. But the most effective deterrent to sexual misbehavior are still the gaze of one’s household and disapproval of the neighbor. Pressure also comes from the daily group work under the supervision of elders as well as the solid support and cultural appreciation of a wider community on the marriage prospects of their members.

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The sexual decision-making process according to the penitentials.


**FEELING RANDY?**

- Is wife menstruating?
  - No
  - Is wife pregnant?
    - No
    - Is wife nursing child?
      - No
      - Is it Lent?
        - No
        - Is it Advent?
          - No
          - Is it Whitsun week?
            - No
            - Is it Easter week?
              - No
              - Is it a feast day?
                - No
                - Is it a fast day?
                  - No
                  - Is it Sunday?
                    - No
                    - Yes
                      - Are you married?
                        - No
                        - Is this your wife?
                          - No
                          - Married more than 3 days?
                            - No
                            - Yes
                              - Are you in Church?
                                - No
                                - Are you naked?
                                  - No
                                  - Is it daylight?
                                    - No
                                    - Is it Saturday?
                                      - No
                                      - Is it Friday?
                                        - No
                                        - Is it Wednesday?
                                          - No
                                          - Yes
                                            - GOOD LUCK!
                                              - Wash afterwards!
                                                - No
                                                - GOOD LUCK!
                                                  - Wash afterwards!
                                                    - No
                                                    - GOOD LUCK!
                                                      - Wash afterwards!
                                                        - No
                                                        - GOOD LUCK!
                                                          - Wash afterwards!
                                                            - No
                                                            - GOOD LUCK!
                                                              - Wash afterwards!
                                                                - Yes
                                                                  - FEELING RANDY?
                                                                    - No
                                                                    - GO AHEAD!
                                                                      - But be careful:
                                                                        - No fondling!
                                                                        - No lewd kisses!
                                                                        - No oral sex!
                                                                        - No strange positions!
                                                                        - Only once!
                                                                        - Try not to enjoy it!
                                                                        - Good luck!
                                                                        - And wash afterwards!

**GO AHEAD!**

- Are you married?
  - No
  - Is this your wife?
    - No
    - Married more than 3 days?
      - No
      - Yes
        - Are you in Church?
          - No
          - Are you naked?
            - No
            - Is it daylight?
              - No
              - Is it Saturday?
                - No
                - Is it Friday?
                  - No
                  - Is it Wednesday?
                    - No
                    - Yes
                      - GO AHEAD!
                        - But be careful:
                          - No fondling!
                          - No lewd kisses!
                          - No oral sex!
                          - No strange positions!
                          - Only once!
                          - Try not to enjoy it!
                          - Good luck!
                          - And wash afterwards!

**STOP**

**SIN!**

Figure 1
Sexual activity is demarcated not only by traditional norms but also by groups whose main concern is the maintenance and reinforcement of social stability. Thus, the household, neighborhood, peer group, and guild are intent on pulling sexual expressions into the marital and procreative framework. It is through this scheme that the foundational economic consideration is anchored. No one can get the elders’ consent or corporate approval if he is not materially secure. Thus, this everyday life/common sense of sanctioned marriage extends to what would mean sanctioned sexual activities outside marriage.

The assumptions of this sanction are the qualifications for contracting marriage. Only those peasants with prospect of inheriting land or those town dwellers who are being admitted to a guild are permitted to marry. Sex, therefore, is circumscribed by the marriage qualification of a materially secure life. In principle, the non-secure—dependents, young, women, handicapped—are not allowed to sexual expression. That is, unless they become materially independent. Sexuality is somewhat coterminous with one’s wealth, social standing, adulthood, independence, livelihood, communal responsibility, and political representation among males. All of these considerations are tied symbolically in marriage.

The censuring or supervising eyes of the neighbor is an acceptable way of preserving and promoting norms and values that are related to marital life. The traditional neighborhood is one that is (1) informed by kinship values and ways, (2) governed by regularized schemes of perception, appreciation, and action; and, (3) familiar to and immersed in the interests of every village community. Neighborliness is still something which involves interactions that are similar to warm relations among domestic members. This is true within smaller village settings where baby-sitting, house repair, and some domestic tasks can still be arranged with one’s neighbor. That is, without fuss over what is known today as pri-
vacy and right to compensation. Thus, domestic life is a more open affair, something which was, at least, known to those near home. Every home was even built without the modern covers and divisions which conceal or cover bodies and movements. The sense of privacy is not yet treated as a value to be safeguarded at all cost. Even activities such as bathing, washing of clothes, or sleeping take a more public than private character. One’s identity can still be embedded within the household, community, and culture; without him being aware of what moderns would see as the danger of lack of self-differentiation. A household’s affairs are also open to the neighbors’ meddling gaze.

Since schooling is still a rarity in pre-industrial days, the need for literature or books about marriage are absent. Besides, printing comes only in the late Renaissance. Among the masses, the learning process which involves imbibing the cultural data like beliefs, ritual, organizations, and institutionalized practices are mainly passed through the traditional enculturation processes happening in everyday life. The passing on and reproduction of norms and values materialize as the mother mainly cares for the children. The elders, aunts, or other relatives can also transmit culture as they care for the children. The enculturation process also transpires as the siblings get their share of food on the table or as the father brings home the bacon from somewhere that has required his regular absence from the family. Kinship and other primary relations like the servants who act as caregivers, also act as the channels through which all socio-cultural data are to flow surely and regularly.

3. Work and Social Control

An individual’s work among village people is still part of the bigger group’s struggles. We may say that kinship bonds or expec-

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tations form as an enclosure of every production endeavor. Most subsistent activities always presuppose the needs of the household or the clan. The idea of waged work interferes with this idea of kinship-embedded activity. This happens as the individual is being ripped apart from the bonds of the traditional group by virtue of a free contract with one’s employer. The clan’s gaze also has to be left behind without its former object of supervision. The waged laborer entering another regime of control learns how to cope with a routinized activity without the company of familiar members. As he is able to get along with the differently supervised capitalist production, the waged worker is also able or is forced to assume a relatively new personality based on the expectations of the whole production. The post-production processes like rest, spending, and consumption, are left to his own discretion. Nevertheless, such discretion will now, more than ever, remain within the constraints of resources from wages and the boundaries set by business ventures. Here a further split takes place in the individual as a newly-introduced set of economic and social capital, of pre-defined rules and routines, disrupt the already settled *habitus*.

The neighbor’s gaze, the traditional work, and the village community are no longer dominant in factories and other capitalist set-ups where the process of production and the activities of spending/consumption are not to be unnecessarily disturbed by tradition. The internalized form of the gaze of tradition can still be alive as workers follow routines not bound by tradition. The power of such a gaze will only be preserved, however, for as long as parents-workers are able to sustain cultural reproduction and pass tradition down to the next generation of workers or citizens. Since the learning of tradition passes through the enculturation/socialization process, parents-workers find it hard to demand obedience from their children. The children are gradually jumping from the boatload of laborers’ apprenticeship into the more organized schooling for white-collar work. It is also in schools where children get to load their expanded interior self with non-traditional input.
The de-traditionalization process is not only a process of rejecting tradition. It also passes through the process of socialization. It takes in new “traditions” that are rooted in capitalist work, profit-making, and wage-earning activities. The libertarian as well as democratizing processes of social division of labor and other privatistic spending/consumption patterns can also be considered as roots. Beliefs and values different from traditional sets are needed for liberal-capitalism. That is why, the former traditional workers are being asked to become modern individuals who must recognize themselves as autonomous and rights-bearing free citizens. Thus, the proletarian is slowly integrated asymmetrically into the business system of capitalists. He does this by detaching himself from the more stable cultural traditions that help ward off risks; even without one’s wages. He also binds himself to a contract which only gives him back a certain value; less than the value of what he has produced and delivered. For many workers of the 17th-19th century industrial centers, this is something which neither assures their subsistence nor secures their socio-cultural bases.

Through the vertical supervision of employers, the external control is a common experience of workers. This will exert a sure formative dent on the workers’ thoughts, affections, and wills. No matter how harsh this process may be, most workers consider this a lot better than the still-fresh 14th century villages’ standard of living. The said century is marked by crop failures, famine, population decline, plagues, stagnating production, unemployment, inflation, warfare, abandoned villages, and violent rebellions by poor and weak towns. Workers have been willing to submit themselves to the labor conditions of the 17th century-onwards.  

There is a growing resistance of the organized labor against the perceived abuses of the employers. Such resistance is supported by the socialist-inspired groups and the Catholic-Church-supported pressure groups in some countries like Italy and Spain. Despite these, the realities of job assignments like (1) skills formation, (2) manual work, (3) determined and sustained contract-forced activity, (4) the incentive of wage and benefits, and (5) the coordinated horizontal monitored activities have gradually and surely turned into learned schemes of bodily functions or actions. Being more automatic as years pass and becoming a second-nature ability, a “feel for the game” sets in and becomes difficult to shed off or bring out into critical awareness.

The industrial set-up also cuts through the workers’ former unwanted habits. The industry can be likened to a scalpel that cuts through the body, slices some unwanted tissues, and replaces them with the more appropriate ones; or represses the unwanted through work. Once the average worker gets older, he reconciles capitalist work with his newly-found place outside the workplace and among his relations. The automaticity of his bodily movements are assured of being anchored or gripped by the dovetailing schemes of perception and appreciation. His psyche has already been informed by multiple sources of information; apart from his kinship or the Christian traditions.

The traditional worker or his descendants will have to learn from the external constraints imposed on them by the new industrial capitalist environment. The early childhood socialization/enculturation of a traditional worker has not prepared him for this setting. It now imposes capitalist “goods” in the forms of (1) strategized activities like schedules, and processes, (2) rituals like contract-signing and skills formation, (3) organizations like employer hegemony, and production-consumption split; and, (4) beliefs like private monopoly, and rights over his wages, not over his products. These are all different from the socio-cultural goods of his own milieu.
While the traditional socio-cultural data follow a more extrinsic and positional mode of transmission towards the potential culture-bearers, these are a mode and content that are passed on to vivified workers. Their identity formation has served to make them part of the wider community. Therefore, the process of learning is relatively unproblematic. It is only a continuation of the subsistence activities of the society within which every traditional individual will have to find one’s place. One’s traditional work is full of socio-cultural goods that are imbibed through the traditional modes of learning. The more modern settings, however, require more self-constraint or introspective mode of learning.

Although the more effective self-constraint mode is more favorable to the employers of capitalist set-ups, this pattern of self-constraint has to be effectively learned through external constraints. In his former traditional setting which is an agrarian setting, “the apparatus of self-control is relatively weak and … full of holes compared with that developed in highly differentiated and especially in multi-party, industrial states.”

In his new setting, the worker is subjected to a supervised work that has no place for the external pressures of ancestors, ghosts, or deities. The capitalist’s supervision might still be an external constraint that forces into the workers’ habits. This is important because “a very considerable external constraint is required to strengthen the framework of people’s self-constraint which is necessary for their own integrity and indeed for their survival as persons—and for the integrity and survival of the people with whom they have to live.”

As later generations of workers replace the older generations, the internalized capitalist goods become more dense as well as further justified and legitimated by foundational “rituals and beliefs,” including the “lights” of the capitalist system. While evolving further, these goods are diffused into the mainstream modern culture through the common social habitus. They inform citizens who are now

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more attuned to the “normal” urban life. Occupying and informing the urbanites’ actions, the offsprings of the younger generations of workers may even cross the class divide through education and wealth. Thus, they help consolidate a widening middle class who eventually populate the cities and stabilize a more urban-identified work and lifestyle. For such moderns, sexuality slowly becomes a value, behavior, set of ideas, or a consumable that is far away, distanced, de-linked from, and exist not in the presence of the former kinship or religious systems.

Initially, how does a laborer behave sexually without the presence of his or her kin? Note that the internalized or residual forms of the kin’s gaze have already been alluded to in this book. There are also fellow workers of similar traditional cultural mold. Lastly, the urban clergy and the other tradition keepers like the faithful conservative Christians are still informed by a sexual ethics of the Augustinian type. They are grounded by the natural law argument, by putting emphasis on traditional roles and fidelity or obedience to traditions (see below, Chapter V, section III). It seems that these are the forms by which every working class individual has maintained his link with the previous village’s settings or traditions.

However, the types of work which allowed more freedom to workers in the execution of their jobs, like those of the 19th century underground coal mining, produced a different breed of workers. Their “freedom” experienced in the tunnels and chambers isolated from the rest of the world would seem to give more shape to dispositions that drive them to assume behaviors different from those of citizens of ordinary traditional village settings. The miners’ habits of loosening up their muscles after heavy work do not necessarily conform to the standards set by traditional neighborhoods or Church morality. This picture of autonomous workers will be duplicated in settings that similarly produce workers in the image of stressed-out coal miners.

36 See Zola, Germinal; this novel, which has become a sociological document, depicts the more loose sexual behavior of miners-youth.
B. The Family: Bourgeois Ways, Bourgeois Standards

With all its aspects of planning, production, distribution, and consumption, domestic economics does not normally violate the human relations that condition its possibility. No matter how much variations in the values are attached to specific jobs done by members of the household, the distribution and enjoyment of benefits cannot be left to the arbitrary or whimsical decision of the dominant member. In fact, he, and mainly he, cannot be that whimsical if he values his place in the household. Normally, his decision has to bend before the primary consideration to prolong the set-up. His respect for or need to conserve such set-up prompts him to respect the places and privileges of those who are required to run the whole set-up. Otherwise, the destruction or transformation of the patterns of household relations that constitute the household also leads to his own destruction or transformation. The continuation of the structure of industry depends on the integrity of all within the household. It cannot be sacrificed without destroying the nature of the domestic industry itself.

In the absence of alternatives and under conditions where previous set-ups are still viable, heads or other members of families are not enthusiastic to imagine possibilities that are offered outside their familiar lifeworld. Hand-driven technologies as well as land- and kin-dependent activities are assumed necessities. Such necessities also take for granted significant domains of interactions or rituals where questions about life are answered in terms of shared meanings. Individuals rarely have the chance to solve basic questions in terms that are outside of their own kin and culture.

Oftentimes, economic sufficiency is enough for some to declare autonomy from their past. Others prefer still to maintain integration of wealth within traditional forms. Thus, it is logical to see the unskilled and unemployed still bear the marks of tradition because of the necessity of social integration and economic survival. The wealthy can afford independence; notwithstanding their
need for a support system. The support system of the wealthy can now be perceived as being sustained by wealthy’s resources that are shared generously to energize practices of mutual help.

Here are the traditional functions of a family: (1) a social unit into which children are born, (2) a unit for protection and training for children, (3) the main place of enculturation through primary socialization, (4) the basic source of economic support, and (5) the means of preserving property. However, these have changed in industrialized cities. These functions have transformed mainly into a venue for the provision of affection, emotional support, and sense of belongingness; whether it be for the spouses or the children. In some capitalist countries where traditional systems are still felt in some families, the preservation of traditional family functions has been due largely to the preservation of the productive forces or work-roles within the family production or business setup. In these units, the material foundations of life are not mainly sought outside the family. They are preserved internally through the available family capital and the cooperative efforts of the members. Nevertheless, a non-traditional set-up with, still, a familial orientation can be found in the family enterprises maintained by the petite bourgeoisie: “in the world of small enterprise family and business were bound inextricably together.”

In many areas penetrated by capitalist processes, the old and the new co-exist. At present, the cases of preservation of traditions abound in many dependent economies. In this type of economy, individuals cannot afford de-linking from the sources of security; as seen from both the economic and socio-cultural points of view. Because of their relative autonomy engendered by economic sufficiency, the bourgeoisie, in general, show a remarkable degree of separation from traditions that are familiar to agricultural settings. This separation is a slow process that involves a very complex development.

Commerce precedes democracy. But, feudal practices have what the conditioned commerce and democratic practices have. An example is the free contract between lord and vassal. Moore provides the case that the entry into the liberal modern period should be preceded by conditions that are largely commercial and political in nature. One such condition is the commercialized ways of the landed elite and their eventual assumption of state leadership by democratic principles. Otherwise, democracy remains problematic. This happens when the commercial interests of the urban and the rural upper strata converge to hinder the development of democracy among workers and peasants.\(^\text{38}\)

Gaining freedom and greater participation through their power in the economic domain, the bourgeois has propelled its dominance into the political realm. Once their rights and the values represented by their economic status have sequestered prominence, their voices have become the authority that is heard in many areas of life. This appropriation of prominence is, however, a gendered story.

The structural requirements of capitalism have resulted into broad and complex structural adjustments in the social relationships among its male and female agents. The Industrial and Production Revolution from the 15\(^{\text{th}}\) to 19\(^{\text{th}}\) century Europe has produced a fairly stable continuity in the pattern of relationships. At that time, relationships are built around the dominant role played by the adult male head in his authority over the family. That is, over the female partner, their children, and the dependents.

It is yet a long way before women can take a shot at equality among men; or at least, a liberation from male dominance. In fact, the social conditions for such an aim do not come easy. The conditions for the ascendant status of the male are more in place and are still deeply rooted in culture and society.\(^\text{39}\)

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39 "The sixteenth century raised consciousness about women’s issues well before
The women’s traditional role coincides with the natural way that women have historically coped with the biological processes of conceiving, birthing, lactating, and babysitting. The language of her culture has already structured her broad story along those life-stages. As soon as a girl enters the stage of puberty, her individual role becomes more visibly aligned with the socially transmitted, generalized, and obligatory role of women. She gradually learns from the societal body how to take care of those problems associated with her female body. She is initiated into the ways of women who know how to handle her monthly period or pregnancy, delivery, and babysitting. In all of these initiations, she begins to think like the rest of the women in her society.

The girl who is initiated into the old and accustomed ways of women knows “her place” in society. Regarding marriage, she knows that her parents will give her to a suitable partner. She will be given for marriage. She does not enjoy the freedom of the boy who can take the initiative of searching for a suitable partner. She learns that the boys are given more opportunities to decide for themselves. She accepts the fact that she can only act on the decision of her father; or, in marriage, upon the leave of her husband.

Women have seen the men moving about freely while they have to be grounded during menstruation. In traditional societies, women cannot leave their abodes without fulfilling the prescribed

our own. Lazard, in *Les avenues de Femynie* demonstrates how these issues entered the sphere of public awareness after they materialized during the French Renaissance in the fields of medicine and domestic morality, as well as in the writings of great poets, playwrights, and novelists such as Ronsard, Rabelais, Montaigne, Brantome and D’Aubigné. Though it was initially mostly masculine voices making themselves heard, women in France began, at last, to raise their own in dissent. Louise Labbé, Marguerite of Navarre, Marie de Gournay and others were among them. Madeleine Lazard’s extensively researched and well-documented study of women in the first truly ‘modern’ century proves that although this era faced other challenges, its spirit of innovation sowed the seeds of women’s liberation in France. It also reveals to us who these women were in all of their diversity. Not only well-educated women of letters and of the court; but young girls, housewives, widows, peasants, laborers, nuns and prostitutes.” http://www.frenchpubagency.com/?fuseaction=title.main&tid=269/ (accessed May 15, 2006).
rituals proper to the monthly menstrual flow. Men do not have to worry about those rituals. When women get pregnant, they are partially immobilized while their husbands can actively carry out their roles outside the house and hearth. Childbearing in the early days is associated with death, more so, when it becomes too often, when the woman has a weak constitution, or when the husband does not share in the domestic duties. Again, the rituals of purification are imposed on women when they give birth to their child. In many societies, more time is required for purification if the child is a girl. After giving birth, the woman will have to stay with her child for lactation. This will last until such time that the child can live on solid food. All the while, the woman is expected to sit with the child until another baby comes to divide her attention. In the early days, pregnancy happens as often as the female body can allow it.

In all the time that the woman acts as a mother to her children, she is also expected to fulfill the role of a good wife. That is, seeing to it that the home is “warm.” Cooking for the children and the husband, feeding them three times a day, washing their clothes, and preparing their beds—these have been the lot of many women. Meanwhile, the husbands and sons continue the habit of keeping distance from those traditional “feminine tasks” while the mother and the girls perpetuate the role laid down by society.

A woman fulfilling the traditional role is generally economically dependent on her husband. She does not have her own earnings to support herself and the family in case the husband dies or leaves her for another woman. On the other hand, the husband can assume independence even without his wife’s support. This state of economic dependence puts a strain on a traditional woman’s self-image when she sees other women moving about freely and earning their own income. Many women, thus, see the tradi-

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tional role not only as a veritable vassalage but also a potential hazard to the female ego.  

Societies have defined the dignity of woman in her role as the male’s companion, childbearer, and household manager. Traditional and agricultural societies have emphasized that the woman derive her dignity from the male’s person, from his child, and from his household. In the main modes of expressing one’s humanity—in work, war, sex, worship, and play—it is the male that has come to be recognized as the manager, the leader, and the initiator.

The traditional Catholic position has also shared in this general view. It has also defined the woman’s dignity in her roles of conceiving, birthing, lactating, and rearing of children at home. The home is understood as the extension of the womb. This traditional view is shown in the following excerpts:

There can be no doubt that the primary function and the sublime mission of woman is motherhood, and, in accordance with the lofty goal which the Creator Himself has set in the order He has chosen, this dominates the life of woman intensively and extensively. Her physical structure, her spiritual qualities, the richness of her sentiments, combine to make woman a mother, to such an extent that motherhood represents the ordinary way for woman to reach her true perfection...

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43 Pius XII, Address to a Pilgrimage Sponsored by the Federation of Italian Women (October 14, 1956), # 532, in *OCT*, pp. 180-190.
and,

The moral and spiritual strength of a woman is joined to her awareness that God entrusts the human being to her in a special way. Of course, God entrusts every human being to each and every other human being. But this entrusting concerns women in a special way—precisely by reason of their femininity—and this in a particular way determines their vocation.  

Women who are submissive to their husbands are usually non-achievers in the modern sense of pursuit of career. The nineteenth-century Western society does not offer much promising conditions for the uplift of women. They have been considered inferior to their male masters. There are very few opportunities for them to raise their status such as going thru education or taking jobs outside the household. Thus, most of them enter into marriage as “chronically inferior.” Male dominance is therefore a reality that is congruent with female inferiority. It has nothing to do with the male’s intellectual superiority or educational advantage.

In some cases, and except for royal prerogatives, maleness is a condition for what is perceived as a more productive work in crafts or commerce. Such work entitles them for entry into marriage, for religious office, for education, for military and civic duties, and for the enforcement or passing on of proprietary rights. All that a woman has to do is wait and hope for the coming of the male partner who can bestow on her some amount of social recognition. Women do, in fact, consider it their role to wait on their husbands and serve them, their household and their respective children. For most of them, such role of the submissive woman reflects the ideal or complete woman. For them, there is no other way of finding their place in society. Society cannot yet provide

alternatives which only come as soon as social relations get transformed by the habits-altering processes of economic activities and fields of production.

The exclusion of women in many areas of life does not disappear even as capitalism requires a more libertarian and democratic ethos for its progress. It is not until women are accepted in some industries that the propriety of their participation in the economy is raised. Most people then are not used to seeing women not working for their fathers and husbands or family in the confines of the home. In fact, as a productive work, work is inconceivable without the man’s master role. Such perception exists despite the fact that women sometimes do more tasks than their fathers or husbands. This is true in agriculture settings where women still work on top of their domestic chores. The women’s identities as housewives/mothers do not change even when their actual work involves taking over the male duties in the farm.

In the capitalist industry, the gender division of labor takes another form. The man’s task has turned to the factories/offices while women, mainly bourgeois women, have remained at home. Raising of the “family” has become the woman’s main responsibility. Women have basically worked on non-farm/non-craft activities. Women have taken charge of the private space while their male counterparts work in the public sphere.

It is a slow development for the women’s entry into industry. Some set-ups have absorbed those skilled in a craft that are reserved for women—embroidery, and lace-making. Production set-ups which require muscle work are surely exclusive to males. Many manufacturing firms do accept women and even children because of their lower wages. But, by-and-large, the bourgeois woman/wife is really identified with the home. Family life dictates her work.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man by the French revolutionaries of 1789 also reflects the dominant place of man over woman in the social structure of the late 19th century France; and
presumably, in other parts of the so-called Western world. The proponents of this declaration are actually the male bourgeoisie whose status is then felt growing in the economy that is built around the emerging industrialization process. Even if this declaration seems to represent the whole of the commoners/third estate populace in its revolt against the dominant estates, it does not extend an emancipated status to women. When Olympes Marie de Gouges presents to the Paris National Assembly a “Declaration of the Rights of Woman and Citizenship,” she clearly has represented the growing clamor for women’s liberty, equality, and sisterhood. She has, however, effectively signed her death warrant when she crafts this declaration still considered inimical to the dominant male’s consciousness. She gets executed. With her decapitation, “the woman’s organization disbanded and the female right of assembly suspended.”46 Such is a male act that is founded on a felt conviction about the exclusivity of male liberty, equality, and fraternity. Today, one may rightly view this female exclusion as a contradiction in bourgeois thought; but, it merely reflects what the social structure has allowed for the sexes. The Declaration is consistent with what is happening in the arrangements of society. For among the bourgeoisie, employment is largely a male preroga-

tive while women are to stay at home and keep the family. Among the male, such is the rational and appropriate manner of arranging the private domain; similar to the way the public has been rationalized by men. If the Declaration of the Rights of Man is right, then it is right because it also upholds the public sphere from which a man derives and maintains his power and authority; within which, a woman has no autonomy. Her rational place is the family.

Women are not supposed to be devoid of authority. But, it is in the bourgeois homes where her domain is felt and required in the fulfillment of her role as a full-time housewife/mother. The identity that is attached to bourgeois household can indeed explain why women are perceived to be indispensable full-time housewives/mothers. Her identity is supposed to be consistent with the identity of the bourgeois house; not that of the nobility’s house or the lower class’s house. In the bourgeois domain, the couple, through the wife’s full presence, plans for the future of the family. Children are lavished with attention; especially on their education. Special attention is given to sons who are very much different from the sons of farmers, noblemen, or craftsmen. The identities of the sons still depend on the status of the parents. The bourgeois children have to earn their own employment and social status through their own achievements.\footnote{Frevert, Women in German History, p. 15.} Thus, the domestic unit has to be maintained for the propagation of children; and eventually, citizens of a gradually becoming dominant bourgeoisie. It is in this consideration that the mother’s full-time watch must be viewed. She, as a housewife/mother, is the home’s empress re/producing in the persons of her sons the likeness of her husband; and, eventually, the shape of the bourgeois family and society.

As earlier identified with the bourgeois compressed household, the family is composed of the married couples and their children. The family, then, has become a new domain that is already distinct from the previous pre-capitalist era’s household.
which was more expansive in membership and is based on age-old identities of farmers, noblemen, and craftsmen. Thus, strictly speaking, the modern family “flowed” from the bosom of industry-framed couples who are trying to carve out their respectable place in the emerging dispensation that they will eventually dominate.

The family, then, is under the housewife’s administration—one away from economic, productive, and political functions. It is a unit outside work; one devoted to the intimate relations of marriage partners and their children.

Now that the middle-class wife was to a large extent freed from productive work, which was henceforth to be defined as a purely masculine domain, her task was to create within the family a refuge for private and intimate life, a refuge that would harmoniously complement the outside world of work, the world of competition for power and money.48

The separate locations of work and family life have acquired distinctive contents. The rationalized place of the housewife, however, produces “triple identities” in her shifts as wife, mother, and housekeeper. Today, the fourth shift of working mothers further adds to the woman’s rational obligations.

The role of the female bourgeoisie as worker, which has begun only towards the end of the 19th century, has had enormous implications for the once-established gender division of labor, double standard, domination of men over the public sphere, unquestioned understanding between family and as well as society, the previously unproblematic formation process of the bourgeois identity and female character as irrational or too emotional. The entry of the woman into the workforce has undermined the bourgeois family. It has finally reached its moment. But, the long “wait” for its appropriate time can also be considered as a “waiting” period that is dominated by the bourgeois family. Such a family is

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still strictly defined by the gender division of labor that is historically controlled by the patriarchal social order.\textsuperscript{49}

The patriarchal social order is the source of inequality when it comes to treatment of, for example, sexual misbehavior. Infidelity committed by men is taken more lightly than those committed by women. In terms of honor, the man is not challenged since infidelity can only prove his virility which is weighty than being dishonored because of impotence. Besides, adultery can only damage one’s reputation; but, not one’s manhood. Manhood is something greater than anything that does not challenge the foundations of a patriarchal society. When a woman commits adultery, she does not only destroy her reputation but she can also dishonor her husband’s capacity; and worse, the patriarchy’s assumed fountainhead.\textsuperscript{50}

Unlike her sister in the university town or cities, the rural housewife/mother works incessantly around the house. According to Krünitz’s \textit{Encyclopädie} (1788),

supervision and work in the kitchen and cellar, the rearing of cattle, pigs and poultry, the maintenance, cleaning and production of clothing and linen, bedmaking, brewing, baking, washing, sewing, spinning, weaving and other work with wool and flax, and indeed anything concerning the cleanliness of the house and the maintenance of household equipment.\textsuperscript{51}

Although work in the fields and woods are mainly the preoccupation of the husband, along with his sons and the farmhands, some seasons would require the wife’s presence. An example is the harvest time. But, the boys are also taught how to spin and knit despite the perception that these are women’s work. In rural areas, men and women can work side by side and shift from one domain


\textsuperscript{50} Hull, \textit{Sexuality, State and Civil Society in Germany, 1700-1815}, p. 85.

\textsuperscript{51} Quoted in Frevert, \textit{Women in German History}, p. 23.
to another. Clearly it cannot reproduce a strictly-construed gender division of labor. The man, however, clearly rules over children and women. The choice of future sons and daughters-in-law is also a man’s prerogative.

Clearly the rural and urban pictures of work provide distinct conditions of family interaction. The differences in the upbringing of children, in the relationship between husband and wife, and in the way families are understood and functioned, have made the differences in the formation of children. In the future, these children serve as agents who will also try not only to make their presence felt but also to largely reproduce the values or goods of their families and societies.

Bourgeoisie education is, however, something foreign to rural upbringing. The school’s propagation of some of the ideas of the enlightenment could not have brought up the peasants’ children into bearers of liberal ideals. In fact, conscious upbringing is unknown to the peasant society.  

Local culture, by and large, takes of most upbringing through the traditional identification and demarcation of roles, ascription of status, ritualization of everyday life, and others.

This does not mean, however, that the rural people are stuck in the eternal return of the same cycle all over again. Among them are some families who are identified with the proto-industrial producers. The household structure is the domain of such families where the “sexual division of labor was less strict than in the household of yeoman farmers.” Among them, the precursors to the more “liberal” or “permissive” focus of sexual activities can be

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52 Ibid., p. 24.
identified. Their women “started to visit public houses, took part in hunger and bread riots, and adopted freer sexual mores.”

Women of the bourgeoisie are not inclined to identify themselves with the aristocrat’s or the farmer’s wife. Even those traditionally occupying the middle class like craftsmen, innkeeper, and retailers are not considered as sources of model identities. The bourgeois woman, no matter how she conducts herself amidst the demand for courtly manners by the imitators of “high culture” can be credited for following the image of the woman which the bourgeoisie has invented. The core of this group is formed not only by those whose activities do not just represent the industrialists’ interests but also by those whose services are needed to support the eventual growth of the absolutist governments towards the nation-states. The social conditions which have become more favorable for the capitalist industry have also required the presence of the highly-educated members of the middle class. Their roles became indispensable to the industrial bourgeoisie. These middle-class members are educated in universities. They are the “experts on administrative law, judges, priests, professors and teachers, along with doctors and lawyers.” Both the industrial/commercial and educated middle classes have become the main actors who provides impetus for the emergence of a new social habitus that has a distinct material culture, patterns of work and expenditure/consumption. Their gatherings are habitually done in places which later on have become the bourgeois public sphere: “coffee houses, masonic lodges, clubs and the dinner parties.” Such venues provide the bourgeoisie the opportunities for their public discussions or debates that tackle a wide-ranging subjects from political, economic, and to scientific concerns of their time. These provide occasions for the bourgeoisie to also develop or discover their distinct place/role in society. All the while, their women partners

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55 Ibid., p. 27.  
56 Ibid., p. 32.  
57 Ibid., p. 33. See also Habermas, *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere.*
or wives are rationally distinguished and excluded from such socio-
politicizing processes. Their presence, though, are felt on occasion
when a ball or concert would need their talents for decorations or
presentations.

The education of women then are not really curtailed for they
are also trained in matters like “reading, writing, arithmetic, reli-
gion, geography, history, French, singing, and drawing.” However,
such is largely confined in the home and is meant to prepare them
for their future role as housewives/mothers. Even in those cases
when private factors or governesses were available for those who
could afford, education was still in view of future housekeeping
roles.

The education of the boys extends beyond house tutoring
since grammar schools are opened for them in view of future
careers in business, politics, ecclesiastical positions and other
professions. Some girls who have had the opportunity to attend
educational establishments cannot be qualified for professions
which are all reserved for the educated males. Female members
can only envision their future as being married to their husbands.
That is why, their marriage has become “means” or instruments of
their fathers to either consolidate their socio-economic positions
or to gain the much-needed and absent economic security and
social influence. Being single and unmarried is a fact that is syn-
onymous to misfortune. Under this male-dominated social dispen-
sation, the declaration of the rights of women is, thus, both un-
thinkable and reasonable. They are unthinkable for men and
reasonable only for some women.

C. Bourgeois Work-Grouping: Identity-forming Sepa-
rations

As soon as the female partners or would-be female partners
land wage-earning jobs in workshops or factories, their housewife

\[58\] Ibid., p. 36.
role has become a responsibility that is lined up with other responsibilities that are previously assigned mainly to the male partners. During the two world wars, labor has burdened women who assume the responsibilities of their absent husbands or fathers. This is, however, also an opportunity for many women who experience an autonomy that they have never enjoyed in the presence of the dominant males. When their partners eventually have come back, many women do not surrender what they have already won and enjoyed during the absence of the male head.

The steady gain in the economic aspect has also afforded women the correlate gain in social power; especially in the way that they have redefined their roles in the family and in society. Their victories in suffrage struggle and emancipation from parental or father’s control have further bolstered their increasing autonomy. This is also backed up by their more secure financial status as wage earners. Their autonomy has flourished and is allowed to express within the conjugal partnerships and households. They can express their desires for career first before children, divorce, or artificial contraception.

More than any other thing, it is because of the women’s aggressive posturing in their gaining of economic independence from men that their rights and privileges have secured respectable status in today’s societies. Therefore, it is not an easy thing for them to give up their careers since it is in these careers that women can maintain equal respectability in societies where males are always dominant. Career women cannot afford to go back to that state where marriage also means servility and dependence. Their former state poses economic insecurity.

To many women, making their biological processes as more compelling than their public professions mean capitulating again to male dominance. For them, their natural biological reproductive roles cannot be considered higher than their social gains because they perceive the latter as conferring on them the opportunity for self-fulfillment; apart from the former role. After all, men gain
recognition apart from their organs of reproduction. If traditional authorities insist on reconciling their public and private functions, women also insist on pulling the male into sharing their traditional role as housekeepers and babysitters. If marriage is indeed a mutual society, then, the women can insist, the husbands should also share in the burdens that women have suffered so long under male domination and under the male definition of a woman’s traditional role.

Thus, the home and the office are the two venues where married women struggle and thereby gain and exercise freedom and respect. At home, they assert their independence from their biological processes for their own flourishing side by side with their husbands. In the offices they assume economic independence that means freedom from both socio-economic and natural biological hazards. Thus, decisions are made by women not only to maintain such freedom but also to avoid reverting back to the state of servitude—because of economic dependence and meekly following the traditional role. The respect due her is now assured by her active posturing. The woman becomes an active cooperator in establishing and ensuring the respect which is due her.

Contraceptives are therefore “natural allies” of women who feel they, too, must be respected apart from their reproductive organs. Many women contraceptive-users are not at all against the traditional role per se. They complain only of the traditional role if and when this is made normative and when husbands do not seem to provide relief in housekeeping and babysitting. Moreover, contraceptives are safety measures for women who consider unplanned pregnancies as hazards to their careers. Their careers yield them recognition and self-reliance. Contraceptives, thus, are means to “harmoniously combine” their careers and traditional role.

The case of women’s gain of stature apart from husbands and fathers is also a case of a process of relative emancipation from male dominance or control. This reaches a stage today where one
can speak of the slow demise of patriarchy in many societies where capitalism prevails.\textsuperscript{59} This may be one of the gains which women enjoy because of their participation in work. But, other problems await her as she enters the inner chambers of instrumentalized activities. She learns to adjust her manners into the male world of work where females are expected to inhibit their feminine grace and warmth.\textsuperscript{60} She also exposes herself to the alienations which the males before her have learned to accept out of necessity. As a result, her children and those people who depend on her personal attendance have to accept the fact that her usual de-stressing presence at home is no longer fully available. It is no wonder then that a major problem experienced by young people today is the lack of parental attention.

Wives may be engaged in paid work, family business, part-time work. She may also not go into wage-working at all but, into full-time housewifery or homemaking. The husband may also be into paid work, too, in family business, or part-time work. He may not go into wage-working; but, not necessarily into homemaking. Table 1 shows the different combinations that are generated from various husband and wife roles as well as the possibilities of shared housework between them.

\textsuperscript{59} Castells, \textit{The Power of Identity}, pp. 192ff.

## Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scenario</th>
<th>Husband</th>
<th>Wife</th>
<th>Housework sharing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>Housewife/Unemployed</td>
<td>No sharing (X)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>Housewife/Part-time Employed</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>Housewife/Employed</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Employer/Family Business</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Employer/Family Business</td>
<td>Housewife/Family business</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Employer/Family Business</td>
<td>Housewife/Family business</td>
<td>Possibly sharing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Part-time work</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>Possibly sharing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Part-time work</td>
<td>Housewife/Employed</td>
<td>Possibly sharing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Part-time work</td>
<td>Housewife/Part-time Employed</td>
<td>Possibly sharing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Part-time work/Housework</td>
<td>Housewife/Employed</td>
<td>Possibly sharing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>Possibly sharing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Unemployed-Housework</td>
<td>Part-time Housewife/Employed</td>
<td>Possibly sharing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Self-employed (informal work)</td>
<td>Housewife/Employed</td>
<td>Possibly sharing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>Housewife/Self-Employed</td>
<td>Possibly sharing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Husband separated/deceased</td>
<td>Single parent</td>
<td>Full or Part. Housekeeping, With or without support:</td>
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</table>
domestic help, relatives, day-care

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Single parent</th>
<th>Separated/deceased</th>
<th>Part-Housekeeping with or without support: domestic help, relatives, day-care</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
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Thus:

<table>
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<th>Scenario</th>
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<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
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<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
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<th>14</th>
<th>15</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>⇔</td>
<td>⇔</td>
<td>⇔</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

✓ = active in housework  X = not fully involved in housework  ⇔ = possibly involved in housework

The degree of separations or closeness between the husband and wife may be determined by their place and function in the scheme of productive capitalist work. Of course, ignoring the role of the psychological factors in interactions. But, because of the sheer regularity of schedules demanded by the system’s division of labor, every individual is also required of the regularity of appearance and fulfillment of tasks towards efficiency and growth of every capitalist/employer’s economic concerns. As synchronized schedules of interdependent functions, the work-hours cannot be adjusted according to an individual’s ambition, family togetherness, or what intimacy does demand. Productive capitalism, thus, becomes the controlling mechanism of time for people who insert themselves into the capitalist’s space. The people do this; for survival security and eventually, for their socialization needs and sense of fulfillment. For most employed husbands, the housewifery of their wives, in a sense, subsidizes their work because the
women do make their employment possible. The sexual division of labor within the domestic scene still reflects today’s most homemaking burden. It rests on the wife who continues to subsidize work; and even extend it to her rest periods from/for employment.

