PHILIPPINE INTEREST GROUPS: AN INDEX OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

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MORE THAN THREE QUARTERS OF A CENTURY AGO FERDINAND Tönnies published a study in which he restated some old observations about man and the societies he forms. Tönnies called his work *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* — Community and Society — and in so doing gave sociology a dichotomous terminology for describing change from old societies to modern. Since many elements of the society in which he lived alienated him, his dichotomy contained a large dose of romantic idealizing of an earlier age, and a selection of data pertaining to the modern that made it less than attractive.

In his idealized reconstruction of a Gemeinschaft society, man enjoyed a sense of community in his associations with other men. The warmth of the family was the pattern of all other groupings of individuals, and formal associations — such as the "corporations or fellowships of the arts and crafts, the communities, churches, and holy orders"—were held together by the ties of friendship based "on common work or calling and thus on common beliefs."[1] Most importantly, these Gemeinschaft societies were "natural."

In contrast, he drew a picture of modern society which he called Gesellschaft, and for which he relied primarily on data arising from the development of a market economy, upon the corporation as an integrating unit of man. He sees a Gesellschaft society as one based on a multiplicity of contract relationships: cold, calculating, devoid of the warm sense of community he believed to have existed in the human relationships of his idealized earlier age. Gesellschaft forms of association are essentially artificial in contrast with the natural groupings of a Gemeinschaft system. Further, they are narrowly limited in scope in contrast with the

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[1] Ferdinand Tonnies, *Community and Society (Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft)*, trans. and ed. Charles P. Loomis (East Lansing: The Michigan State University, 1957), p. 192.

essential characteristic of the association of Gemeinschaft to be as universal as life itself."[2]

Although he preferred a Gemeinschaft-type society, Tönnies recognized that modernization meant its replacement with the Gesellschaft-type system. He saw in modernization an inevitable force that would spread over the whole of mankind. The engine of change was the economic system based on capitalism, and the transmission box through which the engine's power was brought to bear on society was the city. As Tönnies says, "by means of political and other intellectual organization promoted . . . by city life, the consciousness of the Gesellschaft gradually becomes the consciousness of an increasing mass of the people."[3]

While little of what Tönnies said has any direct relevance to our present search for tools to use in studying political change, and while much of what he said lacked clarity and consistence, still his dichotomy has seen great service in the intervening years.[4] His pair of archetypes have been used by sociologists, anthropologists and, more recently, by political scientists. Among the latter, for example, we can point to the excellent systematization given the scattered components of the scheme by Fred W. Riggs in his "Agraria and Industria."[5] Or the well-known article setting forth the essential characteristics of a non-Western political process, while it recognizes intrusions to destroy the purity of the Gemeinschaft political system, still has as its base this same dichotomy.[6]

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[2] *Ibid.*, p. 194.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 259.

[4] Marion J. Levy, Jr., "A Revision of the Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft Categories and Some Aspects of the Interdependencies of Minority and Host System," in *Internal War, Problems and Approaches*, ed. Harry Eckstein (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press 1964), 233 ff. Also see Lucian W. Pye for a review of the development of dichotomous schemes from Sir Henry Maine through Talcott Parsons. *Politics, Personality, and Nation Building: Burma's Search for Identity* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1962), pp. 33-37.

[5] Fred W. Riggs, "Agraria and Industria—Toward a Typology of Comparative Administration," in *Toward the Comparative Study of Public Administration,* W. J. Siffin, ed. (Bloomington, Indiana: University of Indiana, 1957).

[6] George McT. Kahin, Guy J. Pauker, and Lucian W. Pye, "Comparative Politics of Non-Western Countries," *American Political Science Review,* XLIX (December, 1955), 1022-1041, and Gabriel A. Almond, Taylor Cole, and Roy C. Macridis, "A Suggested Research Strategy in Western European Government and Politics," *Ibid.,* 1042-1049. Lucian W. Pye later refined the ideas in the articles and presented them in a paper given at the 1957 American Political Science Association convention under the title "The Non-Western Political Process." The article appears as one of the opening chapters, in a slightly modified form, in his *Politics, Personality, and Nation Building,* op. cit.