Previously appearing as natural or seasonal to agricultural people, time then has become rationalized time. In short, it is packed as regularized schedule. It is linked to work and is turned out continuously eating up most of the people’s waking hours. Such waking hours are no longer self-appointed; but, system-defined. This does not mean, however, that individuals are not able to invent for themselves some forms of production in activities that are beyond the system’s control like reading, cooking, or eating, and other similar activities. Nevertheless, the system demands that even one’s rest and leisure time be really time spent to enable the re-insertion into the system be coupled with a renewed vigor. One’s private or family space is no longer in full control of time. This system-defined time is, however, something which is part of every worker’s consciousness. It has already acquired an identity that is co-terminous with the objective; but, is subjectively internalized as schedules. In other words, everyone working within the capitalist-appointed schedules also imposes upon one’s self that identity required by the assigned productive synchronized tasks. Briefly, capitalist time has become identity-forming.

Once capitalist work leads people to consumable necessities and luxuries, it necessarily becomes integral to personal or family survival and identity. Everything that is required to maintain work is also perceived as necessary; and eventually, conceived as natural. Even those disadvantaged in their roles as workers or are merely considered as reserved army of workers do not fail to identify those elements that are assumed to be advantageous to those who have already benefited from internal processes of capitalism. Thus,

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61 See Gray, “Myths of the Bourgeois Woman: Rethinking Race, Class, and Gender,” for a more integrative view of the role of housewifery within capitalism.
their existence within the dimension of capitalist time becomes a lifetime project for most people who cannot think of alternatives simply because the capitalist fields are where they could struggle for resources or prestige.

One’s identity is somehow closely related to one’s work. Closeness does not necessarily mean intrinsically joy-giving. But, it is an imposed feature that is extrinsic to personal desires, immediate needs, or private intimacies. Individual identities are greatly showcased, however, as people affirm their individuality or uniqueness through expenditure/consumption patterns. This is where the waged workers feel certified by the material or prestigious equivalence of wages. Things, especially the most precious ones, become vindications of sacrifices in work. They, thus, convey unto persons their share of honor or pride before a society of people who incessantly struggle for resource and capital in this world. This becomes problematic for identity formation, personal integration, or even for survival. Whereas traditional work may be culturally traditional in both substance and form, capitalist work has its form and substance that are virtually separate from community-maintaining or socially-integrating cultural systems. Whereas traditional agricultural work can assure the workers of an immediate consumption of farm products, capitalist work only offers a medium devoid of immediate survival value. Through repeated job, repeatable work, and commercial markets, capitalism endeavors to form individualized individuals. Such individuals are supposed to have substance and form that are increasingly de-linked from community processes and are progressively away from traditional symbols, myths, and rituals. The secularization and individualization processes will spell out more and more different forms of modern disconnections from self and others.

Although interdependence is a pronounced characteristic of modern work and expenditure/consumption, it also generally and

62 See Douglas, Natural Symbols.
consistently produces disconnectedness within the personal and familial spaces. Thus, even employment associations and unions have become work-adjuncts that virtually uproot the employed from their primary connections. They may not reflect totally alienating situations; but, they are ties which, to a great extent, make possible the capitalist economy afloat. The agreements within economic settings, however, are not necessarily between equals or consociates. The so-called agreements between asymmetrical relations are also agreements but not equally benefiting both parties. Agreements that are formed through strategized activities, for example, are not devoid of exploitation or manipulation.

Family and marital intimacies in the context of traditional work and togetherness do eventually suffer from the continued absence of actors who are now sucked up from their spaces by the more autonomous and time-consuming capitalist domains.

The wives and children who do not work but get subsidy and benefits from capitalism do not fail to acquire identities that are still linked to the more dominant interests that pervade the everyday state of affairs. The development of persons cannot escape capitalism. This is because the colonizing presence of capitalism is felt in varying degrees in everyone’s time and space.

D. Liberal Tradition and Individualization of Liberty

The Bourgeoisie (or New Bourgeoisie\(^63\)) have emerged as the dominant citizens who eventually define the standards as well as the regulatory mechanisms for sexual behavior; whether it be statist or civil society.\(^64\) The nobility, the poor, the women in

\(^{63}\) See Frevert, Women in German History, pp. 31ff.

\(^{64}\) In Isabel Hull’s study, she raised the different aspects of civil society in 18th century Germany: “Some took advantage of the traditional legitimation of state authority via common welfare (Gemeinwohl) and made civil society its new arbiter. Others rejected Gemeinwohl in favor of individual rights. Others developed the principle of rule of law (Rechtsstaat), which, accomplished through legal reforms, would newly define and circumscribe state power vis-à-vis the nonstate realm of civil society. Still others empha-
general, children, the elderly, and the handicapped are subjected to
the bourgeois discourse of what is allowed, not allowed, disagree-
able, or not excusable. Even the working classes’ perceived sexual
incontinence like overbreeding and earlier sexual initiation are
considered by the dominant bourgeoisie as constitutive of the
character and misfortunes of the working class. Certainly, this view
indicates a different model for character and a blessed life.

The bourgeois supervises the secularized expression of mo-
rality that deals with issues like prodigality, luxury, pre-marital and
non-marital sex, sexual looseness and disorder, negligence, irre-
sponsibility, laziness, and unproductivity. They have propagated
ambiguous and complex standards of sexual behavior during the
industrial era. They have been the carriers of sexual ideals/
standards which cannot be readily reconciled with what used to be
the traditional Augustinian Christian sexual morality. Neither can
it be identified with the popular morality that is commonly identi-
fied with the traditional villages nor with the more formally articu-
lated standards set by the philosophers and the state policy-makers.

What is very clear in the discourse of the bourgeois/
enlightenment representatives is the progressive evolution of a
policy of non-intrusion into the private matters which affect
individuals. Gone are those days when ordinances do regulate
spending, consumption, consensual sexual acts, and irreligious
behavior. For a society where unregulated spending/consumption
means a disturbance of the social order, the “vices” related to
spending/consumption are legislated and customarily supervised.

sized the moral aspect of civil society as the arena of self-development according to
Reason. Finally, the sphere of economic production, unfettered by monopolies and
undue State intervention, was another important aspect of civil society…” State and Civil
Society in Germany, 1700-1815, p. 205.

65 The Christian setting emphasized control on the following: vice, cursing, viola-
tion of the Sabbath, un-Christian deportment especially during holy days, gambling and
dancing on Sabbaths.
During the absolutist eras, an indulgence with luxury, spending, consumption, and even vice have been limited to the nobility and courts. As soon as the various practitioners of civil society as well as those non-nobles who hold state positions rise to prominence or to a status that can no longer be ignored (cf. rise of reputation via their presence in literary, Masonic, reading associations and later in general publication materials), the civil society at large has opened itself to luxury. People have indulged on topics like cultural refinement associated with knowledge and consumption of leisure, food, drink, clothing, and social amusements. The problem of ill-manners, excess, and vice cannot but accompany such discussions that include sexual matters.

Today’s unbridled spending/consumption habits, anchored on toleration of individual rights, can no longer be controlled by appealing to national or international economic crises. What is given primacy is not anymore mutuality/solidarity but the individual rights that are conceived as inalienable and autonomous. The bourgeois standards are expressed through the various repressive discourses that bear the marked values of the public sphere—industry, market, and government. No matter how the bourgeois standards are looked at, what eventually emerges is the liberal approach to sexual matters: respect for the individual’s privacy. Thus, what used to be branded and penalized as fornication has become a matter of individual conscience.

Some philosophers like Rosseau, Fichte, and Kant put great importance on the individual in the realm of sexual behavior. In Fichte, one can see the initial formulation of the civil society’s view regarding the more radical respect for the freedom of men and women in engaging in sexual relations outside marriage. This view does not justify nor condone this otherwise immoral act; but, it really recognizes the fact that moral freedom necessarily includes the possibility of freedom to act immorally. The State, in order not

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66 See his work *Emile.*
to violate this principle, has to stop acting as a police over such private acts. In fact, it should renounce its previously appropriated rights to sanction sexual relations. Fichte’s position in treating marriage as a purely emotional-sexual relation makes his injunction not to apply sanction to its logic. This radical view, however, still retains a position that considers women as man’s subject.\textsuperscript{67}

The division between the state and the society in terms of moral foundations is inevitable as soon as absolutism in societal rule is effectively dismantled and the growth of a populace becomes foundational. Such growth of a populace is oriented to upholding its own rights, dynamics of production, and reproduction that are rooted in the twin realms of the public and the private spheres. In these spheres, respect for individuals and a self-interested behavior exist. The further advances of democratic ideals are fairly ensured by striking down absolute monarchy in England and France as well as by striking down slavery, in the United States.\textsuperscript{68} This is whether or not one can agree with these countries’ principles or be led to disbelief due to the peoples’ contrary practices in dealing with blacks and other “colored” persons.

When the feudal/manorial system gradually disintegrates, the fines for fornications have ended. When village life becomes less cohesive due to the internal disintegration of homogeneity as well as external influences, the common practices of regulation and the observations of prescribed sexual behavior have gradually lost influence. The assimilation by state/municipal authorities of regulatory roles over prescribed manners/proscribed acts is becoming the dominant expression of social control over sexual behavior. Changes, too, in the system of legal control over sexual morality are effected through legislation. With the liberal tendencies dominating over Parliament, many of those previously punishable sexual acts have become non-jurisdictional. Only those recognized

\textsuperscript{67} Hull, \textit{State and Civil Society in Germany, 1700-1815}, p. 322.

as offenses against public morality remain within the purview of the courts: adultery, concubinage, offensive seduction of minors, and incest. Fornication and illegitimate births have become private matters or matters of gossip.

In the appropriation of Kantian principles of morality that are founded on the radical autonomy of the self, the state is asked not to interfere with acts that are clearly choices in the realm of morality and are not subject to legal sanction. This expunges from law books as consensual sexual acts. It is treated as “mere immorality;” and not criminal act like sodomy. Sexual acts are punished only if these infringe on rights or pose danger to others.69

Courtship rituals and marital arrangements have slowly become matters of mutual consent by partners. Such mutual consent devoid of parental approval is no longer deemed to challenge basic systems of social stability. Seen from this angle, when today’s State no longer prosecutes fornication and premarital coitus and when it even tolerates adultery by still asking an aggrieved party bring the case to court, it would seem that the state considers these cases as no longer disruptive of social and political relations. But, if one looks at the law, the criminal sanction has been overshadowed by its stress on the constitutional right to individual privacy. The state has willingly turned its back on what is formerly considered as extremely socially destructive acts. Sexual “misconducts” have become pardonable for as long as these remain private and no longer interfere with the skills and efficiency that support the socio-economic order.

The family and the community do not have an effective control over misdemeanors like non-marital pregnancies. The economic pressure over the young offenders can be compassionately handled by the more forgiving mothers and by some houses of reforms that are run by nuns or other social welfare groups. The

69 Hull, State and Civil Society in Germany, 1700-1815, p. 344. For a related discussion on the repressive-permissive continuum, see Packard, The Sexual Wilderness, pp. 76ff.
crisis that results when no one takes over the burdens in non-marital pregnancies can sometimes be single-handedly tackled by the partners. Otherwise, one of whom could easily enter the workforce as a free laborer. The challenge to become more economically independent is less daunting for the modern couple than for the pre-moderns whose only source of support then is the family and the community. Due to waged work which has created the prospect of independence for everyone, modernity has shattered this qualification of generation-based material security. Children of wage workers have attained some sense of independence even if they are still materially insecure. This is due to the following several factors: schooling, open influences, tolerance due to some inability of absentee parents to control their children, changing youth values (with emphasis on autonomy), and new patterns of work and expenditure/consumption.

E. Transformations of Socialized Labor

The introduction of a socialized capitalist labor in towns/urbanized areas is a beacon of alternative life for those living in the countryside. Socialized labor has attracted families and individuals who seek for better opportunities beyond subsistence level, familial labor, traditions, and rural territories. The latter factors are now perceived as things of the past or as features of today’s “undeveloped” (a.k.a. developing, Third World, underdeveloped, dependent) societies. Urban labor and its attendant lifestyles have also engendered different patterns of interactions and ways of dealing with crises. All of these and more have changed individuals into more non-traditional citizens of urbanized territories. These also signal that the people have come into contact with social regulations that have assumed the centrality and pivotal role of the individual.\textsuperscript{70} The individual’s distance from traditions is even more radicalized in the person of the post-industrial workforce.

\textsuperscript{70} Hawkes, \textit{A Sociology of Sex and Sexuality}, p. 19.
The more individualized forms of labor in today's affluent societies and in the pockets of affluence within dependent economies have modified the industrialist form of division of labor. As technology becomes more information-based and as capital turns to services, the previous specialized-labor mass-productions are joined by the versatile workers whose skills and creativity have become focal point for a more profitable and creativity-based post-industrial capitalism. Since workers are no longer bound by fixed skills but by flexible specializations, the diversification of skills has become necessary. Thus, demand is greater for multi-talented minds than for experts with inflexible hands. Firms that process information have jobs that are reserved for the more imaginative and all-around employees. From this post-industrial turn, mass-manufacturers have also benefited as they ride on the success of information technologies.

Most highly creative and versatile workers have bigger or more pivotal responsibilities. They occupy managerial positions, product-development posts, planning and assessment tasks, analytical work, forecasting, inventing, and others. Some are expected to fulfill all of such roles. Thus, they are well-paid and do enjoy far greater amount of attention and appreciation from their employers. Moreover, employers are not expected to regularly and personally oversee their firms anymore. Their IT-backed-up employees have become more dependable than the specialized employees of industrial setups. It is no wonder that some of them have become part of the ruling classes of post-capitalist economies.

Numerous post-industrial versatile workers have also leap-frogged into setting up their own businesses. While previous investments for profit-making have to initially amass wealth for further money-making, entrepreneurship today may only require minimal cash but great talent. Compared to the industrial set-ups, the number of workers in information-based ventures has shrunk and more tasks has gotten concentrated in fewer individuals. In post-capitalism, the structures of capital, profit-making, and labor
are transformed into personalized or customized modes. These modes include (1) portfolio investments, (2) discreet job functions for workers, (3) shifting skills and projects, (4) flexible productions, (5) consumption that is tailored to niche markets, (6) large-scale organizations to vertical disintegration, and (7) convergences between personal and strategic networking.

Modern citizens, especially those in affluent settings, may be greatly constrained in their workplaces. But, they enjoy more economic freedom as well as freedom from encompassing moral systems. These moral systems can no longer prevent the liberal-capitalist ideologies from inspiring not only industrial progress but also moral “progress.” The moderns’/late-moderns’ expressive practices have become disentangled with such moral systems as their schooling and working molded them into liberal citizens.

Today’s post-industrial capitalist scenario in developed countries opens unlimited possibilities for individuals to be more autonomous. The post-industrial capitalist scenario has also permeated those pockets of developed areas in developing countries. Manifestations of such capitalist scenario include the unregulated processing of information via the net and cellular network, the speed of mobility and exchange, the democratization as well as degendering of labor, the ever-increasing tolerance for individual dissent, and the expansive availability of security. From such individuals, more radical or non-typical ways of affirming personal desires or sexual choices are unleashed (cf. same-sex partnership, sex-for-intimacy, or sex-for-pleasure practices, speed dating, e-courtship, and cyber-sex).

There is a transformation of identity among workers as they are exposed to diverse environments from rural/tradition-based, to industry-based, and to knowledge-based work. Since these environments have their conditions for the preservation or continuity or flow of their practices, they have imposed qualifications for their workers and have eventually produced their ideal citizens who could maintain their status or pursue newfound goals. These
citizens-workers are also agents of their own clans, families, or sexual partners. Who they are as socialized and involved or as alienated in labor, are the same persons who could enter into intimate relationships and could express themselves through sex. Their primary socializations have developed them into agents for work and for the other expressive aspects of their personalities. Their secondary socializations in school/training set-up and eventually in workplaces could have reinforced what such primary relationships are expected from them.

The post-moderns are more versatile as they could shift from any space/time mode to another space/time mode of expressing themselves. Their personalized expressions may, thus, be more “versatile” and more complex than those of the moderns. Many of such talented workers or owners of small- or medium-sized businesses can be fully involved in their jobs. Greater job satisfaction and identification can be expected when work is perceived as less alienating than that in most industrial set-ups.

III. Greater Libertarian and Participatory Sexualities

One cannot assume that the development of advanced capitalism requires the enthronement of democratic ideals; as this has seemed to have happened in England, France, and the United States. However, with the advances taken by capitalism in the more conservative Germany and Japan, democracy seems to be just a mere coincidence of the more capitalistically relevant industrial revolution. Democracy has been known as a gain from upheavals that are associated with the Puritan, French, and American Revolutions; including the American Civil War. The case of China nowadays shows how capitalism can grow even under a single Party rule; although, as I have mentioned, the clamor for democracy is already at the gates.

What have swelled from the ground are the clamor for (1) more rights, (2) equality, (3) fairness, (4) an equality-inspiring
vision of democratic participation, and (5) equal opportunity by civil society in running the affairs of the State. Grounded on every individual’s sense of having gained control over one’s self, family and future, the political awareness of the person does follow as soon as people gain a relatively fair economic security. Thus, democracy can push capitalism ahead inasmuch as the capitalist progress can also push forward democratic ideals in individuals. This is no matter how slow and no matter how constrained it is in more traditional settings. But, such requires the pre-existing structures of democracy. Foremost are the libertarian models of thought from the West that are caught/plucked possibly through schooling, the exchange of information through the media or the internet, or through the work and expenditure/consumption. This prospect of becoming free and democratic, however, remains problematic as one can see how democracy is reflected in both capitalism and politics of Third World economies or traditional poor communities.

A. Vanguards and Forerunners/Precursors

The precursors to the modern era and that of liberal ideas are usually identified with the Renaissance personalities: artists, writers, and their respective patrons. All their output are clearly depicted humanist interests farther from the Middle Ages traditions. This, however, would only refer to the flourishing of artistic and scientific activities. They have paved the way for a few citizens’ more forward-looking or future-oriented consciousness that is already detached from the customary static worldview.71


Since the term was first created in the 19th century, historians have various interpretations on the Renaissance.

The traditional view is that the Renaissance of the 15th century in Italy, spreading through the rest of Europe, represented a reconnection of the west with classical antiquity, the absorption of knowledge—particularly mathematics—from Arabic, the return of experimentalism, the focus on the importance of living well in the present (e.g.
The break of the artists, writers, and their patrons from the
Middle Ages may have already signaled the pursuit of a hope that
is grounded not so much on eternal life and feudal stability; but
more on the mundane pursuits or excitements of a promising and
progressive future. Such are largely articulated further by the future
writers, philosophers, scientists, and merchants-bourgeoisie of
modernity. It is customary to refer the foundations of modernity
to these activities of such people.

The differently-abled precursors to the modern change in
sexual behavior are the inhabitants of the countryside who migrate
to the towns and cities looking for a better future. These inhabi-
tants are not artists, scientists, or writers. The common village
people’s future-oriented, i.e., immediate future, but subsistent
concerns cannot be claimed to possess the influence of Renais-
sance humanism. Most of these people are the unskilled. They
bring with them only their muscle power and hopes. Some women
who are used to the craft of food processing and clothmaking have
a headstart in the urbanized textile factories or in the job recruit-
ment for food processing units. Men, and initially the male chil-
dren, however, are the preferred hired workers for mines and steel

humanism), an explosion of the dissemination of knowledge brought on by printing and
the creation of new techniques in art, poetry and architecture which led to a radical
change in the style and substance of the arts and letters. This period, in this view,
represents Europe emerging from a long period as a backwater, and the rise of commerce
and exploration. The Italian Renaissance is often labelled as the beginning of the
“modern” epoch.

Today most historians view the Renaissance as largely an intellectual and
ideological change, rather than a substantive one. Moreover, many historians now point
out that most of the negative social factors popularly associated with the “medieval”
period—poverty, ignorance, warfare, religious and political persecution, and so forth—
seem to have actually worsened during this age of Machiavelli, the Wars of Religion, the
corrupt Borgia Popes, and the intensified witch-hunts of the 16th century. Many of the
common people who lived during the “Renaissance” are known to have been concerned
by the developments of the era rather than viewing it as the “golden age” imagined by
certain 19th century authors. Perhaps the most important factor of the Renaissance is
that those involved in the cultural movements in question - the artists, writers, and their
patrons - believed they were living in a new era that was a clean break from the Middle
Ages, even if much of the rest of the population seems to have viewed the period as an
intensification of social maladies.
Adolescents in traditional Europe can already leave their home to look for a job even before the age of ten. But, in some large farms, children may never leave the family. In fact, there are more chances adolescents to leave home to work in traditional societies than for modern adolescents today. Modern industry has a large pool of reserve labor in the villages.

It is not only the industrial set-ups which need non-urban hands. The domestic settings of some families also require some hired work. House servants are provided mostly by the poor peasants’ daughters who have to leave their traditional village-households. They are vulnerable to the seductions of their employers. But, many of the bachelors of the working class have their eyes on them because they think that marriage to their own girls is their destiny. Most of the men and women of the traditional village do not have the luxury of the moderns who need not think yet of marriage. Their education is extended especially among those who can afford higher education. But then, sexual encounters also happen during those years of long preparation for adult life. The 17th century societies, however, are by and large not yet fully prepared to serve education to their masses. We are informed that entering employment early and leaving school early generally mean an early initiation into adult sexuality. It is among the workers of both sexes and their offspring, rather than among the highly-educated class, that the vanguards of early sexual initiation are mainly found.

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72 Shorter, The Making of the Modern Family, p. 28.
73 Cf. the cross-class seduction of servants and young girls forming a major substance of mid-19th century pornography in Europe.
Majority of the seducers of urban women were “other servants working in the same household or in the same neighborhood. Employers are also heavily represented among the ranks of the seducers at the beginning of the eighteenth century.” Shorter, The Making of the Modern Family, pp. 137-138.
The skilled journeymen probably have lives that are relatively more economically stable than that of the unskilled peasants. Their mobility, competence, and connections with the merchants and craftsmen, and even the common people make them in a uniquely positioned herald of change. Urbanized industries have, however, made them superfluous when they have been absorbed as regularized employees by the more stationary set-ups.

Placing these migrant workers within the spectrum of the forerunners of change seems an unlikely proposition. In terms of power, social influence through wealth, influence, and education, does not seem to come from them with their status as commoners and dependents. Nevertheless, their sheer number composing the bulk of the majority underclass has already made an impact on their lives through their solid mutual formation and through the gradual process of socio-cultural diffusion. First, they have created change through their own ranks. Second, they have done it towards their previous consociates country folks; and then, towards the succeeding generations that have been greatly distanced from the previous generations’ neighborliness and kinship traditions.

1. Laborers and Lovers

Among the young people in jobsites or schools, the women workers and eventually their female progeny have provided the fitting partners for the males who are the usual initiators of sexual partnerships; marital or non-marital. The relative independence of workers in the jobsites has made pair-mating or courtship activities beyond the usual control and supervision of the countryside traditions and tradition-keepers. The absence of traditional supervision and the presence of greater independence have given the workers, especially the females, more leeway; and thus, possibilities to participate in sexual intimacies that are frowned upon by their elders.
While it is marriage that marks out the young people’s entry into adult life during the middle ages, the work/stable employment and the income that comes with them place today’s young in the same league with the adult (cf. the kind of respect which people have extended to the young Michael Jackson, Britney Spears, McCauley Culkin, Justin Bieber, etc.). During the middle ages, marriage confers an entry into adult life; but, not always into economic self-sufficiency. Most sons in European villages and towns/urbanized settings remain with the paternal household. If ever they gain autonomy of space, their share of inheritance does the trick for relative independence. This arrangement does not totally remove the married children from the kinship framework of status determination. Fundamental to this arrangement is the link of the children’s subsistence and other economic prospects to their parents’ or kin’s resources. Today’s precarious status of some marriages stems from their characteristic absence of link to inheritance. This separation of children from parents can signal emancipation from the controlling hand of elders. However, if work is absent or if it cannot provide the necessary stability, automatic autonomy is not usually gained.

When an individual enters into marriage, the social expectation is the economic self-reliance of the contracting parties. This is determined by at least a permanent job of either partner or both. Marriage per se does not automatically confer either entry into adult life or the right to inheritance. This cultural item can even be unfamiliar to urbanites. What makes one an adult is one’s ability to support one’s self and a family through a stable job. In this sense, work has replaced marriage as the symbolic value for conferring adulthood and autonomy.

Non-marital partnerships or partnership previously disapproved by elders are no longer shaky partnerships. That is, if they are built into the more dependable and autonomy-conferring nature of work, i.e., the income it brings to the union. Traditional parents are bound to simply watch their economically stable and
independent child as he/she marries someone who they do not approve, as he/she marries at a very young or very old age, or as he/she considers wedding venues like gardens, rooftops, hotels, beaches, yachts, or underwater.

2. Children and School

Most of the time, the kids are at school while their elders are at work. Sometimes, the kids may be in the internet café, malls, malls, Boracay or Puerto Galera, moviehouses, TV-MTV, band concerts, and gaming stations while their parents are also somewhere else. In other words, there are more hours of physical separations in a year than hours of closeness or bonding between parents and children. So, where would children look for emotional support while their elders are not around? Among themselves, of course; but, only when this is made possible by the schooling system of education. It is claimed that “a student can spend months on a large campus without having a conversation with a person over 30.” If the children are not going to school and if there are no members of the family who extend full-time company, peer presence or an opposite-sex friend is presumably the usual source of support. In terms of character formation, the experiences of the present young generation amongst one another and their respective academic training do not spring from solid community relations. What they imbibe more are the operational principles like autonomy and freedom as well as the representations like the successful career models. All of these operational principles either spring from or are grounded on liberal-capitalist activities. Moreover, they have become more on their own as they learn to become more free, uninhibited, and presumably autonomous.

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75 These are two of the Philippines’ beach resorts most-frequented by young people.
76 Shorter, The Making of the Modern Family, p. 34.
It is from among the young at school where the sexual revolution of the 1950’s onwards has intensified. Still, more changes have been created by the expansion of higher education. Mixing boys and girls in schools has provided more opportunities for mutual attraction that is no longer based on economic consideration. More and more sexual encounters among the young have been divorced from the traditional framework of sex for procreation, rearing of children, and mutual caring of partners in the context of marriage. There is much information about today’s sexual practices that do not correspond with any moral framework: as a source of emotional support, as part of romance, as a step towards peer integration, as expression of love, as a post-meal female obligation, or as part of a search for excitement. This is not to mention the gay/lesbians’ piercing of the heterosexual standards that are imposed by religion and society.

Obviously, the co-educational set-up which started in the 1920’s America also carries with it the adults’ expectations on the young to already exert some amount of self-restraint even in the absence of visible supervisors. This reliance on self-constraint is never considered dependable by some parents. If ever they approve of a free unchaperoned date, the need for closer guidance like the presence of chaperones and the strict observance of curfews are just a few measures that they adopt. The taken-for-granted rights of individuals such as privacy has become more powerful as the mixing of the sexes produces inevitable welling-up of private desires that gravitated into a whole collection of customized sexualities beyond the gaze of the elders. Moreover, sexual

77 In 1937 12% of young Americans of college age went to college; in 1967 more than 40%. In 1940-1965 35% of high-school graduates went to college. In 1952, 31% of school population were women; this went up to 39% in 1965. See Packard, *The Sexual Wilderness*.


involvement has become a source of comfort and emotional security when home cannot sufficiently provide for this need. Certainly, with such practices, the young are not really rejoicing over the regular absence of their parents. In the first place, these questions still persist: Have they abandoned the world which they think is not for them in favor of their desires that are not necessarily approved by their parents? Have they thought of receding at the background in order to affirm the world of their parents as well as gain to self-fulfillment?

Data on early initiation to adult sexuality like those of 14-17-year-old schoolers, non-marital and pre-marital pregnancies, homosexual relations, and contraceptive or safe sex are just few indicators of the people’s behavior that veer away from the codes and beliefs of the authorities, officials, and moral vanguards of absolute sexual-moral standards. Non-compliance during the 18th-20th century Europe/North America may have taken the road of outright resistance. But probably, in most cases, the deviation is due to a progressive avoidance of and lack of concern-reference to the official or institutionalized morality. Church authorities, the bourgeoisie’s moralists [cf. Victorian morality], and state officials may have exerted every effort to raise the moral standards for everyone’s compliance and especially for the so-called “morally bankrupt working-class.” The state officials are supposedly informed of legal provisions that penalize fornication [penalties were imposed on non-marital pregnancies], prostitution [cf. Contagious Diseases Act of 1860 England], or homosexual acts [cf. hanging of homosexuals in 19th century Amsterdam]. The historical data from 18th century onwards, however, show a different trend that points towards an ever-progressing autonomous behavior that evidently proclaim individualities in the absence, or in spite, of the supervising authorities of sexual morality. The evidences do even highlight the unstoppable s/welling up of individuals and couples

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who are doing what is deemed wrong by moralists. One can certainly ask how come an ever growing number of young people have been oblivious or indifferent to the “presence” of a long-standing tradition of Augustinianism or traditional sexual morality? This “presence” of traditional authorities, however, is not always translatable into a meaningful existential presence or a close-relations presence by most teenagers.

The least sexually experienced teenagers, it was discovered, are those who are most influenced by their families; children who are into sports as well as those who aim for higher educational attainment tend to postpone entry into adult sexuality. The more sexually active or experienced boys are “more often away from home and when they were home they more often had the place all to themselves.” Sexually experienced girls tend to have poorer relations with both parents. They “did not tell their parents where they are going, did not have to be in at a definite time, spent more time outside the home and more often entertained their friends at home when their parents were out.”

Whatever the parents restrict can only be effective if it is given importance by children. A number of factors could contribute to this consistency or inconsistency between parental expectation and adolescent behavior: effective presence of parents; influence of a trusted elder in school/clinic/guidance center, influence of peers; fit between norm/prescription and adolescent compliance; attitudes of caregivers to sexuality; sexual behavior of caregivers; and others.

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84 Ibid.
Schooling also signals the beginning of shifts from traditional sexual practices to more unpredictable forms that are shaped by the freer movements of students in the campuses and in the ever-expanding understanding of the rights of individuals over one’s privacy. The progressively modern ideational and operational external structures of behavior then coincides with the libertarian content of the expanding inner world of individuals.\(^{85}\)

Over the years, the movement towards greater permissiveness may be evident in the progressive way that women are allowed or have won greater freedom over their privacy or sexual dealings. Women now have choices: from kinship supervision to the mere chaperone requirement, to simple permission from parents, to dating with or without chaperone or permission, towards going steady, to living-in or having a union outside marriage.

In matters of sex, more and more customized forms are produced and consumed by individuals. There exist even those considered as high-risk sexual practices or even those without much resistance from the elders. This permissive character of sexual activities does not, however, immediately translate into democratic or egalitarian relationships. Cases of violent and manipulative forms of sexual unions still characterize many partnerships. The long history of libertarian and democratic processes has not stemmed the tide of possessive individualism. The patriarchal social conditions have further nurtured self-centeredness among the male partners.

Amidst the male-dominated relationships, even those happening in campuses, and in the American campuses,\(^{86}\) various experimentations with sexual activities are explored.\(^{87}\) Several degrees of male dominance like oppression and some degrees of

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\(^{86}\) See Wouters, *Sex and Manners*.

struggles on the part of female schoolers would however show the
gendered character of permissiveness and sequestration of sexual
experience. 88 Tensions between patriarchal impulses and feminist
struggles are also reflected in those unions. 89 The “gay revolution”
poses the most revolutionary threat to traditional or patriarchal
conventions. 90 The demand for love and enduring intimate rela-
tions has also put pressure on the patriarchal and phallic 91 mode of
sexual relations even among the young. The women’s active par-
ticipation in sexual unions has tilted encounters into romantic
quests where the feminine eros, not the phallus, is supposed to
spearhead female desire for love.

B. Women and Romance

Through their self assertion in their choice of partners, many
young people of early modernity have shown the insignificance of
property and parental wishes both in their regard for the primacy
of mutual affection, as well as their greater sense of personal
loyalty towards bestowal of pleasure and happiness. Shakespeare’s
Romeo and Juliet is one moving story about the greater importance
of love for the moderns.

Teenagers and young adults nowadays, especially those in the
urban areas, are familiar with an actual or vicarious experience of
romance. From print to electronic, the mass media receive or
address these experiences in different ways. Magazines and other
similar reading materials are filled with the subjects of romance.
Songs and movies also witness to this experience. The arts, recrea-

88 See Anthony Giddens, The Transformation of Intimacy: Sexuality, Love and Eroticism
89 See the works of the French feminists Luce Irigaray, Hélène Cixous and Julia
Kristeva.
90 See John D’Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, Intimate Matters: A History of Sexual-
ity in America (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).
91 The phallus represents the overarching male principle which characterizes the
bursting, episodic, compensatory impulses of pleasure-seeking desires.
tion, and even the servicing outlets from restaurants to hotels streamline their roles and services into the couples’ familiar and exciting episodes of romance. Thus some entertainment centers are prepared to accommodate romantic pairs in hotels and restaurants; not to mention motels/restaurants. They see to it that their ambiance suits not only the needs of business associates but perhaps also to mainly the tastes and expectations of dating lovers.

Romantic love is a unique experience. But, it could both refer to the female’s quest for love or the male’s erotic conquest and enjoyment of female submission. No doubt, both partners find pleasure in romance. However, from the point of view of the female, romance is a quest for a love-relationship where the language of care, tenderness and warmth and a happy-ending supposedly pre-dominate. This idealized form of relationship is poles apart from the conquering and colonizing dominance of many characteristic male and phallic pursuits of love affairs.

In modern/late-modern capitalist settings, boys who are also used to being exposed to means-end activities do largely acquire psychological development that is patterned after their constantly moving and absentee father-models. Their modeling behavior acquires a characteristically father-orientation in settings where the gender division of labor, both at home and in the office, is predominant. As a result, in their quest for identity, most males fail to embody their mothers’ affectionate manners—the so-called motherly instinct associated with warmth and nurture-giving. The effect of not-choosing the mother as the son’s model translates into the son’s denial of a profound longing for a continued mother-embrace. That is, even as children saw her as the source of security during the early years of their development. Such a move away from the mother may not be the children’s choice. But as they grow up sons are urged to face the world; rather a male world.

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Mainly by convention and by economic necessity, they begin to act like men. Their actions have grown to be very different from their mothers whom they see as a source of care; albeit differentiated from their ego-models. A forced distancing from the world of the mother inevitably ensues; especially among children who work early in life. The distressing years for sons are the abandonment of their mothers as the sons get into the male world. It is an act of abandonment which could be perceived as their mothers’ idea. The constant yearning for mother’s love is unconsciously yearned for as sons slowly distance themselves away from the source of this love. This stage where both the pressure to develop power to face the world and the power to face it without the mother is intense. It becomes the ego’s benchmark for understanding and acquiring of power. Male power, thus, also reverberates with a characteristic unfulfilled “yearning for the womb.” The constant search for those which represent their fathers can even increase the son’s unspecified yearning for the mother. The farther the son distances away from the mother, the more misapprehension of father-models as destined exemplar results. This experience with their mothers and their father-models tend to be globalized and be even translated into either a lack of emotional expressivity or the lack of aptitude for emotional communication; not to mention the sons’ fragmented view about a woman—the breast, the clitoris, the vulva, and the womb.\(^{94}\) Loneliness, depression, melancholy, dejection are all emotional states which reflect longing for the mother’s caresses. They can also be translated into longing for a warm or even sexual embrace of the other. As some studies in psychotherapy would show, such emotional states are signs of heightened sensitivity to pain as well as extraordinarily enhanced need for comfort or reassurance that characterize the individuals’ emotional make-up or thermostat, the sources/links of which are early experiences of loss and separations—stressors which leave some scars in the brain,

\(^{94}\) See Giddens, *The Transformation of Intimacy*, pp. 130ff.
needing constant attention and care. These heightened and enhanced sensitivities become forms of emotional handicap which hamper the individual’s ability to handle moods or emotions. Such sensitivities induce some biochemical changes that lead to biological translations through some restructuring of the chemical functioning within the human brain cells. Social disruptions which cause not a minor scar on people could in fact transform them into individuals with enhanced or heightened capacities for sensitivity which lead to dependence oftentimes gratified/satisfied or treated by medications and, more importantly, care. The biological translation of this need towards “rewiring” of brain processes may thus determine not a few expressions of need-compensations which take some sexual forms. The longing for compensatory sex may actually be registered deep into the male’s (and some female’s) body: “…loneliness, helplessness, and negative attitudes like anger, and fear can measurably depress immune system function. Antibody production, thymus function, and the activity of T and B-cells etc., are all weakened by negative thoughts.”

There may also be feelings that are stirred by various external and internal factors. The weakening of the immune system also translates into the depression/search-for-high cycle. It can drive many towards incessant pursuits of sexual gratification where every episodic level of excitement/homeostasis does signal the next episode of distress. The works of capitalism and the patterns of expendi-

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97 Cf. the more recent view on homeostasis: “Homeostasis, ‘stability through constancy,’ which has dominated physiological and medical thinking since 1859 (Claude Bernard’s “milieu intérieur”) seems in several circumstances (e.g. work-induced increase in cardiovascular load) to be giving way to allostasis, which provides ‘stability through change.’ Homeostasis depends on negative feedback control systems: allostasis refers to the dynamic maintenance of *homeostasis* by appropriate central nervous regulation of the cybernetic set points that adjust physiological parameters to meet various stresses/challenges.” George Fink, ed., *Stress Consequences: Mental, Neuropsychological and Socioeconomic* (Oxford: Academic Press/Elsevier, 2010), p. v.
tures/consumption are social factors which contribute much to the perpetuation of such a cycle.

The male problem in intimacy is often reflected in erotic encounters that have become traps for female quests for enduring love. Although, the female can oftentimes inadvertently act as accomplices to the male drive (cf. some of the songs of Britney Spears, Beyoncé, and The Pussycat Dolls).

In romance, couples find excitement or a “high” that is absent in the ordinary routines and regularized patterns of everyday activities. Genital or non-genital sexual encounter between two persons is one of the most intense and exciting forms of intimate union that one could experience. Some unconventional or unrestricted forms of intercourse are also intimate and intense. Examples are the genital-anal and genital-oral unions. Some unions are considered intimate not because of their copulatory possibilities but because they do offer intense and intimate forms of outer-course. An example is the female-to-female oral and manual stroking. Petting and necking are other sexual expressions of decreasing physical coupling. These are not genital unions but they still reward actors the intense, intimate, pleasurable, and even compensatory sexual experience. Because of love/sexual experience, the bodily correlate of the excitement is seen through changes in the brain:

the ventral tegmental area and the caudate nucleus (the parts of the brain linked to reward and pleasure) light up…Love lights up the caudate nucleus because it is home to a dense spread of receptors for a neurotransmitter called dopamine…which creates intense energy, exhilaration, focused attention…(Thus) love makes you bold, makes you bright, makes you run real risks, which you sometimes survive, and sometimes you don’t…

A casual romantic liaison is even valued and seized for its infrequency. A few short-term liaisons that do not end in marriage are still valued for the thrilling features experienced by couples. In many of the romantic affairs that are long-term, where romance is already expressed genitally, a more progressive intensification of love-giving/love-receiving can also be observed. They usually end up in life-time unions or marriage. However, it is another thing to say that these marriages could either satisfy the constant search of the male for the mother or fulfill the quest of the female for an ideal love-partnership.

Some people might find it difficult to choose between a partner who can be considered as a good provider of a family and another partner with whom one shares regular moments of intimacy. Hence, for the more practical, the good provider comes as the “right” choice. There are abundant cases of mail-order brides who take older partners as their practical choices. It is a fact, however, that given an opportunity, even the more practical do opt for partners who they consider as physically and emotionally attractive though are poor providers.

It is also an experience that when a partner enters into a marriage without romantic love, he/she will become vulnerable to romantic love either without or outside marriage. There are also situations when one suffers frustration upon his/her discovery of the limits of material comfort. What happens is that romantic love becomes an obsession and is considered more valuable than wealth or security. In many occasions, the disillusioned partner falls in love with another man or woman. The return of the repressed may come in the form of sexual fulfillment.

When couples begin to feel the diminishing excitement of a relationship, a different kind of “feel” sets in. It could be the beginning of a different kind of commitment or the realization that there is no commitment to speak about. It is evident that when the novelty of the exciting experience fades, what could sustain marriage is the commitment that the couples may have for each other;
regardless of their deeper quests. Thus, for many, commitment becomes the real foundation of marriage; not romance. What becomes more desirable, however, is the presence of a commitment that is supported by romance; or the presence of romance because of commitment. Thus, couples who are committed to each other would often vow to remain tender and caring. The absence of commitment is disastrous even if there is an abundance of exciting encounters in the beginning. What could indeed go wrong will somehow go wrong.

There are, however, couples whose memories of the thrilling experience of their own romance serve to provide fire for their commitment to each other. Exciting episodes between couples can also provide extra energy to a commitment that is difficult to sustain. Even if romantic love cannot really be valued for its own sake, it can be considered as an essential element in marriage. This is because it is a kindling factor in developing or maintaining committed love. Similar to the case of a social worker who loses enthusiasm but regains it thru some motivating factors like community celebrations, or feasts that acknowledge her importance. A renewed excitement occurs. So, the fading of enthusiasm in many couples could indeed be rekindled by romance or by other encounters of a festive kind.

Today, the conditions for the possibility of entering into the unique and individual experience of romantic love are, thus, not wanting. It is assumed in the individual’s freedom of choice for her Romeo or his Juliet. The social environment allows it; if not, encourage it. Culture justifies romance as part of courtship and marriage. The exciting character of the experience itself attracts not a few individuals to search for it in their lives albeit marred by the “overweening importance of male sexual experience.”

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IV. Autonomous/Secularized Studies on Sexuality

Most historical accounts of sexuality, both the early and the contemporary accounts, depict two broad approaches: the so-called “naturalist” approach and the meta-theoretical approach. The latter approach usually derives from a psychodynamic or neo-Freudian theory.

The first approach is highly empirical and descriptive. Through their classifications and categorizations, some cross-cultural surveys clarify our knowledge of the various forms of sexual activity. The works of M. Gluckman, B. Malinowski, M. Mead, and G.P. Murdock are representatives of this group. Although their theoretical approaches may display the patterns set by social anthropology, they vary in their explanations of the sexuality of simple cultural groups. They do agree on the need for ethnography as well as the common concern for a greater respect of diversity in sexual expressions. Thus, they deny the assumed ascendency of dominant cultural/religious groups in the right to impose their standards on the sexual practices of other people.

This approach may correspond to the sociology of roles that are dear to several theories of socialization and enculturation.

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This theorizing reflects the interest of the early 20th century scholars of the sociology of knowledge. They have taken much of their data from ethnographic studies of the less-complex communities/societies. Its theoretical position assumes a setting that is generally governed by norms. These norms are supposed to be internalized by individuals through the evolutionary processes of behavior formation: socialization/enculturation. The setting itself is presupposed as the particular social framework where the process of internalization of objective norms is realized. These norms are reproduced or further transmitted by individuals; and thus, reaffirmed through the process of repetitive patterns of externalization. In sexual behavior, this sociology suggests the presence of a typical role, for example, of a “lover” and a “beloved”. Yet, we know today that the lovers and the beloved are not roles in the sense of a predictable externalized behavior that conforms to a pattern. The individual sexual actors of the present time may not even know the official role of a “lover whose main mission in bed is to procreate.” In reality, what people have are varied sexual expressions that do not necessarily represent roles. The heterosexual, the missionary couple, the typical wife, and the typical husband roles have all been undermined by the presence of used-to-be odd couples and individuals who have already carved their places in society. The sociological view of patterned roles no longer offer a high explanatory power over the more recent developments in areas where patterns are simply parts of diverse patchworks. This does not suggest that in simple village settings individuals do totally conform to roles that are imposed by cultural patterns. There, some amount of individual adjustments also appear.

Although their contributions are extremely valuable, many ethnographers still avoid the historical aspect of what is regarded as a chiefly natural sex instinct. In effect, they may have added some unintended reinforcement to the sex-versus-society model of understanding sexuality that predominates the second approach.108

108 See Weeks, Sexuality and its Discontents, pp. 96-108.
The second approach is generally speculative. It is the exact opposite of the former. Weeks looks at its representatives as tending towards the portrayal of the history of sexuality as the struggle between the sexual instinct and the control of culture or society through a customary or prescribed morality. Their studies present sex as an “overpowering force in the individual that shapes not only the personal but the social life as well.” The drive model of sexuality coincides with this kind of understanding that mainly finds roots in the insights of Freud. In fairness to the neo-Freudian or post-structuralist formulations, human drive, for them, is not really granted an autonomous direction apart from the instigations of reality or its representations.

Freud’s theory highlights the biological and impulsive character of the sexual drive which every individual consciously and unconsciously seeks expression. This natural tendency to release the sexual urge is limited only by society. There is also pressure from an authority that is lodged in institutions or in the internalized superego. Within every individual, the drama of conflict between the sex-instinct and social control unfolds. The ego, notwithstanding its capacity being further constrained by wider structures, seeks to balance those conflicting forces in one’s behavior. This view about the impulsive sex-instinct has become widely popular and has robbed it of its character as being socio-culturally developed or constructed. This biologism that is identified with the sex-instinct of Freud has become the limit-text or an object of criticism for the then emerging social sciences of sexuality.

110 Weeks, Sex Politics and Society, p.2.
Along the sociological and anthropological turn, the studies of sexuality seem to have mined out from volumes of data the binary character of every struggle between the self and the society/culture. Such self versus society/culture explanations have even migrated into the more normative propositions that are exemplified by the positions of the conservative moralist and those informed by the Freudian left. The position of the former is “to control this unruly force.” On the other hand, the latter as comprised by W. Reich, H. Marcuse, and E. Fromm want to “liberate’ sexuality from its capitalist and patriarchal constraints.”

Sociology, in particular, has been considered weak in its dealing with sexuality. The development of a particular sociological research is one reason for sociology’s weak standing vis-à-vis sexuality. It is heavily bent on Durkheimian sociology which focuses more on objective facts rather than on the personal. Research on the macro institutions and on the broader contexts of these institutions have resulted into an overemphasis on the more individual-determining rather than on the person-initiated facts. If there are more current empirically-based studies today, these are statistical and do not sit well with the early wave of sociological studies that are heavy with philosophical conceptions.

However, the stress on “moral statistics” and demography has limited the discipline into the more calculable fields as well as into the phenomena registered by statistical institutions. This has resulted into studies that focus on consequences and the institutionalized expressions of sexuality like fertility, marriage, extra-marital pregnancies, kinship, and family. Thus, it is only a matter of time that discourses on sexuality becomes the monopoly of the biological and medical sciences. It has taken over from organized religion the articulation of a normative sexual behavior. Along with

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sexology, these discourses are highly normative and become the stuff of the more popular outlets like newspapers and magazines. Today’s television and the internet have expanded their territory. Sexual regulations that include advices on the need for moderation as well as the avoidance of the evil of masturbation have become decrees of the medical profession. This is referred to as the medicalization of sexuality. It has become more radicalized in many studies that are inspired by Freud.

Nevertheless, a good number of social scientists have dealt with sexuality. They begin with the assumption that there is no such thing as human behavior that is not a product of society/culture. Sexuality’s historicity, therefore, becomes the stuff of these researchers’ intellectual stock. It has led to an emphasis on the wider referential units like gender, class, economy, politics, religion.115 The historical nature and effects of these units on both biology and cultural matrix are given minimal treatment, or are even missing in the studies of the early waves of anthropologists and Freudian psychoanalysts. These referential units contribute to a production of sex studies that again bring back sociology’s preoccupation with macro determinants of behavior. But, the “bird-watching” relativism of ethnographic-based accounts, the naturalness-essentialism of biologistism, and indifference to the normative Christian sexual morality do not form part of such preoccupation.

The social constructionist group of scholars does not necessarily take aim at the naiveté of the naturalists or biologists. But, they may have effectively fired at some of their epistemological presuppositions. They emphasize on the non-naturalness of the human beings who, as they claim, are the products of social forces of an “ensemble of social relations.”116 Gagnon and Simon have argued that sexuality is subject to socio-cultural patterns to such a

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115 Cf. Foucault, Paul Veyne, Flandrin Aries and Le Goff.
degree surpassed by few other forms of human behavior.\textsuperscript{117} The basic elements of the understanding of a socially-constructed human being can already be traced back from the insights of seminal thinkers like Marx, Nietzsche, Wittgenstein, Dilthey, and Scheler in philosophy; those of Durkheim, Mannheim, and Schutz in sociology; and those of Evans-Pritchard among others in anthropology.\textsuperscript{118}

The resistant naturalist view of sexuality has been challenged by:

the interactionist (associated particularly with the work of Gagnon and Simon, and in Britain Kenneth Plummer); the psychoanalytic (associated with the reinterpretation of Freud initiated by Jacques Lacan, and taken up by feminist writers such as Juliet Mitchell); and the discursive, taking as its starting point the work of Michel Foucault.\textsuperscript{119}

According to Weeks, the work of these authors do converge in several important issues:

1) They all reject the naturalist notion of sex that is understood as an autonomous natural force which societies, in general, have to quell or control. Note, however, the cultural variations in the expressions and understanding of sexuality. In some Polynesian societies, sex is treated as a natural thing. But, it ought to be expressed with the encouraging presence of trainors for sexual apprenticeship. Boys reaching the age of puberty are trained how to express themselves with the help of a chicken, a young goat, or sometimes a calf. In some groups, individuals are trained towards self-control. Thus sexuality, both in discourse and in practice, has taken the meaning of war with instincts.\textsuperscript{120} In the works of Gagnon and Simon, Sexual Conduct, pp.21-81.


\textsuperscript{119} Weeks, Sex Politics and Society, p. 3.

\textsuperscript{120} See John C. Messenger, “Sex and Repression in an Irish Folk Community,” in Suzanne LaFont, ed., Constructing Sexualities: Readings in Sexuality, Gender, and Culture
non, Simon, Lacan, and Foucault, one can draw out an understanding of sexuality that is fundamentally shaped by the different forms of social interaction, constituted in language, or instigated by a discussion that comes out of power or power relations.

2) They recognize the social and historical sources of sexual definitions. What some of them do clarify and, indeed, recognize as an important contribution is the idea of the importance of sexuality in every historical epoch; not of people really controlling their sex drive. Thus, society is seen to be not affirming its primary role of censor/police; but, to be fulfilling its more primal role of “Father and Creator of meanings.” Feminist studies on sexuality add reinforcement to this approach.

3) They do not subscribe to the idea of understanding the history of sex in terms of repression. They claim, at least the interactionist and Foucault, that sexual behavior is organized through powers’ incitement, definition, and regulation; not through the mechanics of “repression.” Labelling events and discourses actually organize more the sexual behavior than external policing.

4) All display certain relationships to history. They pose problems for more particular expressions of sexuality in some areas of our planet. For example, the case of the Dani of Papua, New Guinea seems opaque to some approaches that, say, make discourse as the instigator of sex. The Dani’s low-energy response to sex does not seem to stem from any form of discourse which regulate or prescribe sexual behavior. A different approach to this non-modern sexual behavior may have to be far from studies that are strictly interactionist or discourse-instigated.\textsuperscript{121}

They have, however, displayed some important highlights which should not escape observation. First, they stress on the subjective and the significance of individual meanings by interactionists. Second, Lacan shows the importance of psychological structuring in the creation of historically specific forms of masculinity and femininity as well as its break away from discussions in terms of social roles. Third, Foucault gives us an alternative approach to conventional ways of viewing sex or the history of modern sexuality.\(^{122}\)

The interactionist sociology offers an alternative way of handling diverse expressions of sexuality because it looks into the mutual adjustments which individual actors make in every situation of interaction. This sociological view can handle diversity, successive interactions, subjective negotiations, and evolutionary process of behavior. It opens up to unpredictable situations, self-presentations, and negotiations. What it does is not a recalling of a static or recurrent sexual behavior. Though, it does recall the relationship or encounter between two actors—a perspective which is more appropriate for an analysis of a person-to-person intercourse.

This context-dependent theorizing of interactions has been devised to apprehend realities that no longer reflect simple representations of roles in every human behavior. This approach is, in fact, caught in its adjustment to the changing face of society that is herein labeled as either modern or postmodern. Nevertheless, the current approaches in sociology still recognize that the presence of norms somehow internalize and form the individually possessed socio-cultural capital. However, these no longer treat norms as possessing the causal power that they used to have in simple and homogenous village settings. These settings are reinforced by the presence of concurrent regulations or control by the neighbors or the elders. These norms are rather treated as a dimension of and an element in every negotiation between actors. In other words,

\(^{122}\) Weeks, *Sex Politics and Society*, p. 6.
norms are subjected to adjustments by individual desires; depending on the need of every interactional moment. There are, in fact, instances when the protagonists do possess different sets of social capital. But, the presence of norms is only one factor in decision-making process. It exists in the midst of some other factors such as power struggle, absence of authority, subjective rational plans, superiors, colleagues, friends, and others. In every personal network analysis employed by interactionist sociology, abstract and static norms are weak ethical units. This is due to their negotiability in the presence of peers or friends whose “closer” judgments and appreciation matter more most of the time.123

In his analysis of power, Foucault takes up what is missing in the interactionist and labeling theories124 in the overemphasis of these theories on individual identity as the determinants of sexual behavior. The presence of norms, authorities, or supervisors seems to have been underestimated by the interactionist. Such happens even in the persistence of the more established ways of behaving sexually among a great number of heterosexual people. Foucault’s emphasis on the diffused character of power, however, leads him to conclude the impossibility of pointing at any institution as the one responsible for the perpetuation of norms and normative identities. Thus, his tendency to deliver prescriptions towards the non-directed critical transgressions of social norms has eventually led to a vision of the social life as the “pure, but diffuse, deployment of power, freed of systems of social norms and roles.”125 This could lead to a proposition that every individual desire becomes an end in itself. A consequence of which is the abandonment of every project for social change because every agency is now impossible...

as it is dumped with the blowing up of structures.\textsuperscript{126} Ethics, however, may have to look at this contribution of Foucault not so much as a postmodernist project but as an observation that is usable as a heuristic or diagnostic tool for probing into the culture of the late modern societies. Post-modern individuals are also Foucault’s interlocutors. This is not to underestimate Foucault’s contribution to post-modern thought. But, it is not a farfetched conclusion that his philosophy mirrors the post-modern condition. Perhaps, such condition suggests openness to future social developments.

Aside from Marx, Marcuse, Elias and Weber, A. Giddens\textsuperscript{127} also raises broad sociological issues and topics against which sexuality may be read and analyzed. His work provides some complementary as well as challenging ideas vis-à-vis the work of Foucault.\textsuperscript{128}

Giddens has highlighted the transformation of the expressions of intimacy within the setting of late modernity. He accounts for the predominant expressions of late modernity on “plastic sexuality” and the sexual expressions of “pure relationship.” Plastic sexuality is no longer identified with the previously considered stable and permanent referential elements like reproduction, family, or spirituality. Such type of sexuality is seen in every personal liberty’s desires or experiments. A “pure relationship” is a relationship with no other end but itself. The above described phenomenon is observed as a given feature of present-day societies which are of modern and late modern type. More important is Giddens’ identification of these characteristic sexual expressions (plasticity/pure) as logical offshoots of late modernity’s social configurations. Such configurations are permeated by identities nurtured by

\textsuperscript{126} Ibid., p. 10.
\textsuperscript{127} Giddens, \textit{The Transformation of Intimacy}.
the institutions and processes of liberal democracy. This is expressed in his notion of the democratization of personal life. Complementing this thought is G. Simmel’s theorizing on the process by which modern individuals gain an expanded interior space for greater and more radicalized forms of individualization. The democratization of personal life needs this expansion and transformation of the internal space. D. Riesman’s insight on the inner-directedness of some modern individuals’ character could further expound on this idea.

These important insights of the more recent sociological studies on sexuality as well as the character of reflection/reflexive process and discourse pose destabilizing challenges to some of the established Christian sexual-ethical norms and doctrines. The higher-order principles (e.g. natural law or religious cosmology) upon which these norms and doctrines are based are also questioned by such studies.

V. Conclusions

The massive urban migration during the rise of industrial capitalism in Europe and Northeastern America, the increasing wage-labor dependency, the demand for regularized but defamilialized working hours, the availability of purchasable subsistence goods and other commodities in the market have all opened various fields and processes towards the formation of autonomous households and individuals. The sexual liaisons and activities of these individuals are no longer connected to traditional structures and are aligned towards more complex and pluralized social structures. Examples are those freed from a religious world-systems framework or those aligned with diverse positions that are susp-

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cious of pre-established prescriptions or moral blueprints. These basic changes in socio-economic activities have led to the transformation of (1) kinship and family systems, (2) sexual regulations and definitions of communities, and (3) national and world systems and ideologies.

The basic relations like courtship rituals, marriage patterns, tracing of descent, inheritance, typical rights and obligations, and their corresponding defined socio-cultural standards are normally encompassed by a traditional kinship system. Family forms and relationships are, thus, embedded in that system as it determines the overall operations which drive relations and interactions to follow their course in making the same system operational. In their exposures to prospective sexual partners, individuals may be spontaneously agitated by their private desires. Yet, private matters are not yet fully freed from the shadow of a cultural canopy. In traditional settings, culture also generally regulates individual passion and taste.

However, capitalism has exerted undeniable pressures on traditional systems. It has done it through its organized purposive activities, through the dovetailing state regulations,¹³² and through its reified ethos and practices. Family forms and relations have thereby taken specific configurations that are consistent with the demands or requirements of the capitalist productive aspects of life. Capitalism has impinged upon individuals and families; and slowly shaped them into precursor cultural agents of non-traditional identities. The traditional roles/institutions and their ideological foundations take some shattering blows from capitalism’s fields, processes, and social and ideological structures. Capitalism has shaped and has re-shaped shared social patterns and dispositions from which personal behaviors certainly take their mold. These capitalist fields, processes, and structures occupy the

front seat in transforming not only production and expenditure/consumption relations but also former patterns of enduring bodily and psychic dispositions.

The lack of connection with traditional world systems or authorities makes many forms of intimacies radically individual-desire-centered rather than tradition-bound forms of expressions. A very basic tradition-shattering development can be gleaned from the ever-diminishing dominance of patriarchy in many developed capitalist societies. This is not to say that the solution to problems is the return to traditional patriarchal authorities.

The changes in sexual patterns in capitalist societies have led to detradi
tionalizations. Detraditionalizations in turn have brought about further changes in sexual patterns. These changes have also caused the ever-increasing consolidation of complex alternative lifestyles and proliferation of customized sexual expressions. Such customized ways of satisfying desire have become the platforms for the customization of moralities. A customized behavior is no longer founded on broad-based, socially-shared or longstanding solidarities; but, only on the moral avowals of the reflexive individual. Individuals who have been bombarded by too much images and representations that are divorced from a solid community-based cultural system tend to wobble on top or under their self-reflected “provisional customs and symbols.” Because they are provisional, the constantly shifting behaviors reflect the nature of the late capitalist societies that have already focused on sustaining progress based on a dizzying spending/consumption speed by consumers. The desires of these consumers never find gratification in the items which can only dispense provisional satisfactions.

Consequently, individuals tend to overemphasize autonomous decisions (above community interest) or as they consider it their right to take control over their sexual desires in the way they have been taught to exercise autonomy and liberty over other

matters. This is especially true among the youth—whether male, female, lesbian or gay. The principles of liberty and democracy are also the same principles which move many individuals to affirm their autonomy and right over the appropriation of sexuality, away from broader solidarity platforms.
Chapter Five

Solidarity and Sexuality

Standards of behavior (morals) are reminders or cues for people’s conduct in society. In their everyday affairs, individuals are informed and guided by such standards which could also be translated into the more specific norms or laws that categorically command or prohibit. The standards are somehow maintained firm and stable through the norms that are kept and observed. Thus the commands: Do not do this… Do this… These come mostly as common-sensical prescriptions or pre-established norms. These come handy for prescribing appropriate choices or acts; or helpful in judging questionable behavior: at home, in the neighborhood, in school, at work, in the market, in the churches, and in other public places. What is deemed wholesome and agreeable behavior must somehow fit into the standards set by society.

Although the specific norms are also explicitly formulated, these are embedded components of a whole culture which has been largely unconsciously internalized and thus experientially and situationally in-formed individuals (formed in hearts and minds) and societies in their Lebenswelt (lifeworld; see footnote #28, Chapter One); one behaves according to personal habitus derived from the social habitus. In other words, one’s behavior is largely informed by one’s memories (both the implicit and explicit) that have engaged and swayed every organ, muscle, or cell of one’s body which are in sync with others through multiple shared social processes in the Lebenswelt.

There are, however, other social processes that are not necessarily Lebenswelt based; that is, not necessarily founded on broad-based and community-shared traditions: male-instituted and manager-directed corporate business transactions, factory assembly lines, academic discussions, bureaucratic meetings, etc., where autono-
mous narrowed-down principles or teachings are formulated apart from Lebenswelt concerns or needs. Such processes directly and indirectly impinge on memories.

Norms formulated autonomously by alien religious or political centers or corporate strategies which have not passed through the shared primary enculturation/socialization path could suffer the fate of irrelevance or disdain; or these become the norms in dominant contexts like corporate, bureaucratic, or ecclesiastical boardrooms which will try to subordinate, marginalize, or colonize the Lebenswelt.

If the liberal-capitalist world has produced personal dispositions stabilized by scheduled or monetarized practices, it has also enthroned values that have become glittering gems that attract every person’s attention; even if such gems are already extracting them away from their more important solidarity-promoting involvements. Thus, such a strategizing world has also produced some unintended negative consequences (environmental degradation, climate change, lifestyle diseases, auto-immune system disturbance and failures, social exclusion, loneliness, alienation, and dejection) sending many people bewildered and, many times, misled by “scientific solutions,” astonished and exasperated by over-extended religious conferences, overwhelmed and overdosed with laws and encyclicals, neglected by the lack of structural supports, or isolated due to the disintegration of solidarities.

In having aimed at impingements, I have also assumed several anti-impingement prospects: 1) that a not-so-visible dimension in solidarity building/work is the expansion of intimacy-producing shared time and greater involvement and rootedness in lifeworld contexts; 2) that there is this silent process of reaching towards greater intimacy and sexuality through the efforts we may have to make to challenge that other formal hidden process which wrecked

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havoc on our psyche and our primary relationships; 3) that there is this hidden operation of writing on our psyche by the polychronic and fully-involved processes of solidarity-building and solidarity-wired scenarios which we cannot immediately grasp except through actual contact with reality that will continue to move onwards; 4) that through greater efforts in promoting solidarity, we may discover more areas in our lives that have become chained to processes that deny ourselves of greater intimacy and growth in solidarity-grounded sexuality; and 5) that the example of Jesus of Nazareth’s solidarity with the outcasts of his time will serve to guide our steps on the right track.

I. Impingements and Anti-Impingements

People have always tried to improve on their lives; to make better their conditions as well as compensate for their limitations. These they have done through their creations and the enjoyment or use of such creations. Their efforts are, however, hampered by the limits of their skills, challenged by their not-so-perfect brains, disturbed many times by unmanageable desires, and constrained by the boundaries of freedom (or helplessly exposed to the lack of boundaries).

People do carry in themselves and in their ways ample amount of constraints, lack, and fault. This human predicament has saddled all products of human hands and all efforts to satisfy desires. Even the creative solutions people have crafted to meet their needs have produced further problems. Nothing produced by humans has become perfect; the humanly-possible good has always been marked by the fragility of human dispositions, by the ambiguities of culture, and by the unpredictability of natural forces.

With the innumerable demands of living together in a most decent or humane way, life thus becomes a very challenging, if not burdensome, affair. Efforts to make life more bearable, enjoyable,
and meaningful have aimed to lessen the effects not only of natural limitations and misfortunes but also of human-made calculations and miscalculations. These efforts have come down to us as common approaches or ways of making life more manageable and predictable or familiar; these may be part of a wider popular culture or the more rationalized ways of managing the state of political and market-economic affairs of a modern/late-modern society. These also contribute to the construction of the basic patterns of everyday life which serve as platform for people’s predispositions, memory, and behavior (like work or consumption patterns as first-order norms) and to the formation of morals and laws (as second-order norms) which every citizen considers as binding or obligatory.

Many of us are cognizant of the prevailing moral standards of our society expressed in religious prescriptions/prohibitions, secular laws, as well as common sense rooted in the pool of cultural traditions and everyday life. But we are also aware that we are not always faithful to prescribed standards or explicit norms of behavior. Many times, we are not our own masters; we want to become better persons but are unable to execute the right actions, whether prescribed or not. Even if we know what is right, somehow we do the opposite or produce something harmful to us and to others. Thus, even if our intentions are good, we sometimes do what is not good.

Sometimes when we follow what is accepted as good, we also produce unpleasant consequences which are injurious not only to ourselves but also to our environment. In our structured ways, we also produce distressing broader-impact and higher-context impingements. We say it is good to use detergents in washing our clothes; but, in the process we also contaminate the earth with harmful chemicals; not to mention the primary wastes produced by profit-oriented companies that manufacture detergents. In turn, the earth “alters” its behavior that further impinges humans, etc., etc. Future generations eventually and, very often, unknowingly,
reap the products of several interlocking impingements. The unintended unpleasant by-products of our efforts to bring about good are there staring at us openly. Take the case of the production of CFC for air conditioners or refrigerators that produces the large hole in the ozone layer; or the feat of earning bigger income through overtime deprives time for the family and brings about other conditions that lead to eventual separations (cf. the stories of nuclearization of the former extended families and/or their transformation towards single-parent households). We become bewildered or confused and many times we just focus on what we regard as good and become blind or be accustomed to what most of us could hardly accept; and we go on multiplying impingements.

But we could actually do something and deal with impingements that bring about unintended negative effects.

The familiar liberal-capitalist rules or prescriptions devised according to plan would not automatically produce high-context solidarities. Although labor unions or worker’s associations have pressured capitalism to become more humanized, not all of such organizations are aware of their greater potential in producing other forms of solidarities. Nevertheless, we may find among them individuals who would be looking for more solutions or alternatives. Some of them may discover that working together (in non-profit activities) may lighten their search for answers to impingements troubles. The solidarity that emerges from this search for solutions would even become a value in itself, making every person in trouble automatically looking for company or ally. In a group’s search for solutions to the negative effects of the liberal-capitalist rationalized practices, some other practices could be discovered and gradually structured (intimacy and solidarity scenarios: extended family days, shared day-care, sports program, common wellness promotion, environmental care, peer counseling, neighborhood celebrations, etc.); and from these practices newer values could be generated, making others informed and eventually
disposed to the promotion of different lifestyles already beyond the immediate context of instrumental labor.

If one would thus wish to inculcate new standards or “new values,” one would have to be aware of the ways, paths, or processes of learning standards or values: through approved, accepted, and esteemed practices in the smallest cultural units called situational frames or compact scenarios (and thus, learned, shared, and passed on from one generation to the next as new patterns of quasi-obligatory behavior). This implies that values are not abstract entities that could be captured by mere writing and print and hoped to be learned in the classrooms or libraries. They have to be handed down via common or shared practices—much like the market practices that have become common. Values are coordinates of practices or patterns of behavior. They are caught because they are part and parcel of coordinated goods manifested through real life scenarios. If patterns of practices have produced impingements, then only alternative patterns of practices could produce anti-impingements.

Explicit ethical norms (written, printed, and disseminated via literature and exhortations) that try to directly address issues, including contemporary sexuality issues, may be missing the whole point in applying principles that have been formally proposed in autonomous venues (academe, state, or ecclesiastical office). Much of these principles may not be immediately applicable in situations other than their original narrow settings. Moreover, institutions which survive on liberal capitalism may not be the appropriate agencies to offer the most effective solutions to problematic by-products of the system.

An impingement by-product, like drug dependence because of absence of OFW parents (who manage their households “through” overseas work) and presence of “bad influences,” cannot be solved by the mere use of correct words, sermons, or

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2 Hall, Beyond Culture, pp. 129ff.
ethical principles of the deontological, utilitarian, or market kind. The structured relations should be restructured: towards the gradual process of repatriation of parents, regrouping of family members, and re-entry into a more solid or intimate (if possible more extended) form of family relations. Similar cases (mostly compensatory behaviors expressed through non-marital sex, alcohol abuse, infantile religious practices, or the more alarming behaviors like suicide, rejection of infants, neglect of the elderly, etc.) could be addressed through structural adjustments towards greater solidarity and intimacy.

However, separations, loneliness, dejection and alienation because of work or preparations for work through schooling may not be solved if the normalized structures of waged work and business-based or capital-aligned schooling are considered absolutely necessary; that is, acting as first-order norms. Indeed, most people and modern institutions consider them absolutely necessary. Perhaps, dependence on non-corporate work (communal schemes) and non-commercial outlets (cooperative ventures) will keep people “safe” from the more dominant utilitarian and calculative market principles.

The usual action chains in an intimacy- and solidarity-promoting scenario, like the shared breakfast, are interrupted or aborted because of the effects of waged work and capital-aligned school schedules. Time imposes itself on the chain and becomes the cause of the failure in forging links between the normal sequences needed to complete the scenario’s goal or climax: even when breakfast is served, the father may leave too early and misses it; children running around, take bites, and rush for school; and the mother who does the chores must hurry up to catch up with her own schedule. When behavior sticks to this pattern, breakfast becomes a shadow of the former traditional intimacy/solidarity scenario; and intimacy/solidarity runs into trouble.

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3 Hall, *Beyond Culture*, pp. 141ff.
We have developed time for work: the 8-5 or 9-6 (plus travel, extending it 10-12 hrs.) time. This scheme brings about deficit in emotional bonds and yet people cling to it and even fight for it “as if it were our salvation.” But are we not angry at ourselves when we realize that the time we have crafted really chips away our lives? How many times have we resented and complained against time that has denied us of the most important moments for our loved ones? But how far have we really fought to bring back our own time into ourselves by repudiating the time imposed on us by narrowed-down institutions? This makes us think about the question of Spinoza and Wilhelm Reich: “Why do men fight for their servitude as stubbornly as though it were their salvation?” When we feel deep down in our hearts that we are supposed to be with our loved ones, we still get to office-work and chain ourselves with time that excludes much of the involvements that matter more! Moreover, the anxious moments we spend in not being able to do other important lifeworld-things because of our self-imposed monochronic time have slowly gnawed on our psyche that by the time we reach the age of retirement we finally hear ourselves saying agonistically, “Now I can do what I like to do.” Goodness gracious! What have we been doing all those years, in the first place? Could we then really believe ourselves still saying the truth when we also hear our voices crack convincingly through our job-bestowed arthritis, diabetes, cataracts, clogged arteries, tumors, and dementia?

Nevertheless, others have their own versions of standards of behavior formulated as written and printed principles, that is, as knowledge and teaching formulated by persons of authority who act as such while formulating them. Such persons (also considered as experts) may come from the religious, academic, corporate, or state institutions. Their writings are considered systematic or thoroughly written, principles-rich and based on some foundational sources like the sacred scriptures, normative philosophy, law, or established practices. Such sources are approached by the experts who follow certain supposedly scientific method. Most of
the time, their formulations are not easily translatable into habit because they still need to be decoded and brought into the common-sense frame of mind, and expressed through situational frames. These must be freely and gradually understood, discerned, and appreciated for their significance in the Lebenswelt. To be appreciated means to become the “reasons” of one’s choice or decision. For some reasons (e.g., not part of their routines or outside their primary settings or not part of the capitalist fields), people find them difficult to internalize and become part of their habitus unless some amount of sustained coercion is present. Formal principles could become more effective when such a coercion is built into necessary practices like waged work and monetarized consumption (this is not to say that such a move is wise or appropriate). This is how the standards of liberal-capitalist system seeped through the consciousness and habits of people because they have to work, get paid, and buy what they consume in order to survive. All the while they were working and buying what they consume, they were also repeating and reproducing what is deemed as requirements (first-order norms) of their society. Although everyday life does cover life at home and in the neighborhood, it is, however, in work/spending where people would devote most of their time to provide for the material basis of existence and to make some sense of economic and moral order to their lives. Thus it is also in and through work/spending that people shape or reshape themselves into moral or civilized beings. Then, we observe the asymmetric blending of lifeworld and systems in people’s lives where, in their pursuit of necessities, the high-order head-level principles of systems subordinate the heart-level (affectional) principles that are supposed to inspire the people’s lifeworld.

Nevertheless, to reiterate, impingements have proliferated, multiplied, and synapsed unpredictably: the structures and various adjustments within liberal-capitalism, and the consequent transformations of beliefs, attitudes, behavior, and identities, also brought about some problems like alienation and dejection. Such problems have become the coordinate entities embodied in peo-
people’s sexual attitudes and behavior. Modern/Late-modern people’s sexual behavior, thus, is a complex matter that cannot simply be treated as something coming from a warped conscience or twisted intention. Moderns/post-moderns seem to feel treated unfairly if traditional discourses on morality are simply imposed on them. But, what can we expect? Traditional discourses rather lack the appropriate or proper attention to broad- and high-impact synapses and impingements.

How does one deal with the more liberal and participatory expressions of sexual intimacy? How do we relate to people whose lives have been affected by forces larger than their own choices and in the process become “victims” of their own unconscious dispositions that have been consistently shaped by liberal-capitalist society’s pervasive beliefs and practices? How do we deal with behaviors that appear as problematic because they are so different from the traditionally formulated standards of human decency and dignity?

Most ethical analyses address issues that are linked to the personal testimonies and conscious choices/decisions of individuals. However, personal beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors are for the most part influenced or determined by their background, situations, settings, and relationships which have become less open to immediate personal choice and action or to inquiry. In fact, these have become synapses that communicate and produce more complex and invisible impulses and impingements—thus, personal responsibility is not merely linked to the immediate and low context impact of decisions, but also to their over-all ratification and reinforcement of the more invisible “conditions and negative effects.” To be able to make visible these conditions and their negative effects is a task most important for ethical action and reflection.

While our ethical evaluations appeal to some objective standards of behavior every time we focus on the implications of actions for human interaction, in most instances, the structures of
waged work and spending have impelled whole societies into activities that maintain a system dominated by economic and privatized interests. Such narrow interests and the corresponding social network that they have produced have become constraints of action; and thus, already form part of the goods “contained” in every act.4 What is so disconcerting, to say the least, is that in every act structured by capitalist work and spending, some high-order principles or goods are also embedded: justice of the *quid pro quo* or market type (that is, one gets something based on one’s contribution to society) and the utilitarian principle (that is, [to produce through one’s act] the greatest benefit for the greatest number). We know very well how these principles produce disadvantages or harm to those who cannot contribute much to the wealth of society or to those who are “used” in favor of the production of goods for the “greater number” of one’s favored society. Are we then obliged to reproduce the social order and continue to produce suffering for instrumentalized labor, the less-useful poor, and the “useless” marginalized?

Thus, the social context (including the opportunities and feasibles available) may have to be a component of every ethical scrutiny. That is, even if ethical judgment is dealing with a case of failure or deficiency in individual moral choice. Think of how desperation among the poor may lead them to resort to prostitution or to stealing; or how alienation and hopelessness push a teenager or a “useless” jobless person to commit suicide. Conscious decisions and actions, which are tacitly determined by conditions that have preceded individual choice, are not anymore the only important object of ethical analysis. Since choice is circumscribed by the impulses of conditions (objective determinants), the latter ought to be a focal point; if not, *the indispensable focal point* of every

4 What Gagnon and Simon (citing Kenneth Burke and to some extent Erving Goffman) have referred to as the cultural, inter-personal and intra-psychic scripting are also relevant to our present discussion. See John H. Gagnon and William Simon, *Sexual Conduct: The Social Sources of Human Sexuality*, second edition (London/New Brunswick: Aldine Transaction, 2005), pp. 13ff, 290, 312ff.
ethical reflection. This is not to say, however, that choice is purely
determined by external (or intra-psychic) impulses.

Many ethical reflections which evaluate conscious decisions of subjects do not always give the *proper prior attention* to the conditions or background coordinates of consciousness and behavior. Many of their concerns are pinned on choices and their consequences which, by and large, do not refer to the various less-visible ecological settings or less-noticeable co-ordinates of action. By not being critical to structures of choices, the less-noticeable structural mechanisms escape their assessments or are being taken for granted. In the process, an ethical construction based on the knowledge of positively identified dominant social values will miss and “externalize” the dis-values produced by the same society. But, the maintenance of a world with deeply questioned principles wedded to extrinsic values of utility and productivity is not a worthy stance. And, a conservative attitude cannot be expected to stimulate a search and promotion of more desirable, alternative, values. Such type of ethical discourse is often a product of uncritical citizens’ reified consciousness from which a prophetic stance cannot be expected.

Moreover, in many instances, the notion of what is ethical has resulted into an identification with rational choices based on narrowed-down or out-of-this-world principles, rather than on the advancement of better life settings (a value; extremely important to put forward or create) that promote solidarity (which may not always be reason-grounded but affectivity-grounded, that is, “irrational” for mainstream science or based on heart-level principles). The latter is supposed to focus on the inclusion of choice and action into integrated scenarios which can provide better conditions for a more socially-sensitive attitude and behavior. This means that an ethics that specifically address questions of intimacy should be one that prescribes socially-feasible scenarios, where action chains are not assaulted by conditions that interrupt or abort intimacy- and solidarity-promoting interactions.
Building those conditions assumes the need for settings which make it possible for persons to be more cooperative or even altruistic than individualistic and competitive. What would make persons more cooperative and other-centered? Two things are standard answers: an enlightened attitude and an identity embedded within a wider group. The first asks for greater deliberate character planning while the second begs that even our self-interest must be embedded in our community belongingness. What enlightens a person to become more cooperative and other-centered would, of course, take for granted a community that promotes the values of cooperation and service.

If we take the Biblical community values of sharing and service (cf. Acts 4: 32-37) as paradigmatic, the appropriation of these values is thus paramount. But, we know this cannot be done without the practices (and other conditions like rituals of solidarity and service) that assure internalization and imprinting of such values in people’s memories. The process of appropriation of biblical values and the assurance of internalization and imprinting actually require the “re-production” of the “form and content” of the Biblical community—the concrete platform of practice and the condition for the feasibility and possibility of internalization of values.

Thus, promotion of settings that foster social awareness, cooperation, and altruistic behavior should be a greater focus of an ethics that promotes the dignity of individuals and groups. We certainly are engulfed by the individualistic and competitive spirit

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5 “32 The multitude of those who believed were of one heart and soul. Not one of them claimed that anything of the things which he possessed was his own, but they had all things in common. 33 With great power, the apostles gave their testimony of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus. Great grace was on them all. 34 For neither was there among them any who lacked, for as many as were owners of lands or houses sold them, and brought the proceeds of the things that were sold, 35 and laid them at the apostles’ feet, and distribution was made to each, according as anyone had need. 36 Joses, who by the apostles was surnamed Barnabas (which is, being interpreted, Son of Encouragement), a Levite, a man of Cyprus by race, 37 having a field, sold it, and brought the money and laid it at the apostles’ feet.”
of the liberal-capitalist setup. To be critical against this spirit; to be emancipated from its ambit of influence, is to be more attuned to the sources of enlightened and altruistic orientation. This may also mean taking up another form of spirituality; that is, a conscious effort to pursue a more noble and higher end—transcending survival, necessity, utility, or individualistic fulfillment.

Ethical reflections on sexual behavior may have to bear in mind the nature of choice and action as “coordinated entities” that embody various elements. Ethical reflections have to consider not only the immediate bodily activities or performances, but relationships in structures. This way, choices and action may no longer be excessively viewed as stuffs to be isolated and placed in compartments designed to repair or rehabilitate behavior towards better use or function. They may instead be regarded as choices and actions which reveal broader longings, interests, and loyalties. They happen to be conditioned by factors that precisely need to be criticized and opened up towards other conditions of possibility for a better life. To bring about such social conditions will demand a resolute social engagement in solidarity-work.

Solidarity should happen when people get together to lessen the effects of lack of money and lack of skills, and loss of employment because they band together for sharing or cooperative work. Then solidarity enables people to find more ways to lessen troubles and thus avoid the causes (waged work; monetarized consumption; profit-making transactions) of breakdown of solidarities.

A distinguishing character of a constitutive ethics (ethics constitutive of solidarity) is its praxis-rooted and anticipatory nature. It will decisively put hope on projects that are not just correct but, in the short run, feasible and, in the long run, realizable as well as fruitful in many positive senses other than utility or productivity sense.
A constitutive ethics is hoped to bring about background coordinates pregnant with opportunities (or structures) that would make people in sync with their lifeworlds (with their own standards of behavior also founded on high-order principles) and not just with the formal requirements of the market based on high-order but narrow market principles. It invites to put one’s stakes on practices that promise remote but inescapable/undeniable positive effects even if their exact shapes are still something uncertain and hidden in a pack of manifold gifts. But why are we so worried about the exact outcome of our otherwise wholesome project of promoting solidarity, when in fact this project could also produce preponderance of greater intimacy and mutual help; while we do not have problems with the necessary and “good” projects which have already produced and are still producing troubles and miseries to people and degradation to the environment? Why question the Good Samaritan’s helping behavior? Why not question instead the constricting conditions that push many people to rob?

It is thus necessary to get into work promoting every possible mutual-help contexts or solidarity zones.

II. Promotion of Solidarity Zones and Scenarios: Expansion of Intimacy and Solidarity

A. Family Solidarity

If ethics has tried to consult and listen to the findings of the sociological and historical sciences, then there have been many instances when sociologists, demographers, socio-psychologists, and others have been compelled to offer propositions which are ethical in character. Given the attention they spend for their specializations, their on-the-side ethical pronouncements supply a blend that is somewhat different from those offered by full-time ethicists. Thus, their ethical insights have several implications for the practice of ethics.
The moral question is the former familiar ground for sociology in its inception as a discipline. The sources of moral action have been central to it. Thus, it preoccupied some of sociology’s founding figures like Durkheim, Weber, and most especially Marx.6

Here, I am giving a couple of examples of sociological studies which have gone beyond pure academic concerns through their respective alignment with a wider project concerning sex and health. It is clear that these studies will show us how solidarity promotion will eventually concern itself more (albeit unconsciously) with situational matters relating to intimacy and sexuality. These are the *Analyse des Comportements Sexuels en France* (ACSF)7 and the *Add Health Study*. The latter, a 1997 project is an American study on the behavior of adolescents. Both of these studies are informed by, among others, the interactionist and the social-constructionist approaches in sociology.

The interactionist sociology offers an alternative way of handling diverse expressions of sexuality because it looks into the mutual adjustments which individual actors make in every situation

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of interaction. This sociological view can handle diversity, successive interactions, subjective negotiations, and evolutionary process of behavior. It opens up to unpredictable situations, self-presentations, and negotiations. What it does is not a recalling of a static or recurrent sexual behavior. Though, it does recall the relationship or encounter between two actors—a perspective which is more appropriate for an analysis of a person-to-person intercourse.

This context-dependent theorizing of interactions has been devised to apprehend realities that no longer reflect simple representations of roles in every human behavior. This approach is, in fact, caught in its adjustment to the changing face of society that is herein labeled as either modern or postmodern. Nevertheless, the current approaches in sociology still recognize that the presence of norms somehow internalize and form the individually possessed socio-cultural capital. However, these no longer treat norms as possessing the causal power that they used to have in simple and homogenous village settings. These settings are reinforced by the presence of concurrent regulations or control by the neighbors or the elders. These norms are rather treated as a dimension of and an element in every negotiation between actors. In other words, norms are subjected to adjustments by individual desires; depending on the need of every interactional moment. There are, in fact, instances when the protagonists do possess different sets of social capital. But, the presence of norms is only one factor in decision-making process. It exists in the midst of some other factors such as power struggle, absence of authority, subjective rational plans, superiors, colleagues, friends, and others. In every personal network analysis employed by interactionist sociology, abstract and static norms are weak ethical units. This is due to their negotiability in the presence of peers or friends whose “closer” judgments and appreciation matter more most of the time.8

The ACSF survey has brought together 22 members. It is composed of epidemiologists, sociologists, psycho-sociologists, psychologists, psychoanalysts, economists and demographers. The team is constituted in 1989. Some 20,000 respondents between the ages of 18 and 69 have also participated. The said survey is an example of a study that applies sociological principles in order to ensure more sound and realizable propositions for human flourishing and social change.

Sex surveys in France, as well as in other countries, have already been carried out before 1989. In the United States, several sex surveys after the Kinsey report have been funded by government bodies. Sexual issues, however, always arouse wide political and ecclesiastical sensitivities; especially when such issues are potential bombs which can undermine ideological and administrative/political positions. For instance, the proposed sex survey of adults commissioned in 1987 by the United States’ National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD), has failed to get government funding. This is due to the opposition made by traditionalist elders in congress. The said elders claim that the survey is meant to be used in legitimizing homosexual lifestyles. The survey is lambasted for irrelevance for and unwanted intrusion into private matters, and for its anti-family orientation. Thus, it cannot be supported by the taxpayers’ money.

Done in 1991, the ACSF survey has not encountered similar opposition. This is mainly due to a more liberal representation in both the French government and the public. Note that the survey has not gained a reputation for being as a potential legitimizer of so-called illegitimate sexual practices.

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It is a survey that is strongly influenced by the AIDS epidemic and “in this context of unsafe sex the factors that help or hinder prevention lay at the heart of the investigation.” Thus, particular attention is given to the behavior of sexual partners. Among those sexual behaviors that are deemed to be presenting a risk are homosexual intercourse, multiple sexual partners, intercourse with prostitutes, and intravenous drug-taking. Clearly, it is a survey that is accompanied by a public health perspective or “applied” ethics’ point of view. This study ranks with other studies which aim to not merely expose or describe but also to transform behavior and behavioral settings. In the words of some ACSF researchers-academicians: “The extremely rapid emergence of a new disease imposed the triple imperative of explaining the phenomenon, of providing for its social consequences, and of launching a rapid ‘counter-attack’.” This is reminiscent of the triple-dipping mode of involvement made by some academicians in the areas of research, teaching, and social involvement.

The ACSF’s study on sexuality is distinct from the usual sexuality studies done in terms of kinship, marriage, family, and the incest taboo. Its focus, however, is also a source of its weakness. It forces us to take the public health standpoint even as sexuality points to the intimacy or individual pleasure-related stimulus. Such stimulus is something which people could not, with facility, shake off from their self-system. The good thing is that through the AIDS-scare and with the ACSF’s survey, sexuality is doubly approached with the sexual actors’ physical well-being and their necessary amount of self-restraint in mind. Nevertheless, the survey also constitutes a corpus of data which are useful for future research on human sexuality. But, what makes the ACSF exceptionally important for this study’s consideration is its perspective on health. Such health perspective has been swayed to favor the

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more sociological and psychological perspectives of sexuality.\textsuperscript{13}

The American project NORC/A Social Science Research Center has started off as a survey by sociologists. These experts focus on lifetime events and on networks of social and sexual relations. The public health perspective is grafted into it later on. The GPA/WHO project, on the other hand, is intended to define dominant patterns of sexual behavior in different social and cultural environments for the purpose of AIDS prevention.\textsuperscript{14}


Other large-scale surveys which did not have AIDS in mind include other European countries (Norway, Sweden, the Netherlands, Germany, Portugal, Switzerland, Greece, Italy, Spain and Belgium).

\textsuperscript{14} Many very important large-scale quantitative surveys have been available within the last fifty years and they have given us a structured view of present-day patterns of sexual behavior. Alfred Kinsey’s US data gathered towards the end of the 1940’s sought to bring to light diverse actual sexual practices which contrast to the rigid and official moralities. His study served to relativize the meaning of sexuality and debunk many misconceptions about pathological sexual practices. His data, however, was limited to sexual practices resulting in orgasm did not include the personal and emotional involvement of his subjects. Moreover, the procreative and contraceptive intentions were not taken into account. Pierre Simon’s survey of 1970 France, on the other hand, was carried out within a context of a movement of sexual liberation and it focused on contraceptive sexuality. The main interest was heterosexual intercourse within the framework of marriage. Limitations could be identified in Simon’s work: no attention given to partners other than the spouse. See Pierre Simon, J. Gondonneau, L. Mironer, A.M. Doulen-Rollier, Rapport sur le comportement sexuel des Français (Paris: Juilliard, 1972); see also Bozon
words, sexuality is understood as opening a new risk in health infection. So, it is to be studied against the background of a wider social-historical scope and a deeper understanding of a person’s socially-determined evolving psyche.

An interesting episode happened during the ACSF’s deliberation regarding the analytic approach of the research. This is instructive along with the sociologicalization of various or multidisciplinary arguments. A three-member team of epidemiologists use the epidemiological approach. The epidemiological approach is more influential in the beginning. It has conceived the analysis in terms of “risk groups” and “risk indicators.” Such two concepts are dear to epidemiologists. However, a more analytic approach has been used based on “risk relations” and “risk situations.” The shift makes possible the simultaneous account of the types of relationships and the individuals as well as the risks attached to the practices realized. The following clarifies further this point:

what started out as a study of the factors of protection and non-protection in the context of sexual relations that included risk practices, ended up as an analysis of the psychological and sociological processes responsible for the relational situations that involve different ranges of sexual practices, some of which carry a risk of transmitting sexual diseases. It is no longer the level of risk that is being explored but rather the situation in which risk arises. The representations of causality are thus very different, much more complex than the identification of risk factors. Making sense of the results means trying to isolate the logics of behaviour, by conceptualizing the multiple levels of causal processes at work.

The sociologists and psychologists are able to persuade the other members of the team to go beyond the relationship of

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16 Ibid., p. 53.
sexuality and AIDS. They urge the other members to take into account the following:

First, individual pleasure is a more basic signifier of sexuality than risk. Although the concept of risk is also present in complementary and contradictory manner, it has been associated with the risk of being caught “misbehaving” sexually and not of being infected with HIV. Besides, sexual performance in bed is greater in other people’s mind than HIV infection.\(^\text{17}\)

Second, the evolution of sexual behavior is closely linked to the social and cultural context. Thus, “Any survey of sexual behavior must seek to take account of this dynamic process if the behavioral changes observed are not to be mistakenly attributed simply to fear of the disease.”\(^\text{18}\) Hence, included as one of the team’s major objectives is: “To analyze a number of sociological, psychosociological and psychological factors that influence sexual behavior and in particular the behavior carrying a risk of HIV infection”.\(^\text{19}\) The concern of the socio-psychology group is to make sure that health promotion is sociologically and psychologically sound. That is, it takes into account the basic dynamics of the contemporary social relations and human behavior. If the setting and its multiple levels of causal processes are disregarded, then the team can produce unrealizable propositions.

The sociological and psychological grounds (either with a good number or lack of solidarity zones) of sexuality becomes the wider whole upon which the AIDS-disease part has been reinserted. The latter is a mere component in sexual scenarios. The reading of sexuality has not taken only an interdisciplinary turn. More importantly, it has become aware of its need for a “broader and deeper” understanding of its subject matter. It allows explanation neither solely from the psychological nor from the socially-

\(^{17}\) Ibid., p. 44.
\(^{18}\) Ibid.
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oriented disciplines. Sexual activity has to be no longer seen as a simple sexual activity. But, it has to be viewed as “a part of a larger and more complex interpersonal and social psychological framework, and within which it performs structural and integrative functions which may be incompatible with an effective response to risk.”20 Its definition of sexual behavior reflects this important consideration: “the term sexual behavior denotes, for each individual, a configuration comprising a repertoire of sexual practices, a repertoire of scenarios, and a repertoire of meanings”.21 A further elaboration is presented below:

Sexual practices are studied by epidemiologists as risk factors, and by social scientists as components in scenarios. The latter are of special interest to psychologists since they help to determine the temperament of individuals. Lastly, the sphere of meanings is more particularly a subject for psychological and sociological investigation.22

This idea about configuration is dear to the theoretical assumptions of sociology and psycho-sociology. Similar expansive/extensive concepts which suggest the interlocking and organizing character of various psycho-social elements and which broaden current approaches to the study of personality and reality are: conjuncture, network, text-context, structure-system, ecology or interconnectivity, and others. People are more and more reminded of avoiding tunnel-vision approaches or close-model explanations. As much as it is humanly possible, an ecological perspective seems to be becoming a rule. In this development, we discern about the increase in awareness of the socialized patterning of the psyche by psychology/psychoanalysis and the further consolidating awareness of

sociology on the personal face of the social.23 Such pose tremendous challenges both to some established positions and to the more progressive accounts. But, they all rely on the autonomous-reason model of thinking.

The second example is one of the most comprehensive studies that are conducted on teenagers and high-risk behaviors. This is the United States’ 1997 National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health or the “Add Health Study.” It is funded by the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development as well as 17 other federal agencies. It has set out to determine the following: (1) what roles the family, friends, school, and community do have in influencing teens to make healthy choices for themselves, as well as (2) what role they have in encouraging unhealthy, self-destructive choices. It has wanted to discover the broader factors which influence the behavior of teens as regards seat belt use, exercise, nutrition, tobacco use, sexual activity, sun exposure, drug use and alcohol use. The respondents are 90,000 children in grades 7 through 12 from 145 schools. Fieldworkers have asked hundreds of questions and have recorded thousands of answers. They look further into the children’s lives, as well as discover their environment, parents, and communities/neighborhood. The main premise of the Add Health study is that the social context—like relationships with families, friends, and peers—influences young people and their health-related behavior. Understanding that context is essential to guide efforts to modify health behaviors. This is not merely getting into social engineering but also entering into concerns which are ethical in nature.

The study has found out that the two most important factors in keeping young people out of trouble are about having a real connection (intimacy or solidarity) with (1) parents and (2) an adult

23 This has been exemplified in the field of psychology by Bronfenbrenner, etc. In psychoanalysis, the work of Freud and that of J. Lacan are pioneering. In sociology and social philosophy outstanding are the works of sociology of knowledge, social constructionism, A. Giddens’ concept of structuration and N. Elias and P. Bourdieu in their discussions on the concept of habitus.
figure in school. The adult figure can be a teacher or a counselor who expresses care and concern. The authors of the Add Health defined parental connectedness as having a "high degree of closeness, caring, and satisfaction with parental relationships, whether resident or nonresident, mother or father, feeling understood, loved, wanted and paid attention to by family members." All these are primary needs of children. They are clearly not the influence of the peer group. Although, it has to be mentioned that the parents or adult figures have to really compete hard with peer group influence by establishing connection and care.

Avoiding sex at a young age, a significant number of children have experienced some factors that have helped them avoid self-destructive choices. These factors are not only pointing at observance of regular interactions but really the consequent creation and maintenance of solidarity zones (1) teen-parent activities; (2) parental presence at key times during the day, i.e., in the morning, after school, at dinner, and at bedtime; and, (3) parental expectations of high academic performance. Another important factor is the perception that parents disapprove of teenagers having sex; even with contraception. One study using Add Health data has found out that "teenagers in grades 8-11 who perceive that their mother disapproves of their engaging out in sexual intercourse are more likely than their peers to delay sexual activity. And perhaps not surprisingly, teenagers who are more connected to their mothers are more likely to accurately perceive maternal disapproval of sex."^24

It is important to take note here that much of the positive effects related to intimacy and sexuality are by-products of regularized fully-loaded behavior—constitutive of a bulk of "unintended" goods.

The Add Health Study delivers findings which confirm the methodological concerns of ASCF about the importance of studying the social context and its links to or implications for attitudes and behavior. Clearly, the presence of close and caring relations who consistently remind the importance of postponing adult expressions of sexuality and who encourage perennially higher academic aspiration does take the place of traditional norms that are no longer as relevant or as important as personal interactions. Gaining the ability of the individual’s reflexivity and self-restraint no longer passes through the traditional process of norm internalizations via feudal kinship or role-imposing structures. The acquisition of self-control in more democratic settings by more self-propelled individuals begs for a different approach. It definitely varies from those who take for granted the supervision-presence of kin, neighbors, and authorities available in simple and traditional communities.

The need for physical/regular presence of parents and elders (promoting solidarity) in the crucial stages of identity formation has to be recognized against the background of relative absence of homogenous representations or the homogenous Symbolic of traditional societies. The multiple and fragmentary representations of today’s modern/late-modern societies do disturb focus or undermine search for the relatively stable representations of models of behavior and thus reproduce impingements. Young people who search for their identity and who are exposed to disconnections and fragmentations on all levels of interaction and representation do not fail to get jarred and overwhelmed by the objective world. The more reflexive way of dealing with such reality does not have much power over the young people’s fast-paced drives that are becoming more and more “unruly” when left on their own. Unfortunately, the intellectual mode of dealing with a complex of inner-world desires and outer-world structures simply folds before an overpowering reality that is so massive and opaque to the familiar habits of the mind. Young minds may have lesser chance of getting a sense of stability or having a focused choice
due to the complex and super-abundant information they are bombarded with as they are left alone most of the time. Freedom thrown into differentiated spaces and flexible times also attaches to representations customized by “free spirits” or customized as “for the time being.”

Nevertheless, solidarity in the family, which has become nuclearized, would lack a certain lifeworld quality or flow without the sway of a more extended neighborhood solidarity. And without the more expanded and coordinated promotions of solidarity in schools, workplaces, churches, media, and other public areas, or through institutions like NGOs or Foundations, solidarity work may not be expected to be felt universally. The need to bring Systems in sync with the Lebenswelt seems to be the appropriate approach for all solidarity works promoting solidarity zones.

B. Neighborhood Solidarity: Calumpang, Marikina, Philippines

Two World Systems\textsuperscript{25}—liberal-capitalism and Roman Catholicism\textsuperscript{26}—simultaneously pervade Philippine society. Throughout their histories of expansion, these Systems have been able to mobilize subjects and form networks and associations—around work and spending/consumption for liberal-capitalism, and around beliefs, ritual worship, and parish involvement for Roman Catholicism.

\textsuperscript{25} The use of this notion does not intentionally align the present essay with the World Systems analysis of Immanuel Wallerstein, Samir Amin, Giovanni Arrighi, and Andre Gunder Frank.

\textsuperscript{26} Liberal-capitalism and Roman Catholicism are two World Systems insofar as they adopt strategies and deploy resources that, in effect, produce domination, homogenization, and marginalization of various local life-worlds. Moreover, their propensity for globalization and centralization has not diminished even as resistance from or self-determination by local cultures has also accompanied its last 300 years of continuing domination. Domination may mean imposing one’s power over populations; whether or not such populations resist against their presence is not important for as long as people are overpowered by necessity or survival through work, consumption, and worship. This does not mean, however, that these World Systems do not have the ability to respect localities.
Catholicism. Although operating along distinctive fields and perpetuating themselves through moral and legal frameworks, these Systems tend to promote their standards and thereby influence thought and agency. They achieve this through various forms of prescriptions especially for physical movements which turn towards routines. They are also able to incite desires through various forms of stimulation (advertisements or campaigns), offer hopes to the imagination (affluence or salvation), and require standard ways of dealing with nature, people, and traditions (utility or sacrality). Nevertheless, such Systems operate through tangles of diverse structural elements. As society moves, amidst the propinquity of observable diversities (systemic or otherwise), relations and interactions would reflect the social order being consistently shaped by systemic requirements.

Systems do strategize and tend not to leave reality to chance; and thus also colonize the Lebenswelt. Individuals, societies, and nature must be handled to become more predictable and manageable according to some purpose. Systems, thus, would need plans and control-centers. The tendency to control coincides with procedures that seek towards apprehension and grasp of anything foreign into the Systems’ power and identity. Systems, thus, establish models, rules, and directions for feelings, thoughts, and action; these are important so that subjects who maneuver around may not lose their way and transgress the established paths and boundaries set forth by what is considered as normal existence. Such rules and directions are necessary for the reproduction and maintenance of what are accepted as either progressive or orderly. This thrust of reproduction and maintenance, however, moves towards marking of anything unfamiliar into the Systems’ standards, treating the foreign as potentially classifiable or unclassifiable and thus subject to either appropriation, commodification and transformation on the one hand, or rebuke, censorship, and annihilation on the other hand. In other words, Systems make history; the unwanted (notwithstanding the 47,000 years old Tabon Man or the Callao Man of 67,000 years ago) may have to remain at the margins.
and settle for the inconsequential ways to become present to history or wait until history overtakes them. It is, thus, characteristic for Systems to produce impingements because of structural limits and directions.

Philippine society, whether rural or urban, does not fail to experience the dominant history of both Systems that arrived as intruders. Urban living, however, reproduces more dynamically liberal-capitalism’s rational profit-making strategies via labor and consumption; while urban Roman Catholics are more led centrally by the urban proliferation of churches, religious houses, clerical and clerically-driven resources than the rural areas’ more dispersed population/geographical patterns that pose greater challenges to clerical administration.

Roman Catholics comprise about 84% of the 94% Filipino Christian population, but their fidelity to the Roman Church and what it represents is not necessarily observable. Personal or social Christian behavior does not automatically flow from Christian membership through baptismal initiation. Some studies would theorize about this discontinuity between people’s religious beliefs/ritual practices and their everyday behavior as split-level Christianity, nominal Christianity, absence of commitment, lack of Gospel dedication, etc. While the unfulfilled promise of capitalist progress among the poor is routinely explained as caused by the lack of either entrepreneurial drive or lack of ambition among the skills-challenged poor, resulting in the gap between subjects and the objects of desires.

The problematization of this inconsistency between religious or capitalist affiliation and real life attitudes and behavior are normally approached from a standard framework of imperfection

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27 The place of the Subject amidst Objective determination will not be discussed in this essay. For more developed discussions regarding this problem, consult the authors identified with the Critical Theory Tradition from the 1920s up to the present period.

of the subject: lack of personal maturity among members or lack of mature leaders and models. The lack of maturity and dynamism among citizens may be judged as a result of failure/weakness in character formation due to lack of required factors (e.g., a nurturing family, good education, discipline). Lack of effective leaders or models may be attributed to a recognized authority’s lack of discipline, deficiency in training, absence of charisma, inadequacy in leadership qualities, lack of spirituality or integrity.

While the lack of unity between religious affiliation and everyday-life behavior may be perceived as a problem by both the academic experts and ordinary Christians, their usual focus is on the psychological rather than on the broader and non-psychological factors that influence behavior. Most explanations start on the actors and their “imperfect” character and not on structural impingements and their implications for formation of “imperfect” character.

Actions cannot be explained solely by their references to beliefs and desires; while beliefs and desires cannot solely be explained in terms of reasons or intentions that guide. The aggregate reality of a Philippine society being simultaneously pervaded by Systems would also amount to elements of explanatory value even as individual actions account for results of change or dynamics of social structures.

There is a need to complement a psychological/behavioral explanation with an examination of how systems and their structures impinge upon human behavior and associations. A view of the subject seen from an ecological perspective may also reveal the quality of Systems that circumscribe subjects. In effect, the burden of blame may also be redirected, at least momentarily or partially, away from subjects and towards the objective System.

Theories and practices of liberal capitalism and Roman Catholicism are major constraints on behavior and formation. They demand certain consistency of behavior with systemic rules and
resources. A result of this demand for consistency between people’s behavior and their requirements is a preoccupation with form that neglects proper attention to people’s substantive aspirations which may be gleaned from their everyday-life experiences. The lack of unity between popular aspirations and World Systems’ forms, thus, cannot be attributed solely to every subject’s lack but very often to the obsession with requirements to preserve the established theories and practices that are no longer able to produce or reproduce what really matters for persons and societies (e.g. mutual support or solidarity with the needy). Some persons and groups, however, are able to find some unity in their lives, but not through the usual roads paved by the Systems.

I am not saying that the World Systems lack the ability and resources to express care for people’s needs. In fact, welfare practices are deployed by business and religion to somehow answer the needs of the underprivileged in society. Welfare assistance, unfortunately, could also reveal how business calculates care—by dealing with toxins or negative by-products of business practices through calculated assistance.²⁹ Established religion, on the other hand, compensates for its overly ritualistic/doctrinalist tendencies with its so-called corporeal acts of mercy. Nevertheless, the over-emphasis on the cultic which typifies asocial or uninvolved religiosity could also produce negative by-products in society—consecration and preservation of an unjust status quo is one by-product; loss of critical awareness that results into harmonistic deception is another.

Let me proceed not by attacking liberal-capitalism or Roman Catholicism. This is not the purpose of this section. Instead, I will present how a group, by opting for “underground” practices, skirts around or, to some extent, deviates from liberal-capitalism and Roman Catholicism; and in doing so, it is able to practice its

preferred rituals of solidarity that make concrete the affec
tional principles and practices of compassion (malasakit) and empathetic as-
stance (damay). In this way, I may illustrate how people live out
their history through acts of ritualized substantive aspirations even
in the midst of Systems’ historical requirements of Form which, by
the way, also causes suffering to people.

Common sets of patterns of ideas and practices typical to a
neighborhood (including parochial) life are shared by various
individuals. Common rules, typical personalities, and roles have
helped to shape and re-shape them even as they produce their own
unique qualities. As standardized ideas and practices are affirmed
(inspite of some oppositions or challenges from time to time), they
become necessary and indispensable objects of pursuits by sub-
jects.

The person who learns and grows as a citizen and a culture
bearer may be conceived as one in need of the material and non-
material resources offered by society and culture. Such resources,
for him, have become necessary. That person needs them to
complete his desire or pursue his objective; he pursues something
which he lacks. This becomes an indication of his need for forma-
tion or stability (or relative stability) and thus somehow shows
himself as vulnerable or malleable. Although full stability can never
be realized through anything in the world of experience, the per-
son must have to find his way, after being “thrown” into a distinct-
ively complex world, among persons, institutions, rules, and
resources.

As I have stated in Chapter One, the individual needs the
world that not only encompasses a whole religio-cultural universe
but also the pervasive economic and political systems, as well as
the world of secular language and representations.

In other words, the subject’s coming into being is only possi-
ble through or by way of cultural systems of meaning like that
provided by Romanized Christianity or by the indigenous Filipino traditions.

1. The Calumpang Group

The Calumpang group members’ everyday ordinary existence is distended by the established work and spending/consumption routinized by the continuing history and development of capitalism/post-capitalism; they are also governed by the programs of their parish and its centrist tendencies in its reproduction of cult, doctrines, and welfare. Most of the group members may be employed by businesses, as well as expected by their local parish to be integrated into the established religion. However, the group’s religious beliefs, organization, rituals, and other associated practices have features that are set apart from those rationalized routines of capitalist work/spending and centralizing features of the Romanized Church. Even though market forces may shed light on the nature of everyday neighborhood life, the group takes much meaning from a sacred order unlike that propagated by the mainstream religion. Thus, even if the rationalized and secularized market setups, as well as traditional Roman Catholicism circumscribe the life of this group and its members, some socio-cultural factors like sapi,30 malasakit and damay, press their logic on the group’s beliefs and practices, making them a sort of an anomaly within the Systems. The group’s behavior illustrates how the Symbolic may or may not be drawn out of the dominant forms.

Although the urban setting is assumed as engulfed by capitalist commerce (i.e., a market society), it moves along the legitimations as well as critiques of the various segments within the State, churches, religious groups, socio-civic groups, labor organizations,

30 Spirit-possession or trance phenomenon is locally termed as sapi; the possessed medium, tinasapian. Other terms for spirit-possession are sanib, langkap, suklob, talaytay, and tungtong. Each term would have its distinctive slant: sanib, to enter and join; langkap, to join; suklob, to cover and overwhelm; talaytay, to flow through one’s veins; tungtong, to sit on somebody’s shoulder to be able to whisper commands.
private foundations, media, academe, and other self-governing associations. Even in the presence of social contradictions (poverty vs. affluence; exclusion vs. integration; environmental degradation vs. urban progress) and their associated crises, the combinatorial existence of those social elements produce a semblance of cohesive social interactions and distinctive characters. The Calumpang group, however, exists as a thorn on the side of the seemingly cohesive and apparently wholly integrative Systems.

a. The Background

Devotion to the Child Jesus is central to the worship of the informal group (of about 40 people) entrenched in an urbanized setting within Metro Manila, Philippines. The group is based in the Calumpang district of Marikina City (see www.marikina.gov.ph), one of the cities which compose the 17-city Metropolitan Manila. Members of the group live within the neighborhood where their leader, B. Rodriguez, resides (J.M. Basa St.). The core members (15 persons) reside within an area covering not more than 5,000 square meters. In the neighborhood are found people living on modest or limited means. Many of them are wage earners from the shoe and food industries nearby.

Majority of the members come from the low-income groups. Some of them are either unemployed or underemployed. Most of those who are employed receive daily wages lower than the minimum wage set by law (PhP 350.00 [$7.3] for the National Capital Region, i.e., Manila’s surrounding areas). A few devotees come from the lower middle and middle income groups but many of them are not among the more regular participants. Nearly all are


non-college degree holders. A few are professionals like a lady physician who also experienced the healing power of B. Rodriguez. She had a son whom she could not cure. She brought him to B. Rodriguez who succeeded in healing him. This made the lady doctor become one of the core members.

Men and women are equally represented in the group. Nearly everyone is married and raising a family. A good number are already retired and without a family to support them.

Some teenagers (mostly female) would also attend sessions but most of those joining the ceremonies of healing and prayer come from the more mature or older citizens (45 years old up).

B. Rodriguez’s group represents the common or ordinary poor people living in a lowly Metro Manila neighborhood. In terms of formal education, they are mostly under- or even un-educated; and in terms of cultural upbringing, the group is a conglomeration of ordinary people who are imbued with popular religion, cultural morality, and popular cosmology.

The members of the group affirm their existence not only through their nativist religious culture but also through their struggles with the market forces and the local, but centrist, parish. Their micro-activities show their ways of dealing with life’s vicissitudes constrained by broad social forces. They find themselves circumscribed by the requirements of the market; but, in the context of the neighborhood and the group’s mutual-help practices, they are able to carry out personal maneuvers that are consistently enlightened by the meaning-giving function of their marginalized religious symbolic universe.

The religious group’s devotion has a concrete and distinctive expression in the group’s collective gathering around the person of their leader who is believed to be “possessed” by the Santo Niño (Child Jesus). Its devotional expression is multiple and spilling over into the groups profession of beliefs, ritual gatherings of prayer and healing, informal organization, and mutual assistance.
b. B. Rodriguez

The leader of the religious group is a certain B. Rodriguez who claims being divinely called and inspired to serve his community. The group of around forty members is composed of attendees who once profited from the healing activities of its leader. Within the group are core members who perform more specialized functions. They attend sessions regularly and are more reliable in the fulfillment of duties.

B. Rodriguez only went up to the 2nd primary grade schooling. This explains why he is only partially literate. He claims to have drawn out his stock knowledge/learning from oral information, tradition, and experience.

A former waged shoemaker, B. Rodriguez was able to save money to buy a vehicle for public transport (jeepney). From this enterprise, he earned more and increased his savings until he put together his own shoemaking setup inside the family lot. His wife managed this new business.

B. Rodriguez’s family has other sources of income: a small backyard piggery and an 11-hectare rice plantation in a rented government land. This rice plantation could produce more than 400 sacks of rice per harvest. B. Rodriguez’s family business is not earning millions but has more than enough for the needs of his eleven children. In fact, the family income could still set aside some substantial savings for expenses outside the family needs. They did have additional resources, both material and non-material, to support some people beyond the household.

His Past

He was a World War II guerrilla, fighting against the Japanese invaders. However, a tragic incident cut short his paramilitary affiliation. He quit the guerrilla war zone after witnessing one of
his comrades killed in combat. He felt too affected by all sorts of suffering and death.

He claims that he was a gambler, a womanizer, and a heavy-handed bully. Nevertheless, he became a favorite companion of politicians in his locality. He is a bodyguard of some sort in every politician’s sortie. He may be considered one of the more prominent personalities in his neighborhood.

One day, his jeepney was hired by a group going to Taytay, a Metro Manila suburb. The group asked him to bring them to a certain faith healer who was supposedly “possessed” by the Santo Niño. He was observant of the faith healer as the latter, while in trance, performed various rituals of healing on sick visitors/believers. This visit was followed by other visits when B. Rodriguez was hired again for his transport service. This exposure to faith-healing and trance experience became a major influence on B. Rodriguez’s life.

It is important to note that the spirit-possession is to be seen against the broader context of healing ritual. Taken together it is referred to as a spirit-possession/healing ritual. This may mean that the ritual itself is the proper context of spirit-possession and that the ritual has the Santo Niño healer as the central character.

**Trance Experience and Healing Service**

It was on March 5, 1964 that the Santo Niño “came” to B. Rodriguez in a dream. According to him, the Santo Niño urged him to conduct healing sessions inside his house. This is how he should serve people in his neighborhood. Saint Anthony of Padua also appeared several times in his dreams to follow-up on the Santo Niño’s message. He said he could not resist the calling that is why he agreed to become a healing medium similar to the one he saw in Taytay. Once B. Rodriguez gave his consent, the experience of spirit-possession (*saph*) followed until it became a regular occurrence.
Initially, he did not exactly know how to proceed with the healing sessions. But, apparently, the Santo Niño “revealed” to him the appropriate techniques, procedures, and resources. In his search for remedies, B. Rodriguez adopted some typical indigenous ways and means: superficial and deep massage (using saliva, oil, or concoctions of different herbs and oil, and/or patched with local herbs) and medicinal plants (like sambong, oregano, damong maria). One of his remedies follow a local cure for painful hemorrhoids—applying into the affected area a cloth that was heated on top of a pot of steaming rice.

B. Rodriguez also uses some pharmaceutical preparations like Vicks Vaporub or Omega Pain Killer. Sometimes he would advise somebody to submit to a surgical procedure for cyst removal. According to him, surgery is the faster cure for this kind of problem.

Sometimes, while in trance, B. Rodriguez would use some objects like an ordinary comb, a folded cardboard, or a small piece of stone to stimulate the affected areas of his patient’s body. In one instance he urged a patient to imagine the face of the Santo Niño on the surface of a stone. If the patient “sees” the image then B. Rodriguez would ask him to keep the object in his pocket for constant protection and, hopefully, towards healing.

He became known for his healing activities but more so for conducting healing sessions while in trance or allegedly possessed by the Santo Niño. Various health problems are brought to him: gastric ulcer, goiter, hepatitis, paralysis, lumbago, cough, anemia, hemorrhoids, tumor, ringing of the ear, astigmatism, and many more.

It is not uncommon that other forms of trouble are brought to B. Rodriguez/Santo Niño. A mother’s concern over the result of her son’s professional board exam, or cases of psychological incapacities, or moral problems are not excluded. Even business or financial problems are given some attention.
Some forms of almsgiving is practiced by the group. This, however, must be done upon the approval of B. Rodriguez. Many times, when the group is not able to handle the financial needs of those who approach for assistance, B. Rodriguez would handle the problem. Among the rest of the group, he appears to possess more resources to meet several appeals for economic support.

The whole experience was not easy for B. Rodriguez. In the early years of his involvement with the sick and those in need, there were some people within the neighborhood who considered him a quack, pretender, and an opportunist. Because of those detractors, he stopped for a while from conducting healing activities. His health, however, deteriorated. He developed a lung disease and an enlarged heart. In a dream, the Santo Niño allegedly said that he should continue and persevere in his calling; that this is the way to regain his health. Not for long, B. Rodriguez relented; he resumed his healing activities which showed him how to become a more confident leader. Eventually he gained the support of some neighbors who were loyal to the Santo Niño/B. Rodriguez. These neighbors became the members of the core group that revolved around the spirit-possessed person and healing activities of B. Rodriguez.

The Incitement to Indigenous Ritual

B. Rodriguez affirms of being moved by the Santo Niño. He claims he is powerless over the Santo Niño’s demands. What is clear is that when the Santo Niño or St. Anthony of Padua appears in his dream, the issue of service through healing is always raised. The Santo Niño, who is God for B. Rodriguez, is claimed to possess absolute authority over him. The spirit, however, will only be able to possess him who gives consent. Thus, the trance phenomenon becomes an act/behavior of absolute surrender to a spirit whom one believes is capable of “entering” his person and make his “inside” (loob) its abode. This form of explanation is consistent with the way common-sensical Filipinos would under-
stand the human being as a vessel with an “outside” (labas), “inside” (loob), and “depth” (lalim). This will be further discussed below.

The actual performance of healing activities is always considered by B. Rodriguez as an act of compassion or concrete expression of his compassion (malasakit) through assistance (damay). Since he does not accept any form of remuneration from his clients/patients, his involvement with the needy and the afflicted is an indication of solidarity and a disinterested service. Pursuit of economic gain or of a conspicuous ministry cannot be observed as motive in B. Rodriguez’s or the group’s behavior.

In 1966, B. Rodriguez transformed his garage into a small chapel. This he did without any help from clients/patients or patrons. The chapel has become the group’s venue not only for prayer but also for the healing rituals of sapi, for consultations with clients, search for assistance, moral exhortations, and speeches. Incidentally, when advice and moral exhortations would be appropriate for those seeking solutions to problems, B. Rodriguez becomes possessed by either the mature Jesus of Nazareth or God the Father himself. The “childish” Santo Niño appears to be more fitted for the healing sessions that need a personality who possesses a lighter and spontaneous disposition, something which more serious-minded characters would seem to lack.

2. A Thorn at the Margins

Diversity prevails in urban settings—in beliefs, rituals, customs, organizations, and morals. Multiple associations, formal or informal, produce several groupings and various modes of associations that would contribute to diverse life expressions. Yet even in diversity some socio-cultural elements serve to unite or gather around some basic and common interests like work and market-based consumption or, religious worship. Cultures and subcultures would work out ways to bring about cohesiveness around
such commonalities. Various socio-cultural elements from different sources may enter into cross-cultural dovetailing and integration through mutual acceptance or diffusion. This happens through the multiple criss-crossing movements of different cultural elements along common grounds and even along cultural boundaries. Much of the incongruous elements will be filtered out by the mainstream culture through rejections, refusals, denials, critical distancing, walling-out or even outright shutting-down of openings. However, various underprivileged groups, through some forms of maneuvers, will try to bring into their fold (a centripetal turn) what is commonly held as necessary. The dominant ones, however, will continue reinforcement and maintenance of the socio-cultural order that supports their established economic and political position; while the dependent/weak ones will show the more adaptive abilities of resilience and self-modifications or, in some cases, marginal resistance. For instance, in matters of work and income, the skills-based and wages-based economy will be further fortified and entrenched to the advantage of the dominant citizens of the center; while those without skills (and unemployed/under-employed) and without wages will have to find odd-jobs or odd-stuffs or odd-connections/personalities to survive; or the employed, through alternative or militant organizations, will carry out labor-/consumer-related political struggles versus the status quo. In matters of religion, the more privatized forms of worship may become more acceptable to autonomous and economically successful citizens; while the more community-oriented religious practices are more congruent to the needs or appealing to the taste of the socially and economically deprived who are in constant search for assistance or mutual help.

Ordinarily, the underprivileged will find their place at the margins or peripheries of the social order. Establishing their place at the center of an already entrenched social order is not possible; unless one will be able to freely move along the skills- and wages-based pathways. But then, this is already struggling towards the guarded center with its “for-the-skilled-and-talented-and-moneyed-
only” signs. Such signs are written all over the central social spaces—over their objects, properties, routines, movements, flows, practices, rituals, relationships, and bodies—with everyone trying to come up to their rules, standards, and expectations. Although centers of worship may have their own assistance programs, their undue stress on the cultic and doctrinal (and less in socio-transformative projects) would in fact leave untouched the conditions for the perpetration of economic and political deprivation.

Although there is no monolithic urban culture to speak about, there is one which is considered dominant while the rest are the non-dominant or underprivileged sub-cultures. Acculturation becomes possible when cultural diffusions and exchange take place between different culture groups. This process, however, will never produce a singular monolithic cultural universe. Unless one is ready to admit absence of autonomy in what are called diverse cultures and sub-cultures, a culture change towards cultural unicity is not possible. The presence of a dominant cultural group or cultural expression of a particular sector will not necessarily produce homogenization of beliefs, organizations, rituals, customs, and morals. The presence of resistance or adaptation among the non-dominant groups may register defiance or unique forms of resilience over every effort to level-off an otherwise uneven and multiple socio-cultural fields. The power of a center or dominant system cannot erase sub-cultures simply because they are subalterns or at the margins.

3. Submerged but Living Past

In the midst of a dominant culture or cultural group, some minority groups have their own cultures that provide them their own assumptions, logic, and points of view. Most of the time, these represent marginal or ancient traditions native to a place. The Calumpang group of B. Rodriguez is one cultural group embodying some submerged indigenous beliefs and rituals that are usually forgotten in the midst of urban setting’s globalizing market forces
and its associated dominant liberal culture or dominant religious tradition. It would somehow qualify as a sub-cultural entity. But this is too simple description. Sub-culture’s nature or character may take the appearance of being marginal or of minor importance. This could, however, forget the fact that the indigenous or native cultures, although overwhelmed by past colonizers and present-day neo-colonizers, may still possess the power to influence a population that is disposed to internalize its fundamentals.

Ancient popular or folk culture refuses to go away even within a liberal-capitalist-penetrated or Roman Catholicized urban population. Everyday neighborhood life has provided venue for its continuity. For as long as there are simple folks who would internalize and reproduce it, popular nativist culture will stay. Popular and nativist culture does not fail to exhibit in the everyday behavior of individuals working under employers/administrators informed by liberal-capitalist rationalizations/ideals. Sometimes, when it works to their advantage, capitalists would mobilize and domesticate indigenous culture. Advertisements appeal to such elements to connect or re-connect with potential mass consumers.

The enduring popular or folk culture is observable in the predispositions of some dwellers within Metro Manila lowly urban sites. These are internalized and expressed by individuals as they go through the process of socialization and cultural formation (enculturation). These shared predispositions are shown through every individual’s personal predispositions that are habitually directed towards everyday routines. Routines, in turn, give shape or further shape to lasting predispositions. The notion of predisposition applies to both the social predispositions of a certain group of people and the personal predisposition of an individual.

The process of socialization, in both historically determined primary and secondary modes, grips every individual within various setting. This process adds a more evolutionary movement to the concept of predisposition.
In general terms, enduring predispositions refer to the generalized and habitual schemes of thought, appreciation and action. It points to society’s habitual dispositions which every individual would internalize and become part of oneself as a second-nature ability. Society’s predispositions or determined typical ways of looking or viewing at things, ways of evaluating taste or values, ways of approaching an event or problem through action, prefigure everything that a group or a person may think, appreciate or do.

Within a simple society or in a relatively small neighborhood certain shared predispositions may still thrive. In urban settings where dwellings are surrounded by walls and their residents are leading a self-sufficient, self-reliant, and autonomous existence, more disjointed and multiple forms of predispositions are found. In that environment, an individual’s predisposition may mirror complex and individual-driven lifestyles.

Subjects immersed in everyday life have gained the facility of perception, appreciation and action because of their acquired predispositions. For subjects to be recognized as socially competent, they must exhibit, through their actions, the fit between their predispositions and everyday life. In other words, human behavior, on the one hand, and routines and socio-cultural standards, on the other hand, should somehow dovetail—demonstrating the desired mutual fit between individual action and culture.

Everyday life behavior may not be able to escape the constraining effects of global economic and religious systems like the liberal-capitalist system and Roman Catholicism. In fact, liberal-capitalism and Romanized Christianity are major determining factors of the everyday life predispositions for the Calumpang neighborhood. As these systems pervade the socio-cultural processes, they tend to colonize or bend into themselves broader vital areas of social and individual life formation. Capitalist patterns of work, monetarized exchange of goods and services, and ideas about property ownership have shaken age-old traditions which
used to be the people’s link to stability; Roman Catholicism, on the other hand, has also undermined the native sources of spirituality (seen as a life-giving/sustaining impetus). As capitalism becomes the typical source of vital goods for survival and identity, people’s character eventually became imbued with a liberal-capitalist spirit. In that sense, today’s generalized or specialized dispositions inevitably carry within itself goods identifiable with liberal-capitalist principles or values like autonomy, utility, productivity and calculative efficiency. Thus, predispositions, whether for everyday neighborhood life or for labor-scheduled routines, become coordinate of the predisposition-determining system even as the Roman Catholic system may still possess power over the other vital areas of people’s lives. For most Christians, the Roman Catholic religious outlets/stations (churches) become the centers of worship or ritual practices as well as sources of religious teachings and doctrines. There is, however, an anomaly when it comes to the question of unity of doctrines and rituals with actual life that is pervaded by capitalist patterns of work and consumption. Everyday behavior’s assent to Roman Catholicism and liberal capitalism does not guarantee consistency with what Christianity says about private property, universal destination of created goods, justice, compassion, and forgiveness. In other words, one does not automatically find or become fulfilled by substantive matters like malasakit/damay when one’s assent is consistent with the doctrines of Roman Catholicism or with the requirements of work and consumption. This lacuna or lack of unity provides opening for some forgotten traditions to occupy. The substantive elements that every life-situation requires, when not fulfilled by the promises of liberal-capitalism and Roman Catholicism, may demand satisfaction from other sources. A source as ancient as the indigenous cultural tradition may be so diffused but potent enough to plug some holes neglected by the dominant systems. It may be accurate to regard the nativist source as playing a compensatory (or coping) role, since they are indeed compensating for what is unfulfilled by the Systems’ promises. In this connection, the weak in the midst of

the powerful’s domain may occupy a role that compensates for the dominant persons’ weaknesses. But when such weaknesses are constantly plugged by the unwitting victims of the dominant social order, one could only ask why this must continue if it only serves the privileged who, in order to stay dominant, have to bore into the Lebenswelt of the marginalized.

Surface phenomena are also offered by Systems towards compensation for the domination and formalization of the social sphere, which is at the bottom of most of today’s grievances. On the other hand, surface phenomena such as superficial political exercise of the ballot, superficial participation in the limited allocation of state resources, or the superficial exercise of freedom in the democratic spaces provided by shopping malls or commodity exchange centers act as veils for social alienation—cover for colonization of the Lebenswelt or dehumanization of the social sphere. The objective social dynamics which cannot be identified, owing to their impersonality, take command in all of life’s processes where people are forced to find their place and somehow feel their importance, especially when they are constantly incited to take their place and find satisfaction in the given surface experiences.

Symbolic elements projected into the canopy of consciousness also provide the source of absolute legitimation for the surface experience of compensation for the loss of health, for social disintegration, for meaninglessness, and for dependence on impotent guides. Almost all (not quite “all”) forms of suffering could be lost in the vaporizing action of prayerful resignation: “O my God, you have given me all of these sufferings; this is Your will, I willingly accept them.”

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33 On the other hand, some prayerful forms of resistance found in the Christian scriptures cannot be ignored:

“He has shown strength with his arm.
He has scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts.
He has put down princes from their thrones.
And has exalted the lowly.
Nevertheless, some unrecognized sources of resistance are at the margins of the so-called “proud, exalted, and rich.” Although, by themselves, they are ambiguous, within the stories of imposing Systems such marginal sources are mine-fields of substantive elements for human flourishing. They provide alternatives for people leading lives at the margins. However, the common people’s habit of perception, appreciation, and action are still coordinates of capitalism and Roman Catholicism as these latter may also be coordinates of common people’s predispositions for survival and search for identity and integration. This is a reality which inescapably brings about the ironic mixtures or combinations of the socio-economic and religio-moral systems into identities and lifestyles.

Some human concerns, however, are exceptionally compelling, presenting non-typical qualities which impose urgency or a sense of seriousness towards a subject’s choice or course of action. For example, the choice to embrace a folk-and-native-culture-embedded ritual/practice is one going against the more acceptable and visible practices of either a science-and-capital-driven treatment/cure practice or a Roman Catholic-sponsored clinical/hospital care. By choosing a more “exotic” practice, B. Rodriguez went beyond normal science, official stand, or even common-sense. Some people, like B. Rodriguez, are challenged by serious matters which are normally more difficult to solve or resolve through one’s affiliation with the established socio-political and religio-moral order. A serious religious or ethical issue is oftentimes beyond technical/instrumental science’s interests, or beyond the official tradition’s sanction, or beyond everyday predispositions’ competence. This could suggest abnormality or queerness but certainly, and hopefully, not beyond explanation. Although, as already stated, this also suggests limitation or anomaly on the side of the mainstream sources.

He has filled the hungry with good things.
He has sent the rich away empty.” (Lk 1: 51-53)
Certainly, the group members of B. Rodriguez have found in their practices the much-sought substantive matters not ordinarily available to ordinary people approaching liberal-capitalism and Roman Catholicism. To mention a few: consistency with indigenous understanding of the person, sensuous healing, *malasakit* and *damay*, etc.

The values, moral qualities, and practices of *malasakit* and *damay* are central to the preoccupations of the group. It might be considered that the group’s existence depends on the continued reproduction of those values, moral qualities, and practices. In other words, without *malasakit* and *damay* and their concrete life-expressions, this group would neither have been organized in the first place nor be able to carry on as a group.

The group (and its group members), while being framed by popular cosmology and the realities of capitalist market society and Roman hierarchy-driven Catholicism, has struggled through everyday life (neighborhood life) and through all the social troubles that urban living brings. Thus, we may say that it is in view of the confluent determination of socio-cultural realities that the group has expressed themselves through *malasakit* and *damay*. In another sense, the reproduction of customary values or practices of *malasakit* and *damay* has become socially observable through the group.

The complexities of urban living frame this religious group that congregates around the image of the Infant Jesus (Santo Niño) and the charismatic persona of B. Rodriguez. The group’s religious identity is, however, more driven by the mixture of indigenous, popular, and traditional religious cultures. Their helping/help-seeking behavior, for instance, is informed by *malasakit/damay*, a customary mechanism common among tradition-inspired/driven Filipinos.

Nevertheless, the market setup and Roman Catholicism impose their massivity and pervasiveness on the everyday life and religious activities of the group. In everyday neighborhood prac-
tics, market forces and religion interlock as identities navigate through settings that must be made manageable and coherent. Market society’s requirements are assumed as necessary even as popular/religious culture also encompasses people’s activities and worldview.

Malasakit/damay is alive in the group living and maneuvering against the backdrop of capitalist, Roman Catholic, and popular cultures. Looking at the group this way brings out a more structured view of beliefs/values seen against neighborhood life and its macro backgrounds of pervasive political-economic, religio-moral and popular cultural systems.

The group’s religious- and community-based expression of malasakit/damay has important implications for the theory and practice of religion and ethics. By making explicit the tacit socio-cultural dimensions of malasakit/damay a more socio-culturally embedded, and thus specified and contextualized, form of religious and ethical reflections could be generated. Alternative ways of specifying ethics, for example, as well as localized substantive notions are suggested by the group. This may be made more explicit through reflection, that is, by way of considering and identifying the ecological components as well as the socio-cultural coordinates of notions/practices of malasakit/damay.

4. Groundedness at the Margins

The group’s religious identity is also characterized by religious beliefs and various rituals shared by other popular religious groups. Nevertheless, the group’s identification with the indigenous ritual of prayer/healing through sapi has even made itself enter into a forgotten and vanishing ancient history. This it did to do battle with a contemporary crisis of disunity of substance and form and ensure its claim over unity of both the symbolic and lived realities. This historical-cultural dive into primal origins indicates not only its integration into the nativist and popular traditions but also its
dialectical move against Systems that produce contradictions/alienations. What the Systems have neglected because of its attention towards form, the group has been able to appropriate for itself through the more substantive elements of solidarity (malasakit/damay) as practiced and experienced by the group and celebrated through the sapi prayer/healing ritual.

5. Reconnection with Ancient Humanity

It is customary to look at man/woman from the repository of insights about the human being in the many philosophical traditions like the school of Socrates, Platonic idealism, Stoic natural law, Augustinian separatism, Aristotelian hylomorphism and the more modern schools of Western European personalism, existentialism and materialism. Most of these schools have the tendency to deliver anthropological insights which are generalizable or even totalizing in character. They deliver not mere explanations but frameworks that function as Total Pictures within which other small (and partial) pictures must fit themselves. Some smaller pictures indeed fit themselves into these Total Pictures; but, the consequence of being swallowed or Othered by the latter is a great loss for the smaller picture’s unique dynamism. Nevertheless, such pictures posing as Total Pictures really started as smaller pictures themselves. As they gained wider acceptance their local and historical origins are forgotten. Take for example the case of the personalist tradition. The concept of the Person in personalism is itself a social construct, a form of social strategy, aimed against systems that undermine the dignity of every individual. Personalism has its own history in its challenge to every form of totalitarianism or system that swallowed and determined individual identity. It has gradually developed in history in the way of a progressive differentiation from homogenous constructs that subsume the private into the public: polis, congregation, guild, Christendom,

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34 This section is a revised version of some portions of my article “Babaylanism Reconsidered.”
State, commune, Party, Corporation, etc. As a system, personalism cannot assume a univocal central position for it will defeat its original inspiration—a liberating critique of closed, authoritarian and integrist systems. To assume a totalizing position is also to undermine other possibilities of understanding the human being—giving personalism a privileged generalizable status that forgets its origins.

Studies on folkloric analysis have shed light on the ways ordinary Filipinos view the human being. Covar’s *Pilipinolohiya* is a local picture within which we could initially fit those likewise local beliefs and practices associated with the phenomenon of ritual prayer/healing of sapi. One thing that is needed, though, is that cultural anthropology must now acquire a more philosophical approach, i.e., to become a philosophical anthropology. Here, the sustaining of reflection à la philosophical speculation should not immediately and totally depend on, for example, the Western liberal tradition or Roman Catholicism’s Thomistic synthesis. Local culture could provide the primary resources for a sustained indigenous analysis.

In his essay *Kaalamang Bayang Dalumat ng Pagkataong Pilipino*, Covar provides an indigenous source about how our folks look at the human being. For our folks the human being is “taken for granted” as a vessel. She is like a jar (banga) which has an external/outside (labas), internal/inside (loob) and depth (lalim). Covar used the metaphor of the bangang to describe this three-dimensional picture of the person and the congruent-pairing approach (tambalang-lapit) of identifying the human being’s characteristics.

Just like a jar, the person is a container of many things; a container of variety of elements (halo-halo). So, she is someone who is a

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36 Prospero R. Covar, *Kaalamang Bayang Dalumat ng Pagkataong Pilipino* (Quezon City: Dr. Jose Cuyegkeng Memorial Library and Information Center, 1993).
vessel of kindness (saksakan ng bait) or a vessel of misfortune (saksakan ng malas)—a container where things may be deposited.

Regarding the congruent-pairing approach (tambalang-lapit), the “outside” (labas) is what is shown and externally known, but which must correspond to the “inside” (loob) of the person and this labas and loob must be supported by the depth (lalim) as foundation/ground (salalayan) consisting of soul/spirit (kaluluwa) and conscience (budhi). The fundamental pairing of the labas and the loob may be seen in the expectations that the face (mukha; labas) should be a congruent expression of the mind (isip or diwa; loob); what is expressed by one’s chest (dibdib; labas); as in the “joining of two chests” (pag-iisang dibdib) should be congruent to one’s heart (puso; loob), as in the “tying together of two hearts” (pagtataling puso); what was the conscience (budhi; loob) of the living speaks of the soul/spirit (kaluluwa; labas) of the dead.

This labas-loob-lalim dynamic framework may be applied in the understanding of behavior formation.

A child acquires her personal character/habits (predispositions) primarily from her habitat—at home within a wider socio-cultural habitat which in turn is within a broader, i.e., global habitat. Responsible for the child’s development are the parents who normally act as the primary agents of socialization. This means that these parents live the socio-cultural ethos at home where the child slowly internalizes those standards of behavior of which our society marks as acceptable or normative. In that homely setting the child is seen as being formed (binuhubog) or being formed through the care of parents (nahuhubog sa pag-alalay ng mga magulang) where formation (paghubog) means internalization (pagsasalaob) and facility in good conduct through training (pagsasanay). To possess the habit of kindness through training (masasanay siyang maging

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37 The family’s socio-cultural background may introduce complex and discontinuous factors. The idea of socialization being discussed here takes for granted the presence of complications surrounding every process of behavior formation.
Solidarity and Sexuality

mabait becomes an expectation for the parents. As the child acquires the habit of “behaving kindly” we may call her “already kind” (mabait na) which generally means having internalized kindness (naisaloob na niya ang kabaitan). She has internalized kindness (kabaitan) already. As the child grows, her peers recognize in her that quality of kindness. First impressions of this kindness will elicit responses such as: he looks kind (mukbang mabait or hayag ang kabaitan). When some people say: that’s just skin-deep (pang-ibabaw lang ‘yan) to such appearance (hayag na mukha) they are actually requiring another element: the inside (loob). If in her loob is ugly (pangit) and does not correspond to what is shown in her appearance (labas) then people call her double-faced or someone trying to impress (doble-kara or pakitang-tao lang). Thus it is not only required that the “inside” (loob) is good but that the “outside” and “inside” are congruent. So even if we have a loob that is good it must be shown through our labas; and when the labas is seen it must be something that genuinely flows from the real loob. If the jar is empty the sound it produces is hollow and noisy—that we know.

But then a person cannot be called really kind (mabait) if she is only mabait for a day or for a year or even for ten years. She must be able to sustain that kindness (kabaitan) for life. If she is truly kind (totoong mabait), this needs a confirmation (patunay) through her action—embodied (pangangatawan)—and what she has embodied (pinangangatawanan) is founded on a firm ground: the conscience (budhi) and soul/spirit (kaluluwa). What is now considered as firm ground of this kindness must be the life-sustaining congruent pairs of budhi and kaluluwa. When a person dies her kaluluwa separates from her and judged according to what she has done or what she has been when she was still alive. Internal to the person is the budhi that qualifies the state or character of her kaluluwa now socially recognized as either good or bad: her being a kind person is then confirmed (napatunayan na siya ay isang mabuting tao).
Among our folks, the ones who have made visible embodiment of their credibility are those whose loob, labas and lalim have been recognized as whole and not fragmented. They are those whose labas have been seen to be congruent with their loob and that their lalim have been seen to be really deep (talagang malalim) and durable because they have undergone tests like trials and suffering where they came out healed and victorious. Those proven in the crucible of suffering are perceived to have acquired exceptional strength and wisdom. They are persons whose loob is now clean, open and ready for higher gifts of holiness/wholeness (kabanalan). Some of these people are conscious of themselves as special members of their community, some people who are called to serve their neighbor/fellow (kapwa). This sense of mission is also recognized by the members of the community. In fact, only those who have been proven by fire are to be recognized as the folks’ genuine religious leaders. Many times the extent of suffering qualifies the quality of the gifts or powers that settle in the loob of the sufferer. Thus persons, like B. Rodriguez, who have come out alive and sound after a series of terrible sickness are considered to be repositories of wisdom and possessing extraordinary sensitivity to the divine powers. This perception by the people will be validated by comfort or these chosen persons’ moral behavior as well as by their ability to heal.

In the pre-Hispanic times, some persons would have the experience of being “filled” or “possessed” by spirits, sometimes by benevolent ones. In contemporary times, the spirits have been Christianized. They are the saints, the Virgin Mary, and the divine persons of the Trinity. As the spirits fill the container the latter is cleansed and transformed into a worthy vessel and a leader. Those recognized to be transformed persons after undergoing trials become the recognized leaders of their community once the people see in them signs of moral transformation or the ability to heal sickness and the ability to give sound advice to people.
The *babaylan* or *catalonan* (usually a female; in other Asian contexts they are known as *shamans*) were the recognized leaders of every community—as moral educator, healer and priest. She is perceived to be the repository of goodness, confirmed by her words and deeds. In religious ceremonies of *sapi*, the *babaylan* is often “possessed” and used by the benevolent spirits who are the sources of healing and other forms of blessings. In this ritual of *sapi* we see the ideal characteristic trait of a person in her *labas*, *loob* and *lalim* at play. In *sapi* the medium (*sinasapian*) is the appropriate or worthy container/vessel whose *loob* the spirit may dwell for a time and accomplish its purpose. The body becomes the home of the spirit.

Since *sapi* happens within the context of religion, it must be seen as a rite. From within our cultural anthropological assumptions such a ritual is given sense. *Sapi* as a rite may thus be understood as a liturgical drama where the people, through a worthy medium, encounters in the medium’s *labas* the sacred inside her *loob*. The *loob* of the medium as inhabited by the spirit makes the medium’s *labas* the immediate representation of the divine. This then is the indigenous ideal characteristic way of touching the divine and the ideal characteristic way of the divine touching persons: immediate and sensuous. *Sapi* is a sensuous contact with the otherwise unreachable and spiritual deity. Through the rite of *sapi* the people experience themselves as being visited and touched by the sacred; such a touch is experienced as healing and making whole of broken lives. Their lives being transformed, their illnesses being taken away, the spirit through the medium breathes life into them and relieves them from their sufferings.

The acculturated rite of *sapi* where the spirit of the Santo Niño or the Virgin Mary takes the place of the spirit (*anito*) as healer has to be studied within its own turf. To measure its value from within, we may have to emphasize these rites as functional and meaningful for the folks who believe in them. It is also their way of subverting systems.
6. Sensuous Immediacy

*Sapi* effectively serves as a critique of systems that overemphasize their autonomous forms. A work and spending/consumption setting that requires formal elements of skilled labor and money does not only exclude individuals. It also discourages or even denies them of opportunities to practice and promote practices or relationships that do not have to be done on account of contracted skills or money. Some practices could be readily extended or performed through fellow-feeling or compassion; but these become anomalous when framed by capital.

Many Filipina call-center agents who become more sympathetic and understanding to some difficult/challenging callers are reprimanded by their supervisors for acting unprofessionally. Or a mother, but also a bank manager, could not extend loan/help to a fellow mother whose son is dying in a hospital without the needed collateral. The capacity to empathize is choked by the calculative reasoning imposed on her by the bank.

A very Latinized and cerebral approach to religion is another source of formal requirements that do not necessarily promise the substantive elements of compassion or mercy. When folks gather around the medium to encounter the possessing spirit they actually are bringing their whole subjectivity-body (*katawan*) before a deity who can also be touched in the subjectivity-body of the medium. The deity becomes alive as it dwells in the person of the modern *babaylan* who now allows herself to be used. The official Roman Catholic way of celebrating the liturgy is so often foreign to the mentality of folks. When they are inside the churches to hear mass many of them still need the more material and sensuous rosaries and scapulars that for them promise a sense of unity of the divine to their lived context. When the deity is presented as a healing spirit in the person of the *babaylan*, the liturgy becomes a dramatic, i.e., sensual encounter with the sacred. A retrieval of this kind of sensuality in religion does not just make liturgical celebra-
tions more alive but are able to reach and touch the minds, hearts and flesh of folks.

7. Moral and Religious Leadership

The way a babaylan is recognized as leader of a community is a rich indigenous resource for the re-evaluation of prescribed models of formation. Many of the Greek Fathers of the Church in the formative years of the Christian communities have regarded the philosopher (male) as the secular model of spiritual perfection. Many of the religious communities formed in those times have internalized the ways and worldviews of these philosophers who emphasized self-mastery, moderation and even purification through purgation and illumination as in the case of St. Augustine who idealized the ways of Plotinus. These philosophers were cultural models of behavior whose ways have entered into the Christian practices of monks and contemplatives. The indigenous folks offer the person of the babaylan as the model of behavior and religious leadership. To recognize the babaylan as a rich resource for the rethinking of the official criteria for religious leadership could be a way of following the old ways of the Fathers of the Church. The ways Roman Catholic priests are chosen—even if their labas is not congruent with their loob, they are still ordained; and the folks are being asked—actually they are forced—to impute by imagining in the canonically ordained priests those qualities of a leader who will bring them close to God. The more sensible folks actually marvel at the idea of priests not being tested in the crucible of suffering but who are still to be recognized as their wise leaders. Much more, their religious leaders are now male priests. They had their own priestesses who now are marginalized and supplanted by priests whose qualities they cannot recognize as bearing the qualities of their formerly revered moral and religious leaders.
The pursuit of self-interested moral ends by neo-liberalism\textsuperscript{38} is another thing which needs some critique from the solidarity-based ways of the \textit{babaylan}. The marginal but substantive values of \textit{malasakit/damay} could somehow point at redeeming values for self-interest. The other-centeredness of such values will lead self-centeredness away from its destructiveness in war and competition.

8. Embodied Truth and Goodness: Principle of Ethical Verification

Our classical, idealistic and overly-Western inclination to the idea of truth as reflexive and consistent with established/pre-defined objective criteria is another anomaly that the folks could probably not fathom. Truth is usually spoken or claimed as something expressed through speech. The speaker communicates truth to the hearers and the latter ought to believe in this truth even if the speaker, like the preacher, is no longer living the truth. Anybody who has claims to the truth is in sure footing if such truth is already defined as such by the authorities, like doctrines defined by the magisterium. But this idea of truth could fail to touch an embodied reasoning. It is not only the testimony (\textit{patotoo}) about truth that is needed but also the concrete expression of it (\textit{patunay}) is needed if they are expected to believe in preaching. Going back to \textit{labas, loob} and \textit{lalim} triad, what is expressed must be congruent to one’s “inside” (\textit{loob}), and such \textit{loob} is said to be really verified (\textit{napatunayan}) if it is made into flesh (\textit{pinangatawanan}); and surely this must be founded on a stable and sure footing (\textit{satalayan}), the living conscience (\textit{budhi}). For the folks, without the embodiment (\textit{patu-}

\textsuperscript{38}“Neoliberalism is a philosophy in which the existence and operation of a market are valued in themselves, separately from any previous relationship with the production of goods and services, and without any attempt to justify them in terms of their effect on the production of goods and services; and where the operation of a market or market-like structure is seen as an ethic in itself, capable of acting as a guide for all human action, and substituting for all previously existing ethical beliefs.” http://web.inter.nl.net/users/Paul.Treanor/neoliberalism.html/ (accessed 13 April 2006).
nay), rhetorics are hollow sounds from empty jars of corporate principles and Romanized doctrines.

9. Beyond Health: Non-Calculative Malasakit and Damay

Today’s emphasis on wholistic health and natural approaches to prevention and healing of diseases put the modern babaylans ahead of everyone. Their approaches confirm the insights of today’s complementary or integrative medicine by their emphasis on the moral and physical aspects of healing, not to mention its religious aspect. Allopathic healing and rubricized rituals which overemphasize the working of the left part of the brain render spirituality fragmented, too discursive, calculative, masculinized, and partial. There is too much tendency towards rationality and control in the ways of approaching reality or the divine. The aesthetic and morally intuitive approaches may be re-emphasized by the ways of the babaylan and its non-calculative practices of malasakit and damay. Such ways and practices put wholeness in history, thrusting the unwanted as ethical subjects—bringing forth unity in substance and form.

C. Solidarity With the Disadvantaged

Our institutions have become saddled by the ambiguities of the human condition. The extensions that we have created to serve our needs, like the workplace, have also backfired against us, producing not only happiness but also miseries. But instead of purifying them to bring redress to mistakes, we tend to resist change and cling to what is habitually practiced. We set some standards that express not only approval of model-behaviors but also as defense against deviations. The promotion of change in favor of the disadvantaged has become rather difficult not only because of resistance from individuals but also because of the solidified institutions—always tending towards conservation.
Unintended effects of helping behavior/mutual help, even if these are just reliefs may produce change and pleasant feelings that contribute to one’s overall wellbeing, thus producing joy which could further produce better conditions for intimacy and celebrating sexuality.

Solidarity with victims of means-end reasoning, male dominance, patriarchy in the workplace and discrimination of women and children and the elderly and the environment—may produce something pleasant in everyone, reducing anger, resentment, or ill-feelings, thus contributing to the development of favorable conditions for intimacy.

Solidarity ethics looks at subjects as over-determined by the environment; even if this is unacknowledged. Ethics which knows this cannot just focus its formulations on the subject and his acts. It must also deal with the social background (the systems and structures) that subjects people into obedient and functional citizens. If the main threats to close family ties, friendship, kinship fealties, and sympathy are alienation and dejection engendered by liberal-capitalist work and spending patterns, then the re-evaluation or critique of liberal-capitalism is a form of solidarity with its victims; which should be translated into projects of organizing persons into groups around the very basic concerns and processes of production, consumption, sports, recreation, and, if necessary, worship now less gripped by the forces of commerce.

A form of social criticism might be indispensable to bring about knowledge that is serviceable for a greater social awareness and a more involved presence. The development of a deeper social awareness is fostered by a socially-committed perspective.

In the field of architecture, a perspective is that which serves as a reference point for an architect’s plan for a building. It aids the architect in bringing or arranging the different elements of an edifice into their proper relationships and relative importance; it is also that point of reference which serves as guide for bringing into
view or highlighting a certain angle or aspect of a work. When the architect shifts perspective the constitutive elements of an edifice are also brought together or arranged in a different manner; a shift in perspective would mean a shift in what is shown or regarded as important or highlight.

When creating a work of art, a painter will also have to determine the particular perspective from where a figure’s angle of view is to be based. A figure’s shapes and lines take their determined positions according to a perspective set by the artist. Those determined positions would now give the figure its characteristic presentation or its visual stance. Thus to start drawing a house based on a central point of reference (i.e., the center of the drawing paper) would present the house to the viewer as an edifice launching itself up from such a central perspectival point. This central perspectival point, thus, gives the artwork a character, a quality which cannot be captured by a perspective from the periphery.

The term perspective could also mean somebody’s point of view. Instead of looking at perspective as a reference point from where the builders or artists could start composing their creations, one can look at it as that point from where some things are in view. In other words, perspective is a person’s or a group of persons’ vantage point or viewpoint from where realities and ideas are perceived, examined, analyzed, understood, etc. It is that point where one can stand and possibly gaze at one’s horizon.

A certain thing (or idea) represented apart from a specific vantage point lacks the referential factor that would endow it with a concrete quality, a specific character or a particular feature. Something will be seen or understood in a less concrete or even less interesting manner when one fails to assign to it a character or a familiar feature. This character or feature manifests itself by grounding a story, a person or an idea in a social setting which serves as grid of perspectives or viewpoints.
Thus, something presented apart from a person’s social grid will usually show itself in an ethereal way—rootless, detached, and having a general quality with little specifics.

Consider the sleeping behavior of people. We know what sleeping to most people means; but, we will really picture it if it is presented to us in a concrete way—one that also includes the moving “actor” and his/her situation and dispositions.

We will better understand someone’s account of sleeping behavior if we contrast it with the account given by others who come from different vantage points.

The act of sleeping is generally regarded as a temporary suspension of consciousness, as a natural inactivity of the body, a rest needed for restoration of energy and for the repair of some damaged bodily cells or tissues. This is the meaning of the act of sleeping which we can communicate to almost everyone in this world. Even a gradeschooler can understand the nature of the act of sleeping this way. An Eskimo or an Australian aborigine may also understand it. Something desirable is brought by this kind of account about sleeping—its perceivable universality.

One may even try to say that there is a standard account of sleeping behavior. The standard account is apparently the kind defined by the experts, notably the medical experts: medical doctors, psychiatrists—the authorities on bodies and minds. These are the experts who have conducted some studies—experiments—about the sleeping activities of people. With their tools at hand—facilities, gadgets and other instruments that count, measure, record, and analyze available data—and with their technical-empirical methods of research, they are able to come up with conclusions about the practice of sleeping even as new sets of data in the future will contest their present conclusions. The controlled character of the study, the so-called objective nature of experimentation, the strict check-counter-check procedures, the step-by-step technical method—all these would somehow lend these experts
some sense of authority which cannot be given to somebody who lacks similar credentials and expertise.

But what kind of account do experts give about the activity of sleeping? We don’t have to line up those characteristic features that their accounts have. We are quiet sure that for them the act is a natural biological need. From the medical point of view, taking a good sleep is one of the essentials of good health. It is also an occasion to have dreams which could be a means integrating disjointed experiences, or a way of dumping cerebral garbage or, for psychoanalysts, a source for providing leads to the hidden traits of the dreamer. Such a way of explanation presents the act of sleeping in its generality or its nature. This is truly helpful in formulating for us a generalizable account of the act of sleeping. This means that the sleeping activity that they have defined can also account for the sleeping behavior of the Eskimos inside their igloo or the Australian aborigines or the African desert’s bushmen who use their elbow to elevate their head above the sandy ground, etc. Since those experts had delivered seemingly value-free accounts, these can rise above, if there are, different prejudices or preconceptions about sleeping in various cultures or contexts. Thus no matter what prejudices or preconceptions the Filipinos or the African Bushmen have about sleeping; the experts’ account is still true. Truth here means therefore to possess a trans-national or cross-cultural or autonomous character.

There is another way of understanding sleeping behavior—the way of the philosopher. The more philosophico-anthropological approach to the act of sleeping does not follow the technical experts’ method. Theirs is a more speculative approach. Philosophers do not strictly use those instruments of science and technology, but they have language; they have tried to master it and they know how to “use” it, to be creative with images and language. They are of the very speculative but imaginative type; they are also disciplined, creative and very logical thinkers. They can formulate and communicate an account of sleeping by
their sheer ability to compose ideas and concepts through systematic reflection and speculation. They provide us insightful accounts of sleeping behavior that are truly relevant to our need for the substantial, ultimately relevant or meaningful. They could eventually help us organize our thoughts about our experiences around sleeping.

For example, one philosopher could look at sleeping as an expression of trust, a gesture of surrender to the realm of darkness. Another one could see it as a necessary plunge into the uncharted course of the unconscious. While another could see the act as a defiance against the unknown and even death itself. These accounts are by no means un-authoritative simply because they lack the backing of scientific experimentations and the element of testing and validations applied by technical scientists.

Philosophers are in their own ways also experts and authorities. One may also consider some of them as experts in their study of, say, events and traditions—the signs and imprints left by human beings. Philosophers can also arrive at conclusions about sleeping that have their roots in their in-depth studies of the patterns of behavior of “sleepers” or insomniacs. They invent concepts, principles, models of thinking, etc., that could eventually help us towards a deeper, more meaningful understanding and perhaps the ultimate significance of sleep. Their reflections, however, are more ruthless (unrelenting), if not rootless. Their approach uproots us from our familiar grounds by forcing us to think with them. But theirs is not only an approach that undermines our local foundations and challenges our ever shifting supports in history, but also lifts us up into the seemingly more stable areas of ultimate significances and foundations. Their understanding of sleeping behavior is just “heavy,” “deep,” “mind-boggling,” i.e., very “philosophical”!

But can such a philosophical, and that of the scientists’ universal, account of sleeping behavior offer us something to change some of the negative features attached to the sleeping behavior of
some people? Can philosophy’s speculations and science’s objectivity and universality be helpful in our struggle against the “oppressive character” of some patterns of sleeping behavior?

What I am asking is that when we are confronted with some concrete cases where the sleep of “sleepers” have negative features in them, can our experts in biology and in philosophy assist us in our task of changing the people’s predicament? The fact is that there are kinds of sleeping behavior that can only be concretely understood if seen against the background of the negative conditions that our sleepers suffer. In other words, some kinds of sleeping behavior really raise issues that matter for solidarity. That means we are confronted with issues where our ethical stance matters, mainly because these issues force us to take a stand, for good or for ill.

Now, let us be explicit with our agenda. In our discussion about the different accounts of sleeping, we maintain that some of those accounts are not necessarily sufficient. When one is confronted with what is undesirable, negative, oppressive, dehumanizing features of the act of sleeping, one cannot just offer the scientific standard or the philosophical account where one maintains “objectivity” or one may remain uncommitted. There is more need to confront the problem as a moral problem than simply to treat it as an object of experiment or speculation. The latter approaches merely try to understand and communicate sleeping in an “objective” way or explain it in a meaningful way. We could have a need for these approaches if their findings or reflections could help us in our task of helping some people oppressed in their situations. What we need is an approach that does not just understand sleeping behavior, but one that changes or transforms it when it is part of a dehumanizing order. Science and philosophy are helpful insofar as they assist us in our goal to promote individual and social well-being.
Suppose we take the sleep of Soledad, a domestic helper, as our object of study. What does this particular domestic helper’s sleeping patterns mean?

Let us say Soledad has employers who demand excessively on her. When Soledad sleeps she takes respite from their demands; but, they may dislike Soledad’s sleep because it deprives them momentarily of Soledad who is such an obedient and industrious helper.

If we are sympathetic with Soledad’s condition, we will not remain on the level of explanation and stay with our account that just regards her rest as a mere biological necessity or a plunge into the unknown. We want something other than that. What we want is a characterization of the act of sleeping that could arouse sensibilities, make one become aware of the problem and thus move one to commit one’s self to help Soledad be freed from her predicament. We probably need a more engaged account of her sleeping behavior!

Our consciences are pricked when we learn that Soledad’s sleep is not something that would make employers happy because they cannot avail of her ’round-the-clock service anymore. Our hearts could be exhorted to compassion and could be moved to help Soledad when we learn that her rest is something desirable because she will be gaining more energy for the next day’s back-breaking schedule.

There are other examples of sleeping behavior which could bring us to further enlightenment about our ethical agenda. Take the daytime sleep of some people like Desaminado, a beggar, and Desperada, a club dancer. Desaminado’s daytime sleep is usually a sleep of a hungry man. He habitually lies on an empty stomach. The act of sleeping serves to make Desaminado forget about his need for food. Some would need solvents to induce themselves to sleep or numbness to overcome the disturbing hunger pangs. Desperada’s daytime sleep is also serving a purpose—to maintain
her night job. Desperada’s sleeping behavior does not just mean maintaining health, but also maintaining a humiliating job. The act of sleeping here would take to mean a handmaid of club-dancing or prostitution, as the case may be. (Cf. the meaning of Desperada’s menstrual period—one which deprives her of her paying customers; or make-up—a cover-up for her agonizing eyes; prayer—an occasion to ask God for more Japanese customers!) Both of these accounts of sleeping are equally ethically significant. These accounts would appeal to our role as ethical agents who are expected to do something when involvement is called for. These accounts pose the ethically challenging questions, like “What should you do to solve Soledad’s or Desaminado’s or Desperada’s problems?” These accounts may exhort us to denounce what is dehumanizing and affirm what is humanly uplifting. They point to issues that challenge and arouse us to get involved and do something to affirm what is truly good. They ask us to be thinking and doing that which promotes a better world for them.

If we have not taken into account the ethical significance of Soledad’s life, of Desaminado’s status or of Desperada’s job, to our understanding of sleeping behavior, we could just have presented the usual account from the perspective of biology or philosophy that neither looks at sleep from the ethical perspective nor from the perspective of those who suffer. And we could have failed to come up with a “more helpful” account. We could have come up with a less relevant meaning of the act of sleeping. We could have failed to make an account of the act that is more socially and ethically relevant. This, however, takes for granted a certain perspective that is socially involved towards greater solidarity.  

D. Solidarity Among the Disadvantaged

Some people may have to do something and should not wait for others to do what is right for them. The winners and the powerful cannot be expected to always initiate doing what is right for the disadvantaged even if the latter hopes that the former are their benefactors. They will truly benefit from their own associations even if what merely happens is the establishment of mutual-help solidarity. Solidarity among themselves would surely produce miracles against the unintended negative consequences of waged work and monetarized consumption.

Ethics must discover how knowledge may work for the better. That is, it has to aim towards the promotion of conditions for the better formation of subjects who will become more creatively and responsibly attuned to solidarity. A felt oneness with and among victims will surely result from this kind of approach.

For most people, a friend in need and in deed is closer to their heart than the intermittent presence of elders or the far-fetched abstract principles or rigid norms. Thus, official norms are more negotiable than friends; the former may be compromised rather than the latter. Norms, as well as their bearers-supervisors/regulators of behavior, are farther from every individual’s repository of vital goods. This view does not, of course, discard the understanding of power as diffused and impersonal. It does assault people at every corner of his conscience.

The case of the poor and/or the laboring class, most especially in the so-called developing countries or in some underclass sectors within developed economies, serves to develop further this argument. The lack of effective, broad, sustained, and community-oriented assistance to the working class also suggests their wanderings—fending for themselves and far from the potential sources of welfare. Considering the magnitude of poverty and dependence in poorer economies, any amount of assistance coming from some institutions of welfare is inadequate. Aid is usually in the form of
relief that is appropriated for emergency situations and exceptional cases of dependence or helplessness. Some measures of more constructive welfare are calculated. These kinds of measures are beyond the reach of the majority who must fight for the few opportunities available for employment or for other informal subsistence labor. Many of them are idle most of the year. If occupied, they do not usually get the assurance of a permanent employment. Others who are able to work will be contented with low-paying jobs or other menial labor. Some may have to find their places in the margins. Some scavenging and begging may be tolerated. Though criminalized, prostitution and underworld activities are only symbolically regulated in some areas.

Now, the everyday life of the working class may be characterized as exposed to an overabundance of risks where the presence of assistance is meager because of economic and political strategies, rationalizations, and calculations.

The concept of risk makes us think of injury, damage or loss that could, by chance, happen to somebody exposed to certain hazards. When we say the youth of today is at risk we mean that the youth, in general, are facing situations which could cause damage, injury or loss to their persons.

Risk may be class-related, life-course-related or intergenerational.

Youth from the working class face many social risks linked to their familiar situation of poverty. Children of poor families are exposed to many dangers because of lack of resources: poor health, lack of education, absence of opportunities, or lack of a wholesome environment, etc.

The very young and the very old are also vulnerable to various social risks because of their age. The very young could still not support themselves and the very old could no longer support themselves without the help of their families or society. Their
tender or senior age could expose them to many distresses: abandonment, helplessness, dependence, loneliness, rejection, etc.

Poverty and ignorance could be handed down from one generation to countless of generations within poor families. In this sense, social risks are also transmissible because of the constant lack of resources and absence of skills among the poor. Unskilled and low-skilled workers face more number of social risks than highly-skilled workers.

Thus, greater are the risks that confront the more vulnerable: children, dependent women, disabled, elderly, unskilled, unemployed, etc. The latter rarely have cash to acquire commodities for their basic needs. They are also prone to commit mistakes or harm to themselves and others because of absence of support; many of them are forced to commit crimes or misdemeanors out of despair or because of bad influences commonly found in poverty-stricken and congested settings.

Social risks may also confront young people who are well provided with material wealth but who may be lacking in social or cultural capital, like the youth raised by single parents or youth from a dysfunctional family or absentee parents who cannot rely for help from other family members. Such youth may have plenty of resources to support their needs but may actually be very poor in emotional resources which make them vulnerable to various unwholesome influences or harmful suggestions coming from the media, barkada, or the internet which feed on their own bad habits, distorted values or plain absence of regular upright company.

Only those closely present, whom persons recognize as part of their lives (in solidarity with them), do find some place in the intimate space of their everyday awareness or affectivity. Any choice in the decision-making process would, to an extent, also include the presence of sympathizers. Whatever influence such sympathizers bring to people’s lives can also creep into the latter’s attitude and behavior. Because of their closeness, some amount of
sensitivity to the presence of such significant others are forthcoming. The self-regulation that may be present in every choice can presuppose the presence of every circle or line of influence that is linked to a value as fundamental as survival and personal identity.

Because of the relative absence of the official norm-bearers among the laboring classes’ everyday circle of survival, there is a greater possibility that the attitudes and behavior of the working class do not reflect traces of the observance of norms concerning sexuality. This can explain some patterns of pre-marital and non-marital sexual practices within this class that is untouched by the established norms. Pre-marital and non-marital sexual intercourse reflect what has always been known to be a “traditional” behavior among the toiling-masses; even when they are already located within the more urbanized or industrialized cities. Their courtship or pair-bonding rituals have been seen to reflect preparations for marriage or permanent relationship. Here, marriage may be understood as alternative to their living conditions which offer not too many opportunities. Thus, every act of sexual intercourse before marriage may have to be considered more as pre-ceremonial intimacies. These intimacies can be considered opportunities; rather than episodic pleasure-seeking encounters (also called as “sex”). As mentioned earlier, the rise of illegitimacy during the 18th century France, does not suggest the overwhelming presence of the promiscuous or libertine character of what is known today as “sex” without commitment. Rather, they mainly reflect the struggles of the male partners who, after engaging in pre-ceremonial sexual intercourse and after postponing marriage, try their luck in towns and cities to prepare for their future families. Many of them, however, may have reneged on their promises and have abandoned their hopeful brides in favor of urban partners. This decision somehow prioritizes employment and streamlines their subsistence plans for a capitalist work. Capitalism is their only hope for a more stable future. Some cases of “over-breeding” among the poor may not reveal fidelity to Catholic Church teachings since many of them are not actually married.
Reminding us of the interactionist emphasis on personal adjustment to every encounter, this reflection makes us realize that every personal adjustment is a decision framed either by the richness or poverty of one’s relations or situation. Richness in the quality of one’s relations and situation must be the aim of ethics. Ethics thus may not only focus on poor relations but also on poor situations which are many times reinforced by relations already perceived as normal even if alienating. A context which develops a more integrated other-considerate decision-making is rich in substance.

The supportive character of a relationship or situation is another mark of substance. A sustained reciprocity, sympathy, friendliness, and neighborliness built on mutual respect—all of these give substance to every relationship or a setting. In other words, the main objective of ethics should not be the constitution of orthodoxy or even the soundness of a theory. The main objective of ethics is the constitution of a context that promotes solidarity between persons and communities. If wholeness is to be reflected in every person’s decision, then such decision must have been possible because of a certain supportive environment or relationship. The formation of Basic Communities (Basic Christian or Basic Human Communities) and the effective integration of families, especially those from the urbanized areas, could offer greater promise for mutual-help and support. There, the main causes of people’s constant separations and dejection could be addressed as common concern. The Basic Communities could take off from where the kinship villages have moved out.

It is, however, incumbent upon this position to prove how solidarity could produce something good in matters of intimacy and sexuality. As I have mentioned earlier, we are not targeting on specific sexual issues; we are instead relying on the positive by-products of what solidarity efforts could produce for the promotion of greater intimacy and joy-filled sexuality. We may surmise that the so-called community spirit still present in the practice of the
Filipino bayanihan (community cooperative work or self-help) would produce better social cohesion in the community, leading towards a better configuration of community spirit in the dispositions of youngsters (who could be expected to become more considerate or sensitive to their elders’ values and goals). We have to consider that this community spirit is a very important backdrop of every form of behavior, including sexual behavior. The Awra Amba project in Ethiopia is a case which may provide us with more insights on this matter.

Awra Amba (“top of the hill”) community has gathered close to 400 people residing together for more than twenty years. In the 1980s, Zumra Nuru, together with 19 others, established what will become as an enshrined model of/alleviating poverty and promoting gender equality in a country where women are regarded as subservient to men. Its main occupation is weaving which has become one of its symbols. In Ethiopian society, weaving is women’s work; but in Awra Amba, men and women work side by side. The village is following a non-typical way of life in its attitudes toward gender, religion, and education, as well as its promotion of social security among the needy members. The elderly receives 24-hour care and a committee assists new mothers, who also get three months of maternity leave. Early entry into marriage is strictly not allowed. Awra Amba is frequented by many visitors who are amazed at their stories and their communal way of life.

We are informed that children who grew up in a more stable family environment, like those of the Awra Amba, have lower levels of premarital sexual intercourse. Their first intercourse is at an older age, where parents are intact, where caregivers, parents or guardians are consistently present; where parents are not regularly missing from their children because of waged work; where supervision is closely tied to one’s work, and where children also share in the work of their elders. The absence of both parents due to

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40 Cf. D.P. Hogan and E.M. Kitagawa, “The Impact of Social Status, Family Struc-
work does increase the opportunity of adolescents to have more autonomous and less-restrictive forms of sexual behavior. Such opportunity further expands their inner space for individualistic/customized attitudes which can lead them to more risky situations.

Mothers who are more permissive can produce in their daughters a more permissive attitude towards sexual intercourse. Mothers who have been pregnant before marriage have more likelihood to produce daughters who are sexually experienced too. Factors like those of the mothers’ sexual practices, jobs, and religious affiliations adhere to the mothers’ character and everyday projection to others. These are significant in the formation of sexual attitudes and behavior in children. In single-parent households, the frequency of dating by single mothers is related to less-restrictive sexual attitudes and behavior of their children. The sexual activity of parents may directly influence the sexual behavior of children. Cohabitation by parents may also encourage children to engage actively in sexual intercourse. Early sexual engagements of children may lead to unwanted pregnancies or abortions.

On the sexual activity of adolescents, how great is the influence of peer group than that of the family? The adolescents’ sustained exposure to places like school and to sources like the media or internet where their parents are less prominent does exert great influence on their attitudes and behavior towards sexuality. If these places and sources bombard children with less-restrictive sexual attitudes and behavior, then the tendency of transmission and influence of similar attitudes or behavior is more likely to

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Many parents today can no longer compete with peer influence in school and with the permissive culture projected in media. The effective presence of parents in the other areas of the adolescents’ activities and interests is, however, an enormous balancing factor in creating a more parent-favorable, i.e., more-restrictive sexual attitudes and behavior. This “effective presence” is present in Awra Amba, but may be compromised in other places by their 8-5 or 9-6 work schedules that transpires 5-7 times a week; excluding travel time and rest time. The “quality time” argument may have to qualify and reconsider its claimed “quality” against the work-travel-rest cycles. Dependence on work must have to be resolved for the promotion of greater intimacy between parents and children.

The frequency of attendance in religious functions and the influence of highly educated parents on the development of their children’s high educational aspirations are some approaches to an upbringing that is far from the risks of unwanted pregnancies and abortions. Attendance in religious rituals does not assure a greater obedience to traditional norms; but, it places children in environments where there is greater exposure to restrictive values.

Children with high educational aspirations are less experienced in sexual matters. Their parents who are usually highly educated will have greater skills and resources in supervising their children. Thus, in the long run, the focus on building and enhancing broader and more opportunity-promoting structures of education especially for higher academic goals can be more effective in preventing teenage pregnancy than do the pre-established prescri-

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45 See Zelnik, Kanner and Ford, Sex and Pregnancy in Adolescents.
tions against premarital sex. More educational opportunities offered to the laboring class will most likely pull them out of the situation where early marriage is the only option. In effect, this strategy can prevent more cases of early entry into adult sexual behavior.

A solidarity approach to solving problematic sexual behavior must not rest on attacking acts since these are mere units of behavior within broader backgrounds like jobsites conditions, national economy, class conflicts, economic exploitation, corruption in the government, political unrest, which are more serious factors that prey on persons. “Immoral” acts may have to be considered symptoms of a greater malaise. To focus on acts is a sign of lack of insight into the nature of behavior or a sign of lack of sympathy with victims of tough and problematic state of affairs.

The promotion of solidarity is the more appropriate way of addressing the more remote beginnings of premature entry into adult sexuality and other forms of unhealthy sexual behavior: self-centered compensation-searching individuals, violent behavior, psychosis, constant desire for material gain, disregard for other persons’ rights, patriarchy, and lack of appreciation of collective life in general.

III. Classical Position: Solidarity Enabling or Disabling?

Some ethical reflections of the Judeo-Christian tradition have started out as propositions for wholeness and social engagement. However, their histories of appropriation and re-appropriation by other societies/cultures, reveal previously unchecked problems; while different contextual issues challenged some of their unquestioned presuppositions. The prerogatives of patriarchy, for example, will inevitably face the triumphs of the more liberal values of today’s citizens; the latter, on the other hand, will surely be checked by the more communal values of mutuality; communal mutuality, as we have seen and especially in affluent settings, has
been vitiated by the directions steered by modernity/post-modernity. Such competing positions would surely create situations of contestation as well as situations of domination and subordination.

As they refer back to historical periods and personalities, ethical reflections on sexuality, reflect the social habitus as well as the individual habitus of thinkers. As self-reflective activities, such reflections also somehow reveal, the sexual attitudes and orientations of their authors. Thus, discourses on sexuality by the authors of Christian antiquity like Clement of Alexandria and Augustine of Hippo do, by and large, reflect concerns to take on board a purified sexual life into the Christian journey of salvation. Woven into their context-dependent discourse is the Greek philosophical understanding of a lofty meaning of life and that of the person; especially Stoicism and Neo-Platonism. They could not have simply transgressed their patriarchal culture. Nevertheless, their patriarchal culture and their roles in the male-dominated religious leadership have also slanted their discourse towards a more self-bound patriarchal mode. Different modes of understanding like the feminist, gay, and others, have eventually challenged their propositions. All these produced different types of discourse and theory which also reflect time-bound identities.

The subsequent practitioners in discourse and theorizing have the advantage of observing those who have preceded them. Sometimes, it may be thought that they possess the edge of not being observed in return by those who passed away earlier. But, in many instances, the latter’s heirs may even be more firm in the defense of their masters-teachers. However, the task of reflecting about sexuality may not escape this taken-for-granted mutual observations that take place between leaders and thinkers and their constituents/readers.

A dominant concern among thinkers is the effort in their maintenance and defense of the scope and function of their discourses and theories vis-à-vis their historical references: their
period’s problems, issues, worries, troubles, and others. Such original link between theory and practice may no longer be expected from followers who may actually belong to different eras or localities. For example, there is no assurance of fit between the theory of Augustine and the current generation’s concerns. That is why many of those living in the 21st century are more receptive to theories or historical studies of sexuality that are done by contemporary authors whose concerns reveal lesser attention to the baggage of antiquity and age-old traditions. This shows again the self-reflective character of theories which are themselves reflections. But the people’s preference for devotion to more familiar representations of their world are also indicative of a different view of what is fitting and what is not. Even in a study of law and jurisprudence, a maxim is well understood and observed: when the circumstances in which a judgment is made have been drastically changed by the time that judgment is to be implemented, that prior decision can at least be revisited or at best totally challenged.

Nevertheless, the problem of theory-context misfit is simply assumed as a problem to be solved by addressing pressing issues on the level of the visible and cogito-apprehensible world through a more context-sensitive theory and praxis. This does not address the specific problem of failure to identify, for example, the background structures of a context, or the visible human experiences not referred back to the deep structures of desire or its representations in culture. This failure is not immediately touched by an approach that is much inclined towards the handling of conscious motives and their manifest effects through discourse. There is a myriad of less-noticeable problems which cannot yet be integrated into “enlightenment procedures” because they are un-noticed by the available limited tools that are fashioned mainly to grasp conscious reason; and not, for example, of the unconscious or the unintended effects of impingements. Besides, every conceptualized tool yields noticeable issues which are only part of a still unnoticed larger issue. Thus, several theories are really reflections of apprehended problems that can be part of a bigger problem; including
problems that are produced by irrational and non-rational processes and structures. Moreover, theories are themselves part of this failure in apprehension. They simply are partial. It is, thus, in this regard that this study be viewed as part of a search for a sexual ethics that is more aware of the character of action as loaded with multiple and massive goods.

Taking cue from the self-reflective character of discourse and theories, some less-visible characteristics of an age or of an author may also be discovered. Different efforts in theorizing have contributed to our understanding of different times and spaces as well as of observations about those leaders/authorities and thinkers who have preceded the more contemporary ones. This brief exercise in reflecting about discourse and other forms of reflection can dispense us with the historical particularities which are beyond the scope of any study. To reiterate, this is done in view of what I have presented about transformations within capitalist-driven setups and what I have presented as solidarity-based constitutive ethics.

A. Historical and Gendered Official Reflections

Various official documents reflect the traditional teachings of classical authors like Clement of Alexandria, Augustine of Hippo, Jerome, and Thomas Aquinas who teach that procreation is the purpose of sex and that this has to conform to the law of nature. Other official documents on marriage and sexuality are less traditionalist; but, are not widely available and less-known to many people in modernity/late-modernity.

In the document of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, on sex, there is an official teaching that decries the presence

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48 See the Vatican II document *Gaudium et spes*. 
of unbridled sexual activities and a hedonistic culture in the modern days.⁴⁹ This official position is bent on focusing on the problems associated with the transformed expressions of sexuality. That is, a sexuality divorced from the reproductive, marital, and familial framework. The official position, however, insists on adopting an officially-defined teaching; rather than considering the possibility that attitudinal and behavioral transformations in sexuality are also indicators. Issues involved are those of positions in-transition or of soul-searching. Although painful, the experiments and, most especially, the coping reactions of young people on their bodies and minds are effects of stress and inner turmoil. The “fruits” of the inability of the young to effectively deal with their inner-world stirrings are products of impingements, offshoots of sustained, even “necessary,” management-related disconnections and alienations in our present society. This we have seen in the previous chapters.

As found in various official teachings of the Catholic Church, the traditional position focuses on the foundational categories: natural law, self-control, and self-sacrificing love; thus, inevitably over-emphasizes the prohibitions or prescriptions as regards experiences in sex. Besides, sexual activity is not only circumscribed by marriage but also by the call towards sacred virginity.⁵⁰ The more restricted notion of sexual encounter within marriage even suggests that the sole option for the single is chastity; meaning to say, the avoidance of unlawful sexual activity. For the traditionalist focus of official Church teaching, only married people have the right to a sex life with the right partners, i.e., their spouses. At present, by their contrary practices, many people do not subscribe to this view that regulates the meaning of marriage and treats sexual expression as a problem; or, more properly, they do not subscribe to a moral stance that over-focuses itself on distinct

⁴⁹ Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, Declaration on Certain Questions Concerning Sexual Ethics, December 29, 1975.
⁵⁰ Cf. Sacra virginitas, Pope Pius XII’s encyclical on sacred virginity.
sexual acts—a moral stance that overburdens moral reasoning in terms of distinct sexual acts.

**Classical Reflections**

The classical theology’s understanding about the human being, including its philosophical assumptions about the human passions, is in agreement with the understanding of sexuality as a powerful drive over which men, especially men, must exercise control. Human beings, if they must deserve to be called humans by this view, have to bridle their drives as they bridle horses. They have to restrain their instincts as they restrain wild dogs. They have to dampen their burning desires through prayers and some forms of sublimation. Most of these understanding about the passions presuppose the need of control and supervision. Such an idea betrays a sexual morality that has been articulated by Clement of Alexandria, and Augustine of Hippo, and Thomas Aquinas. To the extent that he follows Augustine, Thomas Aquinas is also indebted to the traditions of Stoicism and Neo-Platonism’s normative view of the human being.

The acceptance of the Stoic ideal of moderation is derived from one’s submission to a higher reason. The radicalized version in Neo-Platonism as appropriated by Augustine elevates the meaning of perfection from moderation into human purification through radical asceticism. The ascetical road is taken to reach the calming of the passions. Silence and serenity/contemplation are understood to lead towards union with the Divine. Both of these philosophical schools reflect the classical understanding of human reasoning and desire. As a matter of course, they produce norms and regimen of self-control and purification. The theonomous starting and end point of Augustine’s ethics is mediated by Stoicism and Neo-Platonism.

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The Augustinian Legacy

It can be fairly relayed that the question of sex, especially marital sex, and procreation in the Catholic Church has been wholly concentrated and dramatized in the person of St. Augustine (430+). Augustine’s teachings, which are later adopted by the official Church, have their roots in his experiences as having lived with two subsequent concubines and as a former auditor-member of the Manichees. The Manichees is a Gnostic sect that believes, among other things, in the evil nature of matter-body and the holiness of the soul that the body imprisons.

Augustine has lived as a Manichee from ages 18-29 years old. In all those years, he has lived with a girl that he did not marry. As a Manichee, he is taught and did believe that procreation is the evil act of something evil in the human beings. The Manichees believe in the two opposing realms of “the kingdom of light” and “the land of boundless darkness.” The universe and the human being are to be understood in terms of the opposition of these two forces. The forces of the kingdom of light have already been imprisoned by matter and the human body. The second force represent those forces of darkness. Manicheans teach the need to rescue or liberate the forces of light imprisoned in matter—the human body. Among others, this is done by depriving the needs of the body. To reproduce bodies that imprison light is to serve evil. This explains the contraceptive mentality of the Manichees. Even if they would have enjoyed sex, just like Augustine, they would not encourage that sexual union would result in the reproduction of children because such would mean the reproduction of evil.

Augustine is privy to the Manichean practices of contraception since he is not one of the Elects who practice perpetual continence as a way of punishing evil and releasing light. Together with his concubine, he presumably uses the means available during his time. We know that before the pill is discovered in 1950’s, many

other means of contraception are available. Samples of these are the different potions used for sterilization, the vaginal suppositories as spermicides and barriers, and the *coitus interruptus* (withdrawal).\(^\text{33}\)

When Augustine has become a Christian and a bishop of Hippo that is now a part of Algeria, he is directly confronted by his former associates-Manicheans’ overt practices of encouraging contraception even among married couples. As a Church leader, he is thus compelled to make a stand. The obvious corrective to the Manichean mentality is the affirmation that procreation is good and that it is in marriage where only procreation can justify sex. He insists that in every marital sexual intercourse, it is essential that the couples have the intention to procreate even if not all sexual contacts can result to reproduction. The intention to procreate is the rule.

Augustine directly challenges and condemns the Manichean contraceptive mentality. In doing so, he has given shape to a doctrine that would also bear the mark of his polemics against sexual pleasure. Having had the guilt-ridden experience of sexual encounter with his concubine, Augustine teaches that there is nothing rational, spiritual, or sacramental in the act of intercourse itself. Pleasure in every sexual encounter is always suspect in Augustine. The pleasure one enjoys in eating food, he says, can still be moderated by good conversation or listening to matters of wisdom. But, sexual pleasure is so engulfing that one cannot think anymore about anything else. In sexual arousal and pleasure, the power of sin and powerlessness of the will is dominant. In sex, as Augustine says, the body triumphs over the soul. He writes: “But, there still live in my memory… the images of such things which habit has imprinted therein. When I am awake, they occur to me, though indeed they are not strong, but in sleep it is not merely a

question of pleasure; it even goes as far as consent and something very much like the deed.”

Consequently, Augustine’s doctrine on the goods of marriage does teach us not only the nature of marriage but also the sinfulness of sex without procreative purpose. These are the three goods of marriage as he taught: offspring (proles), fidelity (fides) and the bond or sacramental/symbolic stability (sacramentum). Married people who are motivated by these goods are assured of the goodness of their marriage and the goodness of their marital acts. For Augustine, however, all of these goods are related to sex in some way or another. It is the good of children alone that can justify sex. However, he counsels couples to abstain totally from sexual intercourse as soon as possible:

The better they are, the more quickly they have begun by mutual consent to restrain themselves from carnal intercourse; not that it should later be a matter of necessity not to be able to do what they want, but that it should be a matter of praise for them at the beginning not to want to do what they could.\(^{55}\)

If the couples cannot control themselves, then it is better for them to fulfill their “conjugal debts” to avoid greater sin and to preserve their fidelity to each other. The idea of sacramentum is also related to sex. This bond binds the partners not to have sexual union with anybody else while both are still living; even if they are already leading separate lives.

The Augustinian goods of marriage is then a teaching that carries a very pessimistic outlook on sexual pleasure. Even an infant’s natural need for nourishment is not spared from an already encompassing pessimism: “they tearfully gaped with longing for the breast.”\(^{56}\) Although the 20th century official Church docu-

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\(^{54}\) Confessions, 10.30.41.

\(^{55}\) De bono conjugali, 3.

\(^{56}\) Confessions, I.7.11.
ments like *Casti connubii* and *Humanae vitae* no longer explicitly teach a pessimistic Augustinian outlook on sex, their strict adherence to the Augustinian goods of marriage can carry the ring of Augustine’s abhorrence to sexual pleasure.

Augustine also highlights the education of children and the union of spouses as goods in marriage. But, these are arranged according to the Augustinian distinction of the primary and secondary purpose of the marriage and the marital sexual act. The procreation and the education of children are the primary purposes while the union of spouses is merely secondary. No marital act or sexual union is, thus, licit if the spouses do not intend to beget children. If their intention in sexual union is for “mere strengthening of love for each other,” then they are committing an error, or a sin. It is considered as a grave sin if they deliberately stop, put a barrier to, or make impossible the natural generation of children. This explains Augustine’s insistence on the essential link of the sexual act and the procreation purpose. Thus, there exists the norm on “sex for procreation only.”

In this account of the Augustinian teachings on marriage, sex, and procreation, it is not conveyed that it is in Augustine alone that such teachings have been defined. It is a fact that Augustine’s reaction to the Manichean teaching against procreation is not an isolated case in the history of Christianity in the West. Christians before him as well as those after him have already taught that sex can only be justified by procreation.

Before Augustine, there are Christian thinkers who teach that procreation is good and that the main purpose of marriage and the marital act is procreation. However, this teaching has neither been dropped from the sky nor been lifted directly from the Bible. Those Christian teachers are also challenged by the teachings of others like the Gnostics inside and outside of the Church who have had negative regard for anything identified with the body and procreation. Thus, a single New Testament passage about procreation can be found [“Yet woman will be saved through bearing
children…” 1 Tim 2:15]. Such directly addresses the Gnostic thought.

It is Clement of Alexandria in the 2nd century who, in defense of the goodness of procreation against the practices of the Gnostics, has adopted a Stoic rule that is formulated by Musonios Rufus. That is, the sole lawful purpose of marital intercourse is procreation. According to the Stoics, this is what is rational and is what conforms to natural law. The Stoics themselves are against contraception for it runs against civic virtue and the desirability of a large family. Later, the Christian teachers, including Augustine, have followed Clement’s lead in appropriating the Stoic ideals.57

The Stoic ideal characteristic of a virtuous person that is expressed in active self-control (enkrateia) is reflected in Humanae vitae’s pastoral provisions.58 A virtuous person is said to be temperate or moderate (sophrosyne). The said provisions presuppose that (1) couples could easily adopt the rhythm method and (2) that the couples have the duty to control their urges as well as practice moderation. The Stoic ideal is, thus, reflected in the following statement:

The right and lawful ordering of birth demands, first of all, that spouses fully recognize and value the true blessings of family life and that they acquire complete mastery over themselves and their emotions. For if with the aid of reason and of free will they are to control their natural drives, there can be no doubt at all of the need for self-denial.59

57 “A mistrust of the pleasures, an emphasis on the consequences of their abuse for the body and the soul, a valorization of marriage and marital obligations, a disaffection with regard to the spiritual meanings imputed to the love of boys: a whole attitude of severity was manifested in the thinking of philosophers and physicians in the course of the first two centuries. It is visible in the texts of Soranus and Rufus of Ephesus, in Musonius or Seneca, in Plutarch as well as in Epictetus or Marcus Aurelius. Moreover, it is a fact that the Christian authors borrowed extensively—with and without acknowledgment—from this body of ethical thought.” Michel Foucault, The History of Sexuality: Care of the Self, vol. 3 (London: Penguin Books, 1986), p. 39.
58 Humanae vitae, 19ff.
59 Ibid., 21.
This Stoic ideal of moderation/self-control has been part of the teachings of the Fathers of the Church like Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Ambrose. Their theological formulations that incorporated the Stoic ideals have been regarded as part of the Christian tradition. The traditional Church teaching finds its roots in those theological formulations. In such a tradition, the cure for the unruly desires is self-control. If possible, the cure is self-denial and purification through the practice of celibacy. In the Protestant tradition, following Luther and Calvin, the cure is provided by entering into marriage and not into celibacy. This could be a reason why Protestants have found it relatively easier to accept, in some instances, the use of contraceptives. The other reason is that their clerics are allowed to marry; and thus, they are directly thrown into the arena of marital and familial problems. They share in common many of those problems that our modern-day couples face. Their marital and familial experiences are brought into the discussions which determine the rightness or wrongness of contraceptives. Exaggerated proposal for self-control, thus, does not directly enter into the Protestants’ pastoral approach.

It can be argued that self-control sometimes disrupts the couples’ harmonious relationship; especially if a partner “could not control himself.” The Pauline counsel to come together to avoid greater sin should be considered here. In fact, some theologians like Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, and Alphonsus Liguouri have affirmed its acceptability.

Other theologians go beyond the Paulinian teaching. Dennis the Carthusian writes about the possible integration of spiritual love and sexual pleasure. Martin LeMaistre, on the other hand, argues that sexual pleasure be sought for its own sake.⁶⁰

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⁶⁰ See John Mahoney, *The Making of Moral Theology: A Study of the Roman Catholic Tradition* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987). In this work, “Mahoney examines the events, personalities, and conflicts that have contributed, from New Testament times to the present, to the Roman Catholic moral tradition and its contemporary crisis, and interprets the fundamental changes taking place in the subject today. He surveys a wide range of topics, including papal infallibility, confession as a sacrament, the legacy of Augustine,
The anti-Gnostic and the pro-Stoic character of the early Christian writers’ teachings on marriage, sex, procreation, and contraception have influenced the later generations of Christians. It is in Augustine, however, that one can see that the Church teaching has taken a more dramatic and radical turn. The teachings of Augustine take a stricter neo-Platonic (via Plotinus) character. He has regarded desire for sexual pleasure as more powerful than the Stoic solution of moderation. Thus, to achieve freedom, one’s desire must be directly confronted by the Plotinian counsel of the purgation of all sensual stirrings. It is no longer a question of moderation but that of purification. Actually, purification is viewed and counseled as a pass or a ticket towards a union with the Divine.

For Augustine, sex is a problem which cannot be fully solved by moderate enjoyment. To him, it can be solved by rooting out all of one’s desires for it. Apparently, for a self-confessed “sexual-addict,” moderation is not a practical remedy; total abstinence is. Addicts do not have much sense about the middle.

It is interesting to note that Augustine’s brand of morality leads ultimately towards the humble recognition of one’s incapacity; not towards the emphasis on the human determination to do good. The dark stain in his mind has led him to affirm that righteousness in life rests in the forgiveness of one’s sins rather than in the perfection of virtues.

After Augustine, the Manichean teaching against procreation is still a threat to several communities. It is his teaching that guided them. In the 12th century, the official Roman Catholic Church’s teaching on marriage and procreation has faced another threat.

the dramatic change in attitude to salvation outside the Church, and the continuing impact on moral theology of the 1968 papal encyclical on birth control and of the Second Vatican Council.”

61 See Augustine, Confessions, 10.30.41. For a discussion on modern phenomenon of sex addiction, see Giddens, The Transformation of Intimacy, pp. 65ff.

62 City of God, 19, 27.
posed by the Cathars. The Cathars have taught extreme asceticism and have regarded procreation as not contributing to Christian perfection or holiness. This is another instance when the official Church has exerted its effort to bring harder to all Christians its insistence on the goodness of procreation; an insistence which has inadvertently reinforced the Augustinian pessimism.

**Thomas Aquinas and his Appeal to Nature**

The following teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas reflects the Augustinian and Stoic influence: that procreation is the purpose of sex and that this conforms to the law of nature. His teaching further develops the Stoic idea of procreation as the rational purpose of marital sex. This time, he makes use of the more sophisticated Aristotelian understanding of the ordering of human life according to reason. Reason, for Thomas, is itself a gift of God to human beings so that they will be able to discern in their nature the purpose of life or of things; including marriage and sex. Thomas has followed the Greek philosophers who defined the nature of things according to what they perceived was the purpose of these things. Thus, to Thomas, human beings are capable of discovering rational principles in their own nature. Based on this rationality, humans can formulate norms for human conduct. If people simply use their reasoning ability, they can discover principles of behavior by observing the constant purposive workings or the processes happening in nature. In the realm of sex, people are able to know what is normative if only they observe the behavior of animals and the constitution of the human body.

Thomas appeals to our knowledge of the animals’ copulation that naturally results in the reproduction and the nurturance of offspring. The following appeal to animal behavior is the way to discover the rational norm for human sexual conduct: marital sex is always meant for procreation and education of children. Consequently, the physical make-up of sexual organs naturally tells us, as explained by Thomas, that these operate for some purpose—for
procreation. Therefore, marital sex is always for procreation. Contraceptive sex is prohibited for it is against natural law. Thomas’s teaching on natural law is assumed by the papal encyclicals *Casti connubii* and *Humanae vitae* as well as by the “Save the Family and Live.” The latter is the title of A Pastoral Letter of the Catholic Bishops’ Conference of the Philippines on the Family in July 1993.

However, one can question the appeal to animal behavior: Do all animals always produce offsprings when they copulate? Do animals really have a purpose in their copulation that everytime they “do it,” they are “thinking” of producing an offspring? Can the masturbatory practices of apes, be also considered as sources of rational norms for human behavior? Note that masturbation is the most grievous sexual sin for Thomas Aquinas; even more grievous than incest, fornication, or sex with a prostitute.

Regarding the appeal to the constitution of the body; Thomas emphasizes that by looking at the acts proper to the sexual organs, people know that they are naturally ordained to procreation. Thus, sexual acts are acts apt for generation. But, one can still ask: Can the pleasure (and the love) that comes with marital sexual contact not be considered as natural? If the sexual organs do not possess integrity apart from the purpose of reproduction, how come that the female have the clitoris and the G-spot which are clearly not essential for procreation? Some teach that pleasure in sex is a God-given incentive to incite people into doing something that is necessary: procreation. An author who is provoked by such argument asks: If this is true, then why did God not attach pleasure to something which is most necessary—work? Indeed, why didn’t God, as an incentive to work, make it possible for us to experience orgasm while digging canals, tilling the soil, or harvesting rice?

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Here, the selective manner of Thomas’ appeal to nature in the determination of what is natural sexual behavior could be pointed out. What seems to be happening in such an appeal is that, *a priori*, Thomas has identified the norm. He did appeal to some selected natural behaviors which for him are more rational. Thomas’ norm in this case is also a procrustean bed.

St. Dominic’s Order of Preachers (O.P.), of which Thomas is a member, is founded to convert the Cathars. Following the early Christian teachers who fought against the teachings of the Gnostics and Manicheans, Thomas is traditional in his position *versus* the Cathars.

*Casti connubii (December 31, 1930)*

The *Casti connubii* of Pius XI has indicated the changes in the sexual attitudes and behavior of the people in the Western European continent. It does not, of course, carry out a teaching that is sympathetic to those changes. Instead, it reflects a stance that is more faithful to the traditionalized thoughts of Augustine and Thomas Aquinas than to the changing mores of his times. Moreover, the Pope has maintained an inflexible position very much different from some Christians who are not under the Roman authority.

Although the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Lateran Councils deal with the repudiation of procreation by the Cathars, it is only in 1930 in Pius XI’s *Casti connubii* that the official Church issues an unambiguous teaching against the illicit nature of contraception; mainly *coitus interruptus* and condoms. Note that the pope here is not yet referring to the anovulant pill/injection, tubal ligation, the intrauterine device, and other means.

Immediately after the 1930 Lambeth Anglican Conference has issued a document favoring the use of artificial means of contraception, the Pope counters it by issuing a very strict position against the contraceptives and the practices of sterilization. Al-
though *Casti connubii* is also an unambiguous teaching that is issued to clarify nagging doubts and questions by pastors who are confronted by queries from couples, the document has been mainly issued as an answer to the more liberal Anglican approach. By a vote of 193 to 67, the 1930 Lambeth Conference has the following resolution:

> Where there is a clearly felt moral obligation to limit or avoid parenthood, the method must be decided on Christian principles. The primary and obvious method is complete abstinence from intercourse (as far as may be necessary) in a life of discipline and self-control lived in the power of the Holy Spirit. Nevertheless in those cases where there is such a clearly-felt moral obligation to limit or avoid parenthood, and where there is a morally sound reason for avoiding complete abstinence, the conference agrees that other methods may be used, provided that this is done in the light of the same Christian principles. *The Conference records its strong condemnation of the use of any methods of conception control from motives of selfishness, lux-<sup>component supplied</sup>ury, or mere convenience.* *The Lambeth Conference, 1930, Resolution 15.*

With the abovementioned, the Anglicans repudiates its former position in 1908 and 1920 Lambeth Conferences. In these two conferences, contraception is condemned. It is worth remembering that the Anglican leaders and clergy are either married or are allowed to marry. They do not have a Pope to overrule the decision of the majority. But, more important, there is equal representation of the lay and clerics in every Lambeth conference that operates on the basis of a conciliar process.

*Casti connubii* teaches a positive meaning of marriage—the essence of marriage. But, with an Augustinian twist, it teaches the purposes of marriage and marital act. It does speak of the goods of marriage, the various abuses threatening the marriage and the family, and the authoritative teaching of the Church on divine law. *Casti connubii* indicates that the chief meaning and purpose of matrimony is the
mutual inward molding of a husband and wife, this determined effort to perfect each other can, in a very real sense, be said to be the chief reason and purpose of matrimony, provided matrimony be looked at not in the restricted sense as instituted for the proper conception and education of the child, but more widely as the blending of life as a whole and the mutual interchange and sharing thereof.\footnote{Casti connubii, 24; underscoring supplied.}

This is to be found under the encyclical’s provision on one of the three goods of marriage, i.e., the \textit{bonum fidei}. The other two goods are the \textit{bonum prolis} and the \textit{bonum sacramenti}. Thus, when defining the essence of marriage, \textit{Casti connubii} speaks of marriage as a personal relationship that has mainly a unitive and an integrative function—marriage serving every couples’ self-fulfillment through mutual integration and union. Such a relationship can be spoken of as a sacrament. Such conjugal love symbolizes, participates in, and concretely expresses the love relationship between God and God’s people or that of Christ and the Church.

However, when dealing with purposes of marriage and the marital act, \textit{Casti connubii} falls back on the primary-secondary distinction. It conveys that the \textit{primary purpose} of marriage is procreation and education of children. The \textit{secondary purpose} is the union of spouses. The personal bond and growth in conjugal life is made secondary by the normative \textit{procreation potential} of every marital act (a limiting concept that can reduce marital act to sexual intercourse). Watching the television, playing together, and dining with friends can no longer be called marital acts.

Thus, the encyclical \textit{Casti connubii} has been used to stress the link of sexual faculty with the reproductive faculty—the enjoyment of sexual communion by married couples has no rightful place if they take some artificial means for the prevention of conception. For the encyclical, married couples are mistaken even if they use certain means to limit the number of their children solely because they consider it their responsibility to secure their present life or
their future. Couples commit a mistake if they rationally allow greater or optimum benefit for the already-born children and themselves in the allocation and the enjoyment of the available resources that are for the moment at their disposal.

_Casti connubii_ has been affirmed by Pope Pius XII in his 1950 addresses to different audiences. He reiterates the strict teaching of “marital act for procreation alone.” There is, however, a notable development in Pius XII. In some cases, Pius XII approves the use of the so-called natural or rhythm method. He calls it a natural way of planning one’s family. According to him, such method does not contravene natural law; and therefore, does not contradict the will of God. However, note that the rhythm method has had a delayed and restricted acceptability in the Catholic Church.

**Vatican Council II (1962-65), Pontifical Commission on Population, Family and Birth (1964-66), and _Humanae vitae_**

On Oct 1, 1962, John XXIII formally opens the Second Vatican Council. More than 2,000 bishops from the different churches all over the world have gathered in Rome to respond to the challenge of the Pope for Church renewal. They aim to discuss main issues and problems that the Church may engage in real dialogue with the so-called modern world so as to be “up-to-date.” The Council has dealt with several matters. At the instance when Cardinal Suenens react against the Roman curia’s very traditional schema on the subject of morality, John XXIII has decided not to assign to the bishops the study of the problem of contraception.

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65 Pius XII wrote: “…the observance of the natural sterile periods may be lawful, from the moral viewpoint…” and “…husband and wife must know how to keep themselves within the limits of a just moderation. As with the pleasure of food and drink so with the sexual they must not abandon themselves without restraint to the impulses of the senses. The right rule is this: the use of the natural procreative disposition is morally lawful in matrimony only, in the service of and in accordance with the ends of marriage itself. Hence it follows that only in marriage with the observing of this rule is the desire and fruition of this pleasure and of this satisfaction lawful.” “Address to Midwives,” 29 October 1951.
Instead, he forms a commission—Pontifical Commission on Population, Family and Birth—that has started working extensively in 1964. Originally, there are 6 members, 3 priests and 3 laypersons. After the death of Pope John XXIII, Pope Paul VI continues the Commission’s task. Pope Paul VI even expands the Commission to 18 members by adding theologians, demographers, and others. With this number, the members have found themselves striving to deliberate on fundamental issues about the nature of marital relationship and the question of artificial means of contraception.

The Commission believes that the narrow and traditional conception of the purpose of marriage in procreation is not in accord with the meaning of marriage. Marriage is supposed to be taken in its broader meaning of a relationship of love. They consider that the “acts apt for generation” is a totally inadequate description of marriage. Even the Bishops of Vatican II in 1965, as seen in the *Gaudium et spes* 48-52 have reached a similar view of marriage that is no longer restrictive like that of *Casti connubii*. On the prohibition of the use of artificial means of contraception, the Commission affirms that the official teaching is clearly in doubt vis-à-vis the pill which is a recent discovery. They have reminded themselves of a long-standing principle in ethics: “that in cases of doubt, the law does not bind.”

If marriage is to be seen as a relationship of love that is uniquely, though not solely, expressed through sexual intercourse, the Commission deliberates that such a sexual union may or may not be reproductive. Here, they are following the line of thought of *Gaudium et spes*. Thus, they have approved the reasonableness and acceptability, in some cases, of the use of artificial means of contraception. This conclusion of the majority members is reached not as a result of merely a week or a month-long consultation. The Commission members have labored for 3 years.66

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Towards the end of the Commission’s work, Pope Paul VI further expands it to 64 to make way for other members who can confirm the Commission’s findings. The commission now includes Cardinals, bishops, priests, and laity. There are also 5 men and women who are either married or single. Note that one of the bishops in the Commission is Karol Wojtila, the late Pope John Paul II. He has missed the Commission’s sessions though. The members come from all the relevant scientific disciplines as well as from different countries of different cultures. When the final work is nearing completion and when the majority members have already expressed their positive appraisal of the necessity of the use of some means of artificial contraception for responsible parenting/family raising, the 15 Cardinals and bishops members are asked to vote on 3 important questions. The following are the issues and the respective votes:

1. Whether all contraception was intrinsically evil. It is a 3-9 vote with 3 abstentions. There are 2 votes for Yes, 1 Yes vote with a reservation, 9 votes for No, and 3 abstentions.

2. Whether they could affirm, in the way the majority theologians describe that contraception, could be affirmed in continuity with the tradition and the declarations of the magisterium. It is a 9-5 vote with 1 abstention. There are 9 votes for Yes, 5 votes for No, and 1 abstention.

3. Whether the magisterium ought to speak as soon as possible. It is a 14-1 vote. That is, there are 14 votes for Yes and 1 vote for No.

Clearly, the Cardinals and bishops are in favor of change.

The Final Report of the Pontifical Commission on Population, Family and Birth is submitted to Pope Paul VI in the summer of 1966. The
Report does not follow the narrow teachings in Augustine, Thomas, and Casti connubii. Following Vatican II’s Gaudium et spes 48-52, the report has formulated a broader view of marriage as a community of persons and a covenant of love; rather than primarily for procreation. The primary and secondary distinction on the purpose of marriage is gone. Note here the congruence of this view with the development of the modern family [discussed above] around the values that are defined by the lifestyle of the bourgeois citizens of modernity.

The Pope has been agitated by the turn of events. It is not an entirely unexpected result of the Commission for he is constantly updated on its progress even before the Final Report is submitted to him. It is totally different when the Report is in his hands—he has had to deliver the last word. Presumably, he has agonized over this.

The minority members who have voted against the Final Report are not allowed by the Commission to issue a separate statement. However, because of their proximity and access to the Papal chambers, they are able to exert influence on Pope Paul VI. The public is waiting for the final word of the Pope; instead, a long pause has transpired.

Meanwhile, the minority members of the Commission are able to persuade the Pope to form a new commission which can advise him on his final statement. Under the supervision of Cardinal Ottaviani, a minority member of the former Commission, several new commissions have been formed. This time, all the members are conservatives. That is, all of them belong to the Augustinian, Thomistic, and Casti connubii traditions. After 6 months of work, they produce a document that has formed the basis of the encyclical Humanae vitae that is released on July 25, 1968. Such date of release is two years after the Commission’s Final Report.
In an episode of Noli de Castro’s *Magandang Gabi Bayan*\(^7\) “Pagpipigil sa Pangigigil,” a bishop, i.e., Bishop T. Bacani, is asked by a Protestant minister about the existence of the Pontifical Commission that has endorsed, in some cases, the artificial means of contraception. Bishop Bacani replies that the Commission is only a consultative one. It can, however, be noted that the succeeding commissions that are led by the conservative minority members are also consulted by the Pope. Is Pope Paul following their advice instead of the majority? It seems more likely that the Pope’s position coincides not with the majority opinion but that of the minority.

Not without some positive elements, *Humanae vitae* has been regarded as insensitive to the spirit of the modern/late-modern times, inside and outside of the Catholic Church. Pope Paul VI in *Humanae vitae* has not only repudiated the positive message of the Pontifical Commission that he has formed, but has also sidestepped the more positive view of marriage as a community of love that is taught by the Bishops in Vatican II (*Gaudium et spes* 48-52).

How can such happen? One can somehow agree with the views of the majority members—that the Pope did not have the courage to say that the Church, in *Casti connubii*, erred—for that would mean losing his authority over such a very important matter. Pope Paul VI, possibly sharing the position of the traditionalists, has feared that by giving too much freedom, the official Church would no longer remain the bastion of authority for Roman Catholics. That is, pronouncing it after Vatican II in *Dignitatis humanae* that has repudiated *Mirari vos* (1832) when it condemns freedom of conscience and *Quanta cura* (1864) when it condemns religious liberty. One can say that *Humanae vitae* is thus more concerned with the prestige of the magisterium than the pulse of people. But, it has seemed that Pope Paul VI cannot have done otherwise. It is probably very difficult to find an answer on how to

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\(^7\) A former television program of one of the Philippine’s TV networks.
change the official line without confessing that the official Church has made mistakes; including matters of sex, love, and marriage.

After *Humanae vitae*’s release to the press, there has been a tremendous public outcry, disillusionment, and outrage over the Pope’s decision to return to *Casti connubii* line. It is not just a case of non-Christian or non-Catholic outcry versus *Humanae vitae*. The majority members of the Commission’s reaction can represent the general temper of the Christians’ dissent against *Humanae vitae*. They must have thought that the Pope is not really that open to the idea of collegiality or consultation in decision-making. They must have thought that he is not ready to abandon mistakes that have been done in the past when authority is already in question. Some comment that he is not yet ready to face with humility the people who are made sinners by confessors who have imposed *Casti connubii*’s teaching.

Pope Paul VI’s *Humanae vitae* is not only met with scathing criticisms from non-Christians, but also protests from faithful Catholics, lay people, professionals, theologians, and even bishops. The theologians include B. Hâring, L. Janssens, A. Auer, C. Curran, R. McCormick, and others while bishops include Bishop Reuss of Germany and Cardinal Suenens of Belgium. Other bishops, especially those in Holland and Germany, have raised their cries of protest. Many priests believe that the issue be better left to their respective ministry than make them instruments of a teaching that they themselves cannot accept. To them, it is a teaching that is gravely erroneous and dehumanizing. A bishop, Bishop J.P. Shannon of St. Paul-Minneapolis, eventually resigns from his position.

But *Humanae vitae* can prove the point that Rome cannot really accommodate the modern/late-modern’s views and practices of love, marriage, and sex.

Do the majority members of the Commission and the many theologians representing the side of change really *simply* claim that contraceptives are good? Their opponents—the traditionalists—
sometimes give the impression that the majority members do such a claim.

In the first place, no theologian or Bishop on the side of change would, without qualifications, simply call contraceptives as good. What they are saying is that in view of some existing goods weightier than the consideration of openness to the possibility of transmission of life, the couples’ option to use appropriate means to plan their family is justified. When couples are intent on securing the life of their children who are already born or are focused on ensuring that the children get proper attention and care, such couples feel that they are justified in employing some means. Given such purposes, couples still use “disapproved” means in order to hinder the potential of sexual contacts that can result to actual reproduction. Thus, as insisted by those who think different, these types of sexual contacts have other equally important potentials such as the growth towards greater intimacy and love among couples and family members.

Second, the “disapproved” means are not to be taken as evil in the sense of a moral evil. The nature of such means as evil is in the sense of pre-moral, material, physical, or ontic evil. To illustrate: the amputation of another’s leg with the intent of harming and destroying the person is clearly a moral evil. But, amputating another’s leg to prevent the spread of a deadly gangrene is only a pre-moral or material evil. That is, it is a necessary means to promote a good end—the life of the person. Thus, the life of the person is a proportional good that outweighs the physical evil of amputation.

For the alternative view, there are goods that could outweigh the openness to the possibility of the transmission of life. One of these is the assurance of the present children’s education which may now cost more resources than it has been before. However, note that there is still no life to speak of in the case, for example, of foreplay or mutual pleasuring. The good of promoting the life of a couple’s present children can be endangered by meager re-
sources that have resulted from a scrupulous obedience to the command to be open to the possibility of transmission of life. The good of the living, getting respect and care, a good for the living children, is a proportional reason that can justify the use of contraceptive means like the pill. The promotion of better conditions for the family’s greater growth of love and intimacy as well as the welfare of the community being served by the couples who need more precious time—these are goods that can outweigh the imagined good of normatively linking all sexual acts with procreation. The Commission’s majority members do not simply say that contraception is good. “To pill or not to pill” is really a complex matter that has been given serious attention by the members of the Commission.

B. Official Line in Crisis

The ideas and values that are assumed by Casti connubii and Humanae vitae have been shaped by various internal and external social pressures and conditions. However, many of those social pressures and conditions are no longer around. The ideas and values that they represent have been either challenged or ignored.

Instead, Christians have been facing different kinds of social pressures today. Varying social conditions, with their attendant beliefs and values, have exerted pressure on the official Church to change its teachings on sex, marriage, family planning and birth control. In other words, the official line is in crisis in a world where many, far too many, people are not intent on paying unqualified homage to the religious norms and practices that relate to sexuality.

It is a rational and natural thing for people of antiquity such as those in the 2nd century to value large families. The more children there are, the better it becomes. The agricultural societies have demanded more hands to work. Besides, the average life expectancy is no more than 25-30 years old. Medicine is still not
able to prolong life. Today, however, with life expectancy of 65-75 years, the desire for large family is not quite rational. In Japan, to desire for a large family is extremely oppressive to women for they cannot expect home-assistance from traditional husbands. In many welfare economies of the West, the rearing of fewer children is more rational. It is for the greater enjoyment of benefits from work and from the State. There is also greater ease in avoiding the unwanted consequences of the lack of extended support that is brought about by a contracted family size. For many, especially for those pre-occupied with demography and its implications for survival, more hands mean more mouths to feed. The increase in population, especially in the Third World, has painted alarming scenarios for some people who also consider that the official Church teaching of “sex for procreation” or the “openness” to procreation as problematic.

Many theologians and canonists of antiquity also consider that their strict adherence to the norm “sex for procreation only” can protect women from some lustful and abusive husbands. They believe that husbands, when taught that some acts are sinful, can refrain from demanding sex for mere pleasure from their partners. In those days where slave concubinage as well as marriage by arrangement are standard practices, it is common that women are considered the weaker sex, the uneducated, and the helpless over abusive husbands. Today, however, many women have “come of age” as they also relatively enjoy the right to the equal protection of the law. Take, for instance, the law forbidding domestic/marital rape or the law on sexual harassment. It is something unthinkable in the olden days. The meeting of relatively freer partners means the diminishing of the instances of aggression by abusive husbands. Men and women, too, have gained more freedom in choosing their spouses. The Romeo and Juliet model of romance defies traditional parental or matchmaker’s choice.

Scientific discoveries have also shattered the assumptions of Augustine and Thomas on which the strict “sex for procreation”
norm is based. The most relevant physical data have changed the idea taught by Thomas Aquinas that the male seed alone is the active principle of generation of children. This belief in the male seed’s active nature versus the uterus’s role as a passive fertile field has led to the shaping of the teaching that sexual practices which are not open to procreation are sinful. Sexual intercourse in menstruation and pregnancy are made mortal sins. The danger of spilling the “little man” (homunculus) in some sexual positions, believing that these positions assisted the law of gravity in wasting the male seed, has led some officials of the church to decree the “missionary position” as the official one. This is the position with a mission to procreate—the “official position of the Catholic Church.” To them, some sexual positions waste the male seed due to the law of gravity. It is fondly called by some Polynesian natives, who are used to the squatting position as the position preferred by the missionary.

To St. Thomas, masturbation is more grievous than incest or sex with a prostitute because the latter acts are still open to procreation while masturbation is not. The discovery of the ovum in 1827, the understanding of the joint role of spermatozoa and ovum in the generation of an offspring as obtained in 1875, the discovery that fecundation is possible in only a fraction of the menstrual cycle in 1923—all of these paved the way for the greater understanding of the sexual act and reproduction. Thus, the development and promotion of ideas and values more associated with the lesser fear of committing “murder” in the acts of “wasting the seed” as in coitus interruptus or in the male dorsal position for sexual intercourse have pervaded.

Psychologists have also considered the so-called rhythm method’s unhappy and destructive effects to the harmony and peace of mind of many couples. From this point of view, contrary to claims, the rhythm method is not natural at all. In such a method, it cannot be said that couples are not doing anything. They are certainly doing something. Moreover, studies show that more than
70% of women feel the need for greater intimacy and sexual contact on the so-called day of their ovulation. To deprive them of that need because they have to observe a natural method may not be natural at all. It may also run contrary to nature and does not promote health and growth.

Other disciplines provide new insights into the nature of persons; and thus, of marital relationships. Rather than imbibing an authority-centered consciousness obliging to an act-oriented morality, persons have achieved greater maturity through the following insights: (1) the importance or growth-promoting role of a more dynamic consciousness as supported by the development in philosophy and in theology as well as (2) the more relational/interactionist approach to morality that treats every person more adequately. In these areas, the ethics of obedience is being challenged by the ethics of creative responsibility.

It is customary to look at the human being as an organism with biological constants; one of which is the drive for sex for reproduction. In this sense, the person whose conduct conforms to “sex for procreation” is following a natural, thus, a rational course. It is socially perceived as obligatory because it is necessary for the preservation of society. Today’s non-traditional societies look at the human being more as a self-creating personality than as a mere organism that is preoccupied with self-preservation or survival. That is why modern individuals emphasize their creative responsibility in planning for their future. They do what is humanly possible; certainly beyond what is only necessary. For many modern couples, reproduction as a necessity can no longer be the norm. Beyond the necessity of breeding is the joy they find in planning their families. To them, love-making is also a joy to be rightly and personally appropriated—this is more and more becoming a first-order norm for many.

Discussions over the inappropriateness of the former “sex for procreation” norm have led to a widespread change in the outlook of marriage and the taken-for-granted standards of sexual
behavior. More and more people have seen the need for change. More and more churches have realized that they cannot afford to be alienated from people who comprise the Church. These people have already accepted contraceptives as a part of responsible living. The following churches have abandoned the old absolute prohibition of contraception by married couples:

the Congregational Christian General Council (1931); the General Council of the United Church of Canada (1936); the Methodist Conference of Great Britain (1939); the British Council of Churches (1943); a special commission of the Church of Scotland (1944); the bishops of the (Lutheran) Church of Sweden (1951); the General Synod of the Netherlands Reformed Church (1952); the Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Church (1954); the General Conference of the Methodist Church in the United States (1956); the United Lutheran Church in the United States (1956); the national Council of the Reformed Church of France (1956); the (Lutheran) Church of Finland (1956); the International Convention of the Disciples of Christ (1958); the World Council of Churches (1959). 68

The classical Christian ethical reflections on sexuality do not have the ability to explore sexual behavior in its own right. This is precisely because of their normative stance that is focused on defining and disseminating their prescriptions for what is licit, perfect, or what they understand as holiness. Moreover, this stance is now glued into a concern to maintain institutional stability.

Most classical analyses have already pre-ordained the appropriate arena of sexual behavior—reproduction, family, and kinship. Classical Christian moralists, thus, are bound by their intrinsic role as proponents of right/correct practices and by their dependence on the characteristics of a traditional context that has been considered part/constitutive of the Christian tradition. Their specialized position in religion has somehow defined what is ethical. Their

68 Noonan, Contraception, p. 581.
propositions written into the monastic framework that stresses the categories of self-control and purification have become generalized norms. The common people who are expected to listen to their prescriptions often have to endure hearing mis-applied categories.

The wider populations of sexual actors are immersed into everyday life. Daily, they observe ordinary sexual practices that do not necessarily reflect either the traditional norms or the expectations of ethicists and the guardians of established moralities. Ethicists may be aware of the distance between norms and people’s sexual behavior. Such awareness can stimulate an exploration of ways to bridge the gap between ethics and daily behavior. However, this is just a minor matter. Most classical ethicists are not able to confront themselves with the common people’s everyday life; much more grapple with the meaning of the people’s Lebenswelt.

In other words, many ethicists, and probably many of us, are not only clueless about the sexual behavior of the common people but also about the significant backdrops determining behavior. In the meantime, some ethical pronouncements and official prescriptions may abound apart from people’s recognition. Reflections, analyses, out-of-context teachings, prescriptions, norms, and supervisions, oftentimes, do not make it to people’s awareness or memory.

Some Christian ethical approaches to sexuality have been more receptive to the concrete situations of the present-day sexual actors. Their positions have already reflected a more context-sensitive approach to sexuality and ethics. However, they play within the more personalist framework. Somehow, they gloss over

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the larger reality of social frameworks or deep bio-psychical reality that also impinges upon attitudes and behavior. No matter how people-sympathetic their formulations are, their project for an ethics for persons fall short vis-à-vis the various ecological determinants of attitudes and behavior. Without the respect being accorded to fundamental structures, hints for a more liberating communitarian approach are less noticed.

Every ethical position which respects persons may, in fact, be welcomed by most modern citizens. But, each still fails in its dealing with the problems of modernity/late-modernity. The inability to creatively appropriate the materials and conclusions that are offered by the contemporary bio-psycho-sociological sciences that deal with sexuality is certainly a reason for their inability to derive some substantive implications for ethics. Moreover, for some Christian ethicists, the ethical posturing of some secular disciplines may be too radical and overpowering to deserve respectful observation or proper hearing.

IV. Jesus of Nazareth: In Solidarity with the Outcasts

When Jesus of Nazareth went around preaching and healing, he was often seen or associated with the suffering, the needy, and the persons of questionable repute (prostitutes, tax collectors, sinners); he was there, with them, extending assistance, alleviating pain, providing access to forgiveness and compassion, and offering hope. He did go about “doing the Father’s will” not just by pointing at sinful acts but also by venting out his anger against the bigger constraints, larger threats, surrounding behavior, the more serious moral problem confronting the Jewish society of his time: the distortion of religion by socio-cultural standards (wealth, honor, distinction; cf. Sermon on the Mount [Mt. 5]) and by the leaders who reduced worship into cultic rituals and legalities (see Mt. 6; Mt. 23; Mk. 7; Lk. 10: 30ff.; Lk. 11: 37ff.). Such a myopic practice of religion by those leaders has caused greater suffering to the already poor and needy. Jesus has identified this major prob-
lem, the broader reality that marginalized the weak, the helpless or the victims. He was also in solidarity with them.

Thus, Christian ethics today should become an instance of a creative moment of solidarity with those who suffer. The desire to formulate an ethics of solidarity must embrace the task of building a setting where conditions make possible the practice of solidarity. If all that the victims of capitalism could hear are the “magical” words of business advertisements, then life becomes nothing but a devotion to work to earn, to earn in order to spend, to buy the market’s goods, and to become like those with distinction. What is unfortunate is that once people are into such preoccupations, the others around them will somehow suffer from the immediate or remote impingements; and solidarity becomes more difficult to practice.

Moreover, automatic solidarity (or automatic assistance) is now generally confined and constricted within families and especially within the shrunk family setting. The suffering outside the family or household is no longer one’s responsibility. Blood and intimate relations have provided the grounds and boundaries for automatic assistance to the needy. Assistance has become subject to this acceptable confinement which turns out to be the commonsense arrangement of helping—for those “near and dear” to us. Reaching out to a suffering but non-family-member person will always pass through some conditions built by reason.

All other forms of helping behavior or assistance will pass through the format of reasonable calculation (whether coming from the State, churches, NGOs, workers’ organizations, other forms of associations). Calculated assistance means it is measured and always looking for some justifications in terms of being ap-

propriate or constructive; it seeks its worthy beneficiaries like the poorest of the poor or the gifted indigent; it rejects the unworthy ones like the “lazy” or the opportunists. One of the forms by which helping behavior has developed is the “case management” approach in the dispensing of aid or welfare. This approach ensures that assistance giving is not fragmented, inefficient, uncoordinated, or wasteful, but systematic, efficient, orderly and under one’s control.\textsuperscript{71} In China, urban welfare is also strictly rationalized and only for those who had no family, no work, and no means of livelihood.\textsuperscript{72}

Most of us do subscribe to the family parameter of automatic helping behavior. This is the parameter that also dictates reasonableness, practicality, pragmatism, prudence, individual rights, and calculation as today’s proper approach to helping those outside the family circle. These are the same values that make us to become normal citizens in what is accepted as normal society; our society is also built around the values that, at the same time, impose limits on helping behavior. It is thus not difficult for many to behave according to the social habits offered for the development of individuals; most of us are already predisposed to behave according to society’s standards and expectations. Even those who profess to become ministers and disciples of Jesus, acting as the neighbor seems to be truly constrained by common-sense and calculation despite the presence of the impulse of compassion. In the Good Samaritan story, Jesus has corrected this common disposition to favor reasons other than compassion and solidarity.

Jesus of Nazareth has initially directed the attention of his listeners to a familiar figure (Luke 10:30-37): a victim of robbery, an injured person who thus becomes one of the needy—one who fits the notion of a neighbor. Every common-sensical under-


standing of the neighbor is satisfied by this identification of the victim as one in need of help.

The moment Jesus brings the Priest and the Levite into the scene, attention shifts. This time Jesus moves our focus away from the needy towards the Priest’s and the Levite’s behavior—indicating some possible agents of assistance. Both characters stand out but they are not seen as external to the situation. They are observed and sized-up in terms of the presence of the needy whose predicament clearly appeals for assistance. When that appeal is twice ignored by the Priest and the Levite because of their fidelity to religious or ritual requirements, the needy gets more deprived. This double deprivation magnifies further that meaning of the neighbor as in need of assistance. The one in need gets more deprived after the robbery and after the avoidance.

For Jesus, the recurring pattern of inattention and avoidance must stop. He thus brings in the person who will initiate a contrasting series of attention. The Samaritan’s interventions have given the needy more attention than probably necessary. Jesus then takes this extra-ordinary scenario to emphasize the neighbor-giver meaning identified through the Samaritan who shatters the ordinary neighbor-receiver definition. Because of the neighbor who gives, the receiver of help gets more attention and gradually ceases being in need. The helping neighbor has contributed to the diminishing of the neighbor’s passive meaning. The sense of the neighbor as active subject definitely draws thought away from the common-sensical meaning of the passive object of help. This also suggests the magnitude of every extra-ordinary act (beyond the norms; beyond ordinary habits) of helping.

Jesus urges everyone to emulate the Good Samaritan, avoiding the meaning of neighbor getting entangled with ritual avoidance, or moral/legal obligations, or civilized inattention. For Jesus, to be a neighbor is not just being compassionate but also being able to get past our common sense and calculations that derive strength from customs, traditions, roles, habits, morals, legalities,
rules, regulations, routines, schedules, deadlines, appointments, meetings, discussions, conferences—all those things that produce either weary or cynical behavior. Helping thus requires behaving beyond the common or ordinary predispositions.

When Jesus points to the Good Samaritan as the neighbor, he challenges hearts disposed through roles, codes, and norms. When Jesus highlights on the appropriate action which flows from a neighborly compassionate heart, he criticizes an attitude that routinely fixes the neighbor as the needy or the suffering. He has also established such appropriate action as intrinsic to the meaning of neighbor. He focuses not on the worn-out meaning of the word, but on the desirable behavior, one that should rightly define the word and thus correct common sense, economic sense, routine sense, moral sense, and scientific sense. This behavior gives the word substance and a meaning not derived from habits embedded in systems (traditional, modern, past modern, etc.) but on impulses of compassion and the passion to transform an oppressive situation. The word neighbor becomes more active and free as it is coupled with the appropriate and defining automatic compassionate behavior.

Our felt compassion, however, does not automatically translate into neighborly behavior. Compassion is not automatically expressed since it has been refashioned by habitual or reasoned measurements. Compassion has become a property of every form of habit or calculation. Suffering is not something to which we are always able to respond automatically and with compassion. We do not help without thinking; we reason out or stay as a bystander (a bystander in a public setting often does not help because he also thinks about the possibility that other people might extend their help). If we have counted the cost or assessed the situation or measured the benefits, that becomes the time to answer whether one should help or not help. Very often, we are stuck in our habits and fail to extend our help. The Kevin Carter case,73 the stranded

73 “Kevin Carter (1961-1994) - South Africa Pulitzer Prize winner, Kevin Carter,
Fish and the Discussants (the fish ending dead because of over-discussion among those who are “interested” in helping) and the Jericho Experiment of Darley and Batson,\(^7^4\) all point to this problem.

Nevertheless, let us examine more issues opened up by the way the Good Samaritan parable was narrated by Jesus.

**Jesus and His Way**

One very important move done by Jesus, in the process of narrating the parable, is the intentional 1) suspension or diminution of the presence of the robbers and 2) highlighting of the failure of the presupposed moral and religious leaders to extend assistance. The absence of the criminal perpetrators and the obvious presence of the moral and religious leaders and their “strange” response served to stress the paramount importance of the Samaritan’s behavior. It seems that by doing this, Jesus did not just say that what is very important is compassionate assistance; he also implied that to make more fuss over the criminal role of the robbers and the unfortunate response or lack of response by the leaders (cf. the behavior of the Priest and the Levite in the parable) would actually render us less predisposed towards the more important thing, that is, to help the victim. Actually, it is not only that. What is suggested by this move is to also make us aware that (1) the customary focus on criminality and the penal obligations of the perpetrators would actually “cover-up” our responsibility to extend a heartfelt assistance to the needy and, (2) the customary insistence on the moral (socio-cultural morality) and religious observances could actually drown the heart-rending appeal of the victim. Estab-

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lished structures could, in fact, behave like a veiled iron cage of behavior. Perhaps, as Jesus’ way suggests, it is better to question the social conditions that push some people to rob than question the demand to focus on the Good Samaritan’s helping behavior.

Jesus’ move also points to the occurrence of perverse or warped effects of morals and laws on the individual’s heartfelt sympathy or disposition to feel sympathy (the Priest and the Levite did prioritize the observance of some purity laws than help the victim). This insight could find a possible application in a research work on the adumbrating/obfuscating/obscuring presence of morals and laws on compassionate helping behavior.

It does not mean that Jesus was aware of this methodological step in the same way that researchers would know their theoretical and methodological assumptions. In adopting the parable’s “method,” I am suggesting a way of discovering issues which are concealed by the presence of morals and laws or punitive legal provisions. In suspending the application of law or shifting the focus away from the target-object of the law, other realities will hopefully be revealed. This “revelation” may actually bring more opportunities towards further disclosure of other realities that further open-up more concealed realities, etc. I hope that in my use of such “method,” I will be able to contribute to the critique of the function or place of various norms in our lives and to stress the greater importance of compassion over and above the moral, religious, and legal obligations.

From the Parable back to Jericho

The Jericho Experiment involved seminary students who were tasked to develop a talk on either the Good Samaritan or jobs in which seminary students would be most effective. They were instructed to deliver their talk in another building. A number of them were told to hurry because they were late; while others were told they were right on time; still others were told that they had a
little extra time but they should already go to the assigned building. On the way to the building, all the students passed someone slumped by the side of an alley; the person looked like he might need help. What Darley and Batson wanted to know was whether the seminary students would stop to help. They found that: the talk the students had prepared had no effect on their behavior; the major factor that affected the students’ behavior was how hurried the students were: 63% of those with extra time stopped, 45% of those on time stopped and 29% of those in a hurry stopped. Darley and Batson’s remarks would clarify:

Thinking about the Good Samaritan did not increase helping behavior, but being in a hurry decreased it. It is difficult not to conclude from this that the frequently cited explanation that ethics becomes a luxury as the speed of our daily lives increases is at least an accurate description. The picture that this explanation conveys is of a person seeing another, consciously noting his distress, and consciously choosing to leave him in distress. But perhaps this is not entirely accurate, for, when a person is in a hurry, something seems to happen that is akin to Tolman’s concept of the “narrowing of the cognitive map.” Our seminarians in a hurry noticed the victim in that in the postexperiment interview almost all mentioned him as, on reflection, possibly in need of help. But it seems that they often had not worked this out when they were near the victim. Either the interpretation of their visual picture as a person in distress or the empathic reactions usually associated with that interpretation had been deferred because they were hurrying. According to the reflections of some of the subjects, it would be inaccurate to say that they realized the victim’s possible distress, then chose to ignore it; instead, because of the time pressures, they did not perceive the scene in the alley as an occasion for an ethical decision.75

The Jericho experiment appropriately illustrates how people, including Christians (the experiment involved seminarians at Princeton Theological Seminary), are more likely to be habituated

75 Ibid., pp. 107-108.
to “indifference” in front of various forms of impersonal public encounters and, more often than not, “pass by the other side” and leave the needy on the road—because of the more compelling reasons: to fulfill one’s task and to follow more explicit obligations. These explicit obligations common in workplaces or public institutions have eventually created enduring predispositions towards “commitments” – the reverse side of habitual “indifference” to informal relations. The push towards “commitments” serves to weaken every appeal for sympathy, which is a mere datum of informal interaction. The “commitments” proved to be the stronger norm. This is also one that reflects the high-level principle of quid pro quo justice or market-justice (i.e., one gets one’s share based on one’s contribution in a transaction) enthroned by the dominant male-instituted liberal-capitalist system.

The Jericho Experiment actually brings up the presence and operation of norms from various levels: 1) the first-order norms: everyday life, including work and its object (i.e. necessity, survival, or necessary goods for survival); 2) second-order norms: moral standards (implicit and explicit), contracts, and laws; and 3) high-level norms: principles relative to helping behavior or principles relative to fulfillment of explicit or formal obligations.

The seminarians entered into a contract and were remunerated for the two specific sessions: questionnaire and experimental sessions. The carrying-out of such sessions was as compelling as necessity. The work that the seminarians entered into contractually (or legally) determined them to follow an obligation founded on one modern-day basic principle of right action: One ought to honor commitments (a high-level principle). Parties to contracts are moreover protected by pertinent contractual and punitive laws (second-order norms). Likewise, the pressure that formal tasks or contracts create is also linked to that common concern or aspiration of people to present themselves to the public as qualified, reliable, efficient, or trustworthy—in accordance with their status in life. These self-presentations correspond to some social stan-
dards of performance or excellence to which people conform even if they are simply fulfilling their role as provider for the table—an obligation which is characterized as a first-order norm. Thus, the task assigned functioned like a law—it had a law-like effect on those who obey. This was so by virtue of the seminarians’ predisposition to treat work as in fact compelling and necessary. In their lifeworld, first-order norms belong to the level of survival or basic needs. What is necessary must be pursued or accomplished. This is the obligation associated with life’s first-order concerns which may implicate reputation, honor, or distinction. Some so-called “lowly or common” characters are simply bound by the dictates of first-order norms and collapse some high-order principles under them. “Hindi nakakain ang prinlpyo,” (“You can’t eat principles.”) they would say.

A contract was made between the researchers and the seminarians. This was a legally-binding contract. The provision to fulfill the stipulations of a contract demands that first-order obligations be fulfilled. The contract, thus, belongs to second-order norms which supplement the realization of first-order objectives. This second-order norm actually operates on the assumption that there is a possibility that the person obliged to fulfill a first-order demand may renege on his commitment. If he does, then the second-order norm will force compliance. If he does not renege on his responsibility, the second-order norms still stay. Legislators further assume that the presence of contracts and laws would make people more committed to their first-order obligations. Second-order norms function to regulate the pursuit of first-order concerns; to protect people in the pursuit of their goals, resources, or values; to form or reform characters according to the demands of pursuit of first-order concerns.

The second-order norm as well as the first-order norm are gathered up under the higher-level principle of quid pro quo justice; based on this principle, they will get something in return for what they contribute. This does not suggest that all that the seminarians
want is money in exchange for their work. What is more important to consider here is that the quid pro quo principle has given shape to a structure that functioned as a basic model for the contractual relationship between the researchers and the seminarians. This principle is foundational for a society pervaded by market-exchange requirements.

The coordinated behind-the-back levels of norms and principle made some seminarians (even some of those who were not in a hurry) to overlook and fail to remember (failure in anamnesis; cf. the words of Jesus: “Do this in memory of me.” Luke 22: 19) a different kind of higher-level principle which is quite “inappropriate” for the strict compliance of contracts or the maintenance of a liberal-capitalist order. However, this “different kind of principle” from a non-liberal-capitalist tradition is also associated with their identity as Christian persons who are training to become full-time ministers of the Church. In other words, their role as future ministers demands a certain fidelity to high-level principles identified with compassion or self-denying service to the needy. This high-level principle was, however, less compelling in the presence of the norms ordered by a different kind of story—a story not identified with the Good Samaritan but with the story of the need to preserve, promote, and expand liberal-capital—modernity’s story.

The Jericho Experiment did not only succeed in illustrating that among Christians first-order norms are “more powerful” than a different kind of high-level principles, but also succeeded in illustrating how a different kind of high-level principle (heart-level/Good Samaritan story) is actually subordinated or partly set aside by habits or dispositions which are primarily anchored on norms “guarded or guaranteed” by modernity. With behaviors predisposed and naturally snapping to norms like work and quid pro quo justice, compassion is rendered secondary, dependent, and tributary. In the absence of individuals habituated into the observance of heart-level principles, the modern market first-order, second-order, and higher-level norms remain as powerful mechanisms of
behavior. Many seminarians (around 50% of the 67 involved) did not quite see it important to stop and offer help to the person in need. They were “disposed by” the more explicit norms and their “commitment”; heart-level principles were not compelling enough—these did not quite fit into their schedule or into their “narrowed-down cognitive map.” Or there was less chance for the seminarians to “operationalize” their felt sympathy.

Although the Jericho experiment has succeeded in uncovering some modern-day realities which are rather obscure to the unaided eye, it has, nevertheless, masked or overlooked some elements which are unique to Jesus’ way of telling the parable of the Good Samaritan. The Jericho experiment puts emphasis on the role of work, the agreed-upon schedule or the “appointed time” (the push) on helping behavior. It has highlighted, in the process, the tyranny of the first-order and second-order norms and the market-justice principle on personal capacity for empathetic assistance. The Good Samaritan story, on the other hand, has put greater emphasis on 1) the “suspension” and 2) the discrediting of second-order norms in front of the nobility of empathetic assistance. Jesus’ story does not only imply the tyranny of first-order and second-order norms; it also emphasizes on the tearing-down of some first-order and second-order norms in order that one may get into the heart-level principle.

I am not suggesting that Darley and Batson take up again the Good Samaritan parable and come up with another research design. What I have discussed may not be a possible object of research under natural conditions. It is just too radical to tear down secular laws; much more religious laws. But the challenge is there. Jesus taught that something more than morals or laws is possible. What is possible may not only be the tearing-down but also the building-up through empathetic assistance. If only Darley and Batson could actually work on an experiment which would make all able citizens to tear down institutions and drive them to assist all those people in need. Is it possible to temporarily tear-
down first-order and second-order norms and make all able agents to help the needy based on the heart-level principle?

If we look closely at the narrative of the Good Samaritan, we are not, in fact, given a picture painted with dualistic strokes; that is, painting the Levite and Priest as personified evil and the Good Samaritan as personification of good. What we have is a picture that even removes the culprit (the robbers themselves) as object of judgment. What is the meaning of this move of Jesus to remove the robbers from the picture? Is it to absolve them of their crime? Or to identify the real problem and so it was necessary to remove an element which could blur the discovery of the meaning of the Gospel message (heart-level principles)?

It was in fact Jesus’ narrative device which fostered the reader’s ability to see that which is not always obvious. Under the visible crime-criminal conceptual frame, the Good Samaritan story would have fallen into the common-sense black versus white story. This uncritical picture would have imposed on the reader’s perspective the fate of the victim, the culpability of the robbers, and the duty of the Priest and Levite to fulfill their role as dispensers of temple grace. The Priest and the Levite would have been “grayed” in the story. The task of “discrediting” the Priest’s and Levite’s position might have been more difficult since the robbers were the real culprits. But because the overly-visible robbers were erased in the picture, common sense was deprived of its own clarity banking on binary oppositions frame. Deprived of its object of understanding, common-sense view was made ready for the unmasking of the religious counterfeits. The story thus became a very disturbing and confusing picture (painted by Jesus) of an outsider behaving in a more appropriately human way vis-à-vis the insiders Priest and Levite who became “culprits” because of the erasure of the “more culpable criminals.” But this does not seem to be the only message of the parable for us today, that is, identifying the culprits of “indifference” and the fact of inability to extend help to others. Another more important lesson is to suspend the obvious. What is
less obvious lesson but most important is the way Jesus has torn-
down first-order and second-order norms in order to highlight and
guarantee the presentation and clear the field towards the feasibil-
ity of a different or alternative high-order (heart-level) principle of
compassion.

Morals, Law, and Compassion

When Jesus diminished the presence of socio-cultural moral-
ity and the law in the parable, the centrality of compassion was
unveiled and brought into light more fully. This is just like saying
that morals and the law could function as concealers, false solutions,
red herrings, because they may either be products of inert legalism,
tools of hypocritical minimalism, or perpetrators of a certain social
order.

Forgiveness of the criminal is not really anticipated in the sto-
ry. It merely suggests that if the penal law is imposed and applied,
it will also tend to hide that which is more substantive. The ex-
licit legal procedures could actually mask the more important or
high-order heart-level principles which become more difficult to
invoke because of the over-determining presence of the law.

In the parable, religious morals and the law on criminality do
seem to possess a force that could rival that impulse to compassion.
That is why it is necessary for Jesus to suspend the law’s appear-
ance and condemn the perversity of religious rituals. But if com-
passion is indeed important then why the presence of morals and
the law? A simple answer is that we humans need them. But
against the background of humanity’s cherished moral and legal
traditions, Jesus’ approach becomes very radical: in a picture where
the obvious call is to practice compassionate assistance, just re-
move the law. Or in addressing the Priest and the Levite: “Just get
over with your religious rituals and observances!” Perhaps, if it can
be done, make laws according to the appeal of compassion. But
this is un-Levinasian; and Levinas says it is the radical presence of
the Other who may free us from our own recapture by the very structures or laws that we construct to free ourselves from previous prisons.  

In the thinking of today's legal authorities, the criminal must submit to the rule of law which affords opportunity for therapy and re-entry into the social order that is under its constant surveillance. This does not suggest that authorities today are more keen on catching the criminal than helping the victim of illegality. It suggests rather the collapse of compassionate altruism under the rubric of legality; and this is an unfortunate human reality.

The Good Samaritan story would rather suggest that in the face of a fallen victim, compassionate assistance must rule. Preoccupation with the application of the law, submission to prescribed rituals, surrender to the law of self-control or moderation, or submission to punitive therapy could obscure the fundamental appeal of the impulse of compassion. We could hear Jesus say: “Just be compassionate and take care of victims.”

**Law and Politics**

In Aristotle's *Politics*, the work of administration covers both the household and the wider city-state affairs. The work of the legislator, for example, still points to a direct management of the affairs of the household which is still linked in an essential manner to the common city-state affairs. The idea of the *polis* does not entail the definition of the household as an entity radically separate from public life. The legislator (of laws) is also one public servant called to fulfill the function of the good father of a family. This is a function attached to his role as a political servant who is enjoined to fulfill, in a similar manner, the administrative duties of a father in charge of his household. This also tells us that both the house-
hold and the city-state are required to fulfill the end for which the legislator enjoins himself: the shared good of all citizens.

In modern settings, in view of the appearance of business and separation of productive work from the household (absence of a unified life), the administration of persons becomes a demarcated two-fold affair: first, the household’s administration by the biological father and second, the public life’s administration by the “father/s” of the polis. This development in the work of administration of behavior/interactions from the private to the public realm did not involve a total “from-towards” or “old to new” transformation. The household father and, to a certain feeble extent, the neighborhood, are still in direct control of the primary formation of the individual. Life in full view of the father and the neighbors, is where customary or traditional standards of behavior are instilled or expected to be instilled in individuals. The area not directly controlled by the household or neighbors, but which is more and more under the sway of other authorities or administrators has become an area where different sorts of competing or rival goods and standards of behavior (moral and instrumental) are imposed. This has become the public area where work and spending normally materialize. As this public realm became the arena for every person’s struggle for the pursuit of values, goals, and resources, the public’s administrative burden fall under those who have stakes on such values, goals and resources. The picture is not as simple as having good fathers-administrators who are able to fulfill their task of managing the public fields and the public behavior of citizens. The complexity of fields and the polymorphous nature of desires and preferences create a formidable challenge to political management. Being simply a good father of a family is an inadequate quality of a desirable public administrator in today’s modern settings. One’s practical knowledge of both the private and the public realms, the expert and principled involvement in those areas, the awareness of their distinctive characters, and the commitment to service are what seem to be the desirable qualities of legislators.
In *Politics*, we are informed by Aristotle about the dutiful incursion of a legislator into what we consider nowadays as appropriately belonging to the affairs of the household. He wrote about an ideal arrangement which is the private ownership but common use of property. There is a great deal of lessons to harvest from the following:

The Lacedaemonians, for example, use one another’s slaves, and horses, and dogs, as if they were their own; and when they lack provisions on a journey, they appropriate what they find in the fields throughout the country. It is clearly better that property should be private, but the use of it common; and the special business of the legislator is to create in men this benevolent disposition. (*Politics*, II.5.1263 a 35-39) under-scoring added.

My interest here is not in the ownership and use of property. My concern is the work of the legislator, as conceived by Aristotle; its implications for politics are plenty: 1) the legislator has a special business in creating the character of persons; 2) that the legislators are able to create this character in persons; 3) that this benevolent disposition is realizable in real life; 4) that persons (or their wards) would allow themselves to be created with benevolent disposition; 5) that this benevolent disposition is clearly for the good of persons and society; 6) that the legislation itself is acceptable to a society’s citizens.

In today’s societies, legislators are more known to formulate laws that deal with behavior defined by modernity as conflict-ridden or problematic. Positive laws are, therefore, mainly reactive and aimed towards damage-control or crime-prevention. Such laws do not necessarily lead citizens to the fulfillment of a shared good or the creation of qualities in characters in consideration of that which is good defined by Aristotle or the shared good of traditional societies. Laws of today could lead to the protection and preservation of what is commonly identified as shared good of modernity or modern politics: rights, liberty, freedom, autonomy,
and utility; or profit-making, minimum wage law, or competitive acquisition of private resources.

Such laws do not necessarily create dispositions *benevolent* to the attainment of a shared good, that is, the good of promoting sharing and solidarity; and the good of promoting qualities in persons disposed to sharing and solidarity. This does not mean that laws cannot create dispositions. They do indeed influence behavior and create dispositions, but these are dispositions to assert the qualities needed in a society dominated by the values, goals, and resources of a liberal-capitalist economy. It is, thus, possible for legislators to create in persons those dispositions benevolent to the modern citizens’ shared good.

The subject in modernity may become a very “strong” subject in terms of disposition to assertion of rights, liberty, freedom, and autonomy; or profit-making, minimum wage law, or competitive acquisition of private resources. This does not mean that he is that strong because he is not objectively determined by any socio-cultural pattern or force. It is precisely because of a mold or a force springing from a very specific setting that he becomes disposed as assertive of rights, liberty, freedom, autonomy, and utility. In other words, a kind of person is shaped by that society and culture where he was born, nurtured, educated, and able to work. A liberal-capitalist society needs to flourish; it demands the existence of functional and effective agents – rights-bearing, libertarian, free, autonomous, and utilitarian agents. Agents know this; that is why they prepare themselves to be fit for that kind of society. Legislations that would make them fit into society are welcome to such agents.

The moral standards and laws of the dominant liberal-capitalist setting also promote in persons dispositions to avoidance – dispositions to avoid being caught by enforcers of the law or dispositions to avoid being caught by supererogatory obligations like the one stemming from the felt sympathy towards hapless victims. The dispositions engendered by laws would be disposi-
tions to toe the line, dispositions to behave within boundaries. The dispositions to avoid what is not necessary (altruism or generosity) is also considered part of the good shared by utilitarian bureaucratic managers inside liberal-capitalist businesses. If there is a need for the business to help or share (cf. “corporate social responsibility”), the mode of helping has already been tailored to a calculative pattern or computed manner of helping.

The disposition to be daring to test the limits of the law is another disposition. This is usually created in some characters in habitual conflict with the law. This negative disposition is created not by law but incited through a constant confrontation with the law by a character who may not have the opportunity to assert one’s rights, freedom, liberty, autonomy, and utility within the liberal-capitalist social order.

The dispositions towards obedience, fear, or criminal behavior are familiar products of the law. Positive law, by and large, do not produce (meaning: mold and predispose into) generous or magnanimous characters. Under property-rights law, a father cannot deprive his disobedient child of inheritance. The minimum share required by law should be met. This does not, however, prevent the father from being more generous to his more obedient and loving daughter. Thus to say that laws do not produce generosity does not stop people from becoming generous. To have set the minimum requirement is to have set the minimum platform from where people could turn generous; but generosity itself is ordinarily something which could not be legislated.

Moral standards also act as constraints to behavior. Thieves may suffer the stigma imposed by customs on negative behavior. These social standards possess the power to limit or keep behavior in line. Customary standards force people to be aware of basics. These standards also create dispositions in people. Modernity’s customary standards like “Finders, keepers,” or “Quid pro quo” are also familiar to moderns.
Nevertheless, laws and moral standards are minimalist. Those who do not go beyond the minimum requirements of acceptable behavior are most likely operating within the boundaries of the law or customs. But, those whose acts reflect generous giving or self-sacrifice are most likely going beyond the moral or legal requirements or operating under different moral standards. The law which provides the rule “Unlawful killing is not allowed,” applies more fully to those who are capable of committing the crime of unlawful killing. Those who do not have the ability to commit the crime of “killing” are still covered but, insofar as they are concerned, the law is irrelevant. They may, however, benefit from it as citizens protected from the “killers.” If some are even going beyond the requirement not to kill and, instead, extend their helping hand so that others may live are farther beyond the scope of the law or customs. They make the law or customary morality not only irrelevant but superfluous. The law has no place within their realm. In fact, the presence of the law may even be counterproductive. Some of them operate no longer under the compulsion of lower-order norms but already behave according to higher-order principles like the more abstract form of equitable justice or the more concrete affectional principle of compassion.

But since some people can barely reach the minimum requirement of decency or mutual-respect, laws are there to limit their negative behavior for society’s sake. Laws, however, are not always present to curb indecency or criminality. These are also promulgated to enforce the observance of obligations or guarantee fulfillment of promises. What used to be done as a natural obligation and thus, a necessity (like support of offspring, protection of family members, or work) is already covered by laws which ensure that people will observe their obligations and responsibilities. The taken-for-granted obligation to work or to nurture a child has become the purview of authorities who must see to it that through legislations, citizens of their territory will not be liabilities to the social order or their household’s well-being. Legislation, as a branch of politics, has started as a job of creating laws applicable
to clear cases of dereliction of first-order duties and obligations. Legislation has turned to be a job of creating laws that do not necessarily point to the higher-level principles or standards of excellence that promote virtue or virtuous citizens but merely to protect and preserve the basic patterns of everyday life and the lives of those who benefit from the status quo – work, consumption, production, reproduction are also norms (as first-order norms) which every citizen considers as binding or obligatory. The higher-level principles – rights, freedom, liberty, autonomy, and utility – which the liberal-capitalist social order enshrines could actually be seen simply as principles that preserve a social order that is also problematic. As such, their status as high-level principles would be in doubt.

Many of us are cognizant of the prevailing moral standards of our society expressed in religious prescriptions/prohibitions, secular laws, as well as common sense rooted in the pool of cultural traditions and everyday life. Most of the time, what is treated as a problematic behavior is that behavior that goes against moral rules and laws. We seldom consider morality and law as the problems.

The Problem with Morals and Laws

Political theories since the industrial revolution evince a complex picture of products of theorizing regarding state management, citizen’s identity and roles, education towards citizenship, and role of leaders as well as their duties and responsibilities in dealing with varied concerns like conflict management, military relations, international networking, territorial management, and most of all, intervention in economic issues.

Whenever one reads his whole set of theoretical production, the political theorist cannot but show where he starts; he gives away his presuppositions and “field” of political production. If one looks closer and deeper into such theoretical work, one discovers
not only a whole implicit world not made explicit but a meta-frame
which further frames a political theory. There, we see a theorist’s
eye utilizing details that give away his “field” or world that dictates
his compositions.

Take for example how he sees a citizen’s role as a responsible
political agent—this is always related to the dominant world which
we now call a global-capitalist world. Even local forms of this
globalized world are microcosmic realities that duplicate encom-
passing domains of the top over the ground. Consumption, for
instance, will now be related to consumables produced not neces-
sarily by one’s compatriots or fellow ethnic brother but by workers
possibly a thousand leagues away from the home and neighbor-
hood contexts of buyers. This gives a picture of a politician who
had been previously challenged by goings-on in factories or firms
situated in a hometown. The innumerable troubles these factories
brought to politics (that is, maintenance of order or management
of relations of citizens) have been daunting and demanded a lot of
sacrificial posturing on the part of politicians, especially the serv-
ants among them (cf. Bismarck, Gladstone, Disraeli, or Franklin
Roosevelt).

Problems within production sites were known to many con-
sumers. Coals bought from outlets were still known to be coals
produced by coal pickers, colliers, haulers, strippers, and cleaners.
Once the world of the producers have been separated from citi-
zens with specialized jobs away from the coal mines and away
from coal miners’ issues, the coal miners’ sufferings experienced
350 to 1,300 feet under are hidden beneath the ground. City folks
enjoying electricity powered by coal will probably still learn about
the minimum wages received by the miners but they will not be
able to feel the danger lurching beneath the mines: fire damp,
flooding, ceiling fall, coal dust, intense heat, and a host of other
difficulties unique to a most compartmentalized and specialized
work under the ground. Politicians dealing with coal miners’

77 See Zola, Germinal.
issues had to intervene and make legislations towards the improvement of the conditions of coal mining labor.

The law itself would somehow reflect concern for the plight of coal miner as it tries to address the coal miners’ unique under-the-ground problems. But when the law acquires a career of its own it gradually becomes independent from the corresponding career of new problems arising from new conditions which are yet to be brought to the attention of new generations of lawmakers more engrossed in the maintenance or legitimation of the status quo or state of affairs. This thingification of laws is altogether another problem. When the law addressing problems of production becomes the norm, it becomes the norm for addressing problems—meaning, laws become the heuristics of politics. This is illustrated by the telescoping effect of laws (on production problems) on the perspective of legislators who could not see the expansive world of coal reaching consumers and beyond the problems associated with coal tunnels and dumps. The consumers of coals will just have to contend with the idea of enjoying the benefits that coal mining has produced. The only trouble is that consumption patterns have bred unique problems of their own. Many of these problems (like taste becoming the basis of norms or dissociation of wealth from the social consequences of accumulation and consumption), are beyond political interventions; how can authorities intervene when they just cannot yet see the problem?

The greater problem we are facing is that the laws and moral standards of the dominant liberal-capitalist success stories have become standard measures of excellence in human relationships—the measure, in fact, of “humanization.” As such, they also serve to obscure higher order principles belonging to a different narrative like that of the Good Samaritan. Moreover, the so-called higher order principles of conduct of modernity have become problematic – the principles followed by work and consumption fields are different from or even contrary to the higher order
principles found in some traditional societies or religious traditions.

Modern liberal-capitalist solutions and laws are mainly founded on economic and political autonomy or sovereignty. These solutions and laws are fairly predictable because of their link to the bottom-line of business and which eventually become part of the established components of our already complex lives. Nevertheless, the moment the power of modern rights and economic capital is invoked, people discover the competing complex pools of meaning that have piled up to become the silent and hidden components of life. The confusing mingling or blending of tradition-bound lifeworld with modern life values, goals, resources, and norms has become one of the sources of our troubles; or, one of our troubles. This is because the predominant character of such mingling is that of dominance and subordination; and the dominant are more at home with rivalry and competition, while the subordinated would be reaching out for mutual-dependence or solidarity, if they are to survive marginalization. Liberal-capitalism—the favored home of the dominant—and the tradition-based lifeworld of the poor do not share common poles (“not even that, there is no common axis”\textsuperscript{78}) and pathways. Expect that the laws of the dominant will subordinate and colonize the lifeworld of those disadvantaged by the platform and backdrop of liberal-capitalism.

Anti-theft law, for instance, masks the need to expand equitable distribution of wealth or resources embodied in the Catholic Social Teachings tradition; minimum-wage law makes employers forget about magnanimity enjoined by elders in simple communities of solidarity; anti-piracy law (re Intellectual Property Rights) obscures the virtue of sharing of property common to traditional poor communities of Africa and Asia; anti-abortion law does not necessarily give assurance to provide care for both the mother and child felt by many mothers of the world. The principle of justice –

\textsuperscript{78} Lyotard, \textit{The Inhuman}, p. 3.
the quid pro quo version – also adumbrates the existence of a high order principle identified with mercy or forgiveness emphasized by the Christian Gospels.

Much of these laws even incite people to stick to a minimum expression of decency, stinginess, or possessiveness in character; or worse, acquisitiveness. Sometimes, these laws point to culprits and in the process prevent people from indentifying the real or major culprits and their victims. The Philippine’s Anti-squatting Law points to squatters as culprits, but is generally blind to the landowners’ unbridled accumulation of property; the Anti-Prostitution Law accuses the prostituted but does not admit society’s role in the person’s desperate situation. Filipino bureaucrats passionately wag their fingers at common people’s garbage clogging canals; they hide their tails when reminded of the connection between the rich countries’ over-consumption and industries to climate change that gave birth to Katrina and Ondoy (international code name: Ketsana).

If society and culture shape and condition our character and identity, how are we able to fight against those contradictions that produce disvalues and sufferings? There is no such thing as a perfect society and culture; there is thus no perfect individual who is just surely shaped according to the image and likeness of one’s society and culture.

It is not usual to find people who could point out everyday the viciousness of standard practices or the perversity of traditional beliefs. It is no secret, however, that there are some persons who are able to identify the limits or the vices of society and the blindness of culture. In those persons are found behavior and articulations that show some reason to get dissatisfied and be sad about what are considered to be values, necessities, and unexchangeable goods. However, our minds, hearts, and legs are so used to the taken-for-granted, familiar and tested activities as well as the enthroned conventional ideas and rituals. Thus, it is not easy for these exceptionally insightful or prophetic persons to convince
ordinary people about their warped practices and ideas – including morals and laws. Such practices and ideas are still the only practices and ideas that offer them ways to fulfill their goals, to pursue resources, and to assert values. Criticisms and exposés of contradictions or conflicts are not yet alternatives. But, attempts to point out the contradictions of a social and cultural order also carry with them insights that may lead towards alternative forms of life. It is normally the victims (of the former socio-cultural order) and their sympathizers who would be able to provide the counter-ideas and counter-moves necessary for the more positive moves towards transformation. Politics today may have to play the Good Samaritan in today’s stories of victims.

The project of Christian ethics of solidarity, then, may be the promotion of wholesome environments, as well as the encouragement of activities and lifestyles that do not deprive parental presence to children—that is also promoting deeper intimacies. The project can also lead to the promotion of mature persons. Thus, the soundness of ethics will have to be judged according to how it contributes to community building and personal integration. Every situation where decisions are marked by by-products which cause injury to self or to others does not speak much about non-compliance to norms. It conveys more about the tendency of the context to shape some behavior that produce unwholesome results. Every behavior takes its cue from what is encouraged or what is allowed by the social setting.

If ethics provides the direction and impulse towards building a setting or conditions favorable for the formation of responsible persons then such an ethics must be sound. The sociological sciences, including psychoanalysis, can help verify the attainability of this communitarian and person-building project.
V. Conclusions

Sexual ethics, in its attempt to offer substantive matters for sexuality, cannot afford to avoid the psycho-sociological sciences dealing with sexuality. Its character as an ethical discipline must insist on a continuing presence vis-à-vis the theory and practice of psycho-sociological science. This is more congenial to an orientation towards an intelligible and socially-sound theory and practice of solidarity; an approach which may not merely focus on acts and its consequences but also on its entanglement with other coordinates of behavior. It may not ignore the context- and process-dependent nature of every proposition that seeks to be more doable and humanly possible. It may not forget to realize that thought and action happen only within the confines of every social structure which provides the conditions for their possibility.

Here the intentional factors of structuration or institutionalization are not being discounted. People can really come together and build institutions for a certain purpose. However, this study does not stress the intentional factors’ overall effect on the workings of institutions. The degree of spontaneity of institutional processes cannot be relegated to a secondary place since intentional factors are really constrained by institutional mechanisms or unconscious drives and impulses. Moreover, the alternative structures which need to be consciously advanced by active agents are not being talked about here. This is not to say that in choosing for a better setup in place of the existing one, primacy is already given to a more rationalist or a voluntarist foundation of society. The fact is that the most that this study can propose is the formation of opportunities and pathways through a refashioning of relationships based on compassion and solidarity. This actually means presenting a minimum design based on a solidarity-orientation directive. But, it has to be in terms of a structural model of understanding human behavior and society. The structure that this study proposes upon which intention is also circumscribed provides the parameter for actions that are hoped to produce better results in
favor of the victims of surplus-repression and male domination and its surplus-reflections. To an extent, such a structure can be consciously set up. But, it cannot set up its total outcome and effect on society—the constituted and constitutive frame which is a most important factor for ethical consideration.\textsuperscript{79} That is why an impoverished form of personalist criterion may not be appropriate as a foundation of concrete emancipatory practices. For in such instance, one is not always cognizant of the non-intentional/unconscious factors in its ethical assessment. Nevertheless, one will also need to assess action in terms of a personalist foundation. But, there comes the question regarding the character of the particular personalist foundation.

Ethical assessment, thus, has to be conscious about less-noticeable factors which are considerably beyond the conscious grip of people. The compassion habitus then become a desirable attribute in every ethicist. There is no way for an ethicist to take except the solidarity road where one shares in the common experience of suffering; and where one is in a better position to comprehend the nature and extent of suffering that vulnerable humanity is exposed to. The ethicist must understand and feel that humanity is thrown into a set-up where everyone appears helpless over the snapping power of the patriarchal and capitalist grids.

Nowadays, power is all established in things fully imbued with second-nature reasons: buildings, boxes, foodstuffs, clothes, bodies, and language. It is in felt compassion that one has to realize that ethics must also integrate into its arsenal some seemingly non-rational inputs. I use the word “seemingly” because my concern would really to fortify more rational acts against the grip

of the inhuman in humanity’s second-nature reasons. Here, the agony of Jesus in the cross when he cries “Father, forgive them, they know not what they do” (Luke 23:34) can probably be figured out. It may be expanded into: “They know not what they do and what determined them.”

Ethics is practical knowledge—propositions about right living. As a discipline, it deals with the general principles for human decision-making, right action, and character formation. It is especially exemplified by the liberationist forms of ethics that promote people empowerment and community building. The clarification of what constitutes right and wrong action is not just attached to what is merely defined, customary, or approved behavior. It goes farther than prescribing a definite action by including an examination of the various conditions of impingements. It does cover diverse elements which construct beliefs, attitude, and behavior in a given time and space like cultural traditions, work, race, gender, and fealties. In other words, the search for what is right must have to include clarification of either what fosters or what does not foster wholesome relationships. It is also a search for what contributes to personal growth and what promotes solidarity. The definition of norms and values for concrete behavior must be consistent with that view of what does constitute people promotion. Sometimes, as in the case of Christian ethics, it is necessary to cultivate a certain loyalty to a model of people-affirming attitudes and behavior. Jesus of Nazareth, through his life and ministry, offers himself as the model. His example opens up doors leading to personal and communal growth.

The demand for the humanly possible could take its model of humanity in the person of Jesus of Nazareth. He taught that the divine qualities of forgiveness and compassion are humanly attainable. What is humanly possible is neither a demeaning of the human being adequately considered nor a disregard for humanity’s capacity for self-transcendence. How often have human beings
surpassed themselves as males, females, or gays...because of Jesus’s inspiration which is not beyond humanity’s grasp.

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Afterword

There are fundamental bases and coordinates of acts and behavior but these are mostly silent and, most of the time, hidden to conscious regard: established beliefs, collective rituals, organizations, ritualized practices, roles, norms, language systems, classification systems, organized space and time, and everyday life patterns. Unless “they are there,” we could not function with ease and shape with certain facility those which we think we should create or produce. The silent and invisible, but instituted, units of culture have become necessary platforms, backdrops, and canopies for people even if we rarely acknowledge them as such; and even if they are recognized, in most cases, they are multiple and in a state of competition. We do not always refer to them but they silently goad our senses and make us say our thoughts. They make us talk; they make us visible and look equipped. They somehow make us feel secure because they seem to make life more orderly. In fact, without their leave, we would not be able to become who we want to be, what we want to do, or whom we would like to meet. Having preceded all of us they have served as foundational structures of what people would call human life. They have become the platforms, backdrops, and canopies of what many of us would regard as our varied versions of full humanity.

The silent and invisible components of second-nature human acts and behavior are efficacious. We are also their resultant effects; they are effective causes. They are working behind our backs, but their effects are generally audible and visible.

At home and, to some extent, in the neighborhood the tacit human lifeworld backgrounds have shaped and prepared people along familial and neighborly pathways; towards “more warm” or familiar and shared forms of ordering soci-
If the home and its neighborhood are self-sufficient or less dependent on modern/urban platforms, backdrops, and canopies, there is a greater chance for the lifeworld to be less subordinated and colonized by the more explicitly defined and utilitarian kinds of strategies and pathways. The Awra Amba and Mt. Banahaw communities will attest to this. The more a home and a neighborhood relies on liberal-capitalist forms of work and spending, the greater is the chance for people to be led and disposed towards pragmatic, calculative and utilitarian ways of ordering human lives.

Some effects of liberal-capitalist background components are welcome; others are unwelcome because negative and/or suffocating to the lifeworld and these cause troubles which are immediately unsettling. These provoke some search for solutions or alternative ways of dealing with life. The traditional and kinship/neighborly pools of resources may be the more reliable recourse for some; but, other people will assume the greater reliability of modernity’s political-economic capital. Most of the time, however, people straddle the traditional lifeworld and the modern market. Some people’s feet may straddle the more modern field and the more familial household, but it could be that their hearts and minds are really embedded in or longing for a tradition-filled lifeworld.

Modern individuals have devised some ways of avoiding the pitfalls that lie in wait for humanity. They have relied on methodical thinking; tried to use male-instituted reason (male $\equiv$ freeman, wealthy, powerful, manager, learned, sacred male; some women internalize this kind of reason); calculated and predicted the overall effects of their ways—discovering more ways of ordering and controlling their lives, devising more methods of promoting comfort and minimizing damage, educating or teaching everyone about science and its scien-

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tific approaches to life; as if the thousand-years old lifeworld experiences and traditional forms of knowledge are mere tributaries. However, despite their strivings and inventions, moderns have also delivered the “final solution” of Hitler, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, ozone layer hole, Vietnam (where 58,000 Americans died, one-million South Vietnamese and between 500,000 to one-million North Vietnamese perished, and 10 million South Vietnamese became refugees), stock market crashes, oil spills, the “intelligence” of Richard Nixon, 9/11, the rains of Hurricane Katrina or Typhoon Ondoy due to climate change triggered by humanity’s by-products, the “brilliance” of Ferdinand E. Marcos, HIV, H1N1 virus, massive poverty, alienations, and many more. Then when troubles stare at their faces, moderns offer once again their ways, methods, inventions, and scientific rules to solve the problems which they themselves have created, in the name of progress and development. And we drop our jaws at their “up-to-date” pedagogies and prescriptions which surely would gradually train our eyes to see more troubles looming at our horizon. Moderns who have formulated the laws of thermodynamics seem to have forgotten the second law—the law of entropy. The gains of the more dominant citizens will naturally produce by-products (e.g. heat or male energy), causing disorder to other citizens who must suffer the consequence of the “heat transfer.”

There would thus be certain inappropriateness about the practice of teaching the more tradition-bound “values” like kindness, generosity, or forgiveness through modern schooling, lectures, and reading as if these would actually produce the desired value transformation on a deep personal level; as if the source of these values of kindness, generosity, or forgiveness are from the same male/manager-instituted modern tradition which actually needs redemption from its market-justice, acquisitiveness, and strict accounting procedures. Perhaps we should pay heed to the ways of Jesus of Nazareth
who exalted, “in his flesh,” the values of the Reign of God, to save us from those second-nature humanity’s problematic values—and thereby transforming us into Good News for the poor.

The “hoped-for” deep-level process of transformation actually depends on the silent and invisible world of blended rules and meanings that envelop and sustain all ways of experiencing and understanding reality, including that of the learning experience. Urbanized Filipinos, for instance, are immersed in the neighborhood and other public settings where traditional culture may still be vigorous—functioning as pools from which people draw out meaning or cues for behavior. Such lifeworld pools are, however, constantly subordinated under “the hotter” rationalized systems-structures like capitalism and Roman Catholicism. Individuals attend schools which are not fully cognizant of this subordination entrenched in workplaces or mission territories centuries ago. As a backdrop of sciences and careers, systems-based practices have also seeped into people’s sinews and muscles. It is, thus, not feasible to “teach,” on the level of cognition or exhortation apart from actual practice or involvement, the values of kindness, generosity, or forgiveness (the “warm” virtues and thus virtues from the female) in competition with the male/manager-instituted capitalist system’s scorching values of profit-making, minimum-wage, and competition.

Profit-making, minimum-wage, and competition operate powerfully and on a different platform and backdrop. It would entail removal of such platform and backdrop in order for kindness, generosity, or forgiveness to take the stage and prevail. Is this really possible? It is possible if business and those relying on business will agree to change or transform their platform and backdrop from one based on capital and market principles into one based on lifeworld foundations. Perhaps, the “non-scorching” warmth of the feminine could
lesser the power of the scalding qualities of the male-dominated systems.

However, to argue with systems-instilled predispositions is like arguing with a software already programmed to achieve a specific end; or like giving scientific-driving instructions to a professional driver who has spent forty years of his life driving all kinds of cars in various terrains. Competing with systems that are already built into personal habits is to compete with dominant and invisible knowledge powers that subordinate lifeworlds. It would be difficult to convince through lectures a system-pressured hybridized-culture bearer about remote bountiful harvests when his land is already yielding abundance for his granary. It is like offering a mirage of food in exchange of appetizing meals already served on the table. For many people, kindness, generosity, or forgiveness could actually undermine business or survival interests. High-order principles are existentially less-powerful than first-order norms; and the high-order heart-based principles of kindness, generosity, or forgiveness are also less-prestigious than the high-order reason-based principles of modern market society.

Education through schooling merely provides some data for which one could also organize some aspects of foreground experiences and perceptible realities. (I think it was Mark Twain who said: “Schooling is an interruption of education.”) Normally, it cannot pierce through background realities or supplant those which underlie assumptions. Backdrops or background realities will only become perceptible if we bring them into consciousness through confrontation with their difference: other background and invisible, but atypical, realities. A non-typical environment could become an alternative to familiar backdrops but only when the former is not just communicated via schooling but via processes of building communities of, say, solidarity. The schooling process provides much modernity-bound or male/manager-bound
information; the praxis approach (where mothers, children, and the elderly could take part), provides real-life heart-level alternatives to trouble-causing narrowed-down work and spending.

Sometimes, schooling or information challenges the person about what s/he considers as true or necessary. If one is open to suggestion, reorganization of experience or ways of understanding could result via new ways of perceiving, gathering, and processing information. This process of reorganization may, however, only happen through actual involvement in an experiential process of reorganization. New ways of organizing what has been organized by familiar older models may be unsettling but they eventually become useful in further examining the quality of one’s knowledge or practices.²

Some alternative practices could illustrate what I have in mind: the Edible Schoolyard (a garden in Martin Luther King Middle School in Berkeley, California, established to promote healthy and organic eating and combat childhood obesity); Green Mountain Farm-to-School (a leader in the growing farm-to-school movement in Vermont promotes the health and wellbeing of Vermont’s children, farms and communities by providing programs to connect schools and farms through food and education [www.greenmountainfarmtoschool.org/]); alternative childbirth practices (cf. Lamaze International [www.lamaze.org] and Seasons of Life Women Health and Birth Center [www.seasonsoflifebirthcenter.org]); alternative communities like the Awra Amba in Ethiopia; the Green Schools Bara in Madagascar; and many more…


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