An early report of the work of the Committee on Comparative Politics of the Social Science Research Council—the group that has done so much to define a methodology for studying the developing nations—gives a final example of the continuing impact of the Tönnies construct. The rapporteur—Gabriel A. Almond—records that the group recognized the "...predominance of functionally specific, bureaucratized, associational types of interest groups in the West, and of kinship groups, status groups and of informal cliques in the non-Western areas ... [as] one of the most crucial distinctions between these types of political systems."[7] Following this statement of a Gemeinschaft/Gesellschaft division between Western and non-Western political system, the account proceeds to point out that in Asia "... two major classes of interests [are] in operation, one typical of the more modern, industrialized and westernized sectors of these societies, and the other typical of that part of society less affected by change." The group proposed that research proceed, in the study of interest groups, to sample "both the older and the new types of structures ...and their relations with one another."[8] The concluding view, however, reflects one that the report's author has stated on several occasions. It is that even in the West such "...interest groups as families, status groups, and religious communities affect the political process." He suggests various examples of the continued impact of traditional styles on Western politics, and, conversely, of the beginning of "...functionally specialized political parties and associational interest groups" in the developing countries.[9] This interlarding is stressed again in his later works.[10] However, even within his highly sophisticated analysis the component elements that interweave are strikingly similar to the two types of behavior set forth by Tönnies.

Most literature dealing with political development has either explicitly or implicitly a view that change takes place on a Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft continuum. Since all developing nations have undergone rather considerable change over recent decades,

[7] Gabriel A. Almond, "A Comparative Study of Interest Groups and the Political Process," *American Political Science Review*, LII (March, 1958), 272.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 273.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 281.

[10] Cf. his opening essay in Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman, *The Politics of the Developing Areas* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1960), pp. 17ff, and Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1936), p. 492.

attention is currently directed to types of societies having mixed characteristics or lying midway between the two idealized types. Words such as "transitional" or "prismatic" or "modernizing" have been used to describe such societies.[11] While one of these — "prismatic" — was chosen partly to escape the teleological implications of the more common terms, even it, placed between "fused" and "diffracted" societies, ends up very much a midway point between Tönnies's extremes.

RECENT LITERATURE ON INTEREST GROUPS

While the Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft dichotomization today serves primarily as a residual underpinning for some of the concepts used in approaching the study of political development, a final insight might still be extracted from it. A good argument could be made that the development of a network of specific associations, or interest groups[12] might serve as a measure of modernization in the larger society. A number of individuals have seen the importance of this in one way or another. As an example, a group was brought together by the International Political Science Association to study interest groups. Out of the meeting came a series of "country" essays[13] that while not an unqualified success deserves applause since it broke new ground, and pointed in the direction of what needs be done.

George Blanksten somewhat later wrote a comprehensive overview of the sorts of groups that can be found in Latin American politics.[14] He followed, in general, the classification of groups developed by the Social Science Research Council's Committee on Comparative Politics.[15] His work deserves special credit for attempting, as it does, to study political groups in a region comparatively, and to apply a newly created typology in a concrete

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[11] David Apter, *The Gold Coast in Transition* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1955), Fred W. Riggs, *Administration in Developing Countries: The Theory of Prismatic Society* (Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1964), and Daniel Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958).

[12] On several occasions Tonnies links the two. For example, "... every association or special-interest group is based on a complex of contracts among its members ..." *Op. cit.*, p. 214.

[13] Henry W. Ehrmann, ed., *Interest Groups on Four Continents* (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh, 1958).

[14] George I. Blanksten, "Political Groups in Latin America," *American Political Science Review*, LIII (March, 1959), 106-127.

[15] The Council's preliminary methodological report had already been made public. Gabriel A. Almond, "A Comparative Study of Interest Groups," *op. cit.*

research situation. On the whole, the attempt was highly success-
ful.

Unfortunately, his approach to the analysis of groups operat-
ing in developing nations has not been replicated since. Certainly
this is primarily due to the fact that in no other developing region
—say Africa or the Middle East—does one find as wide a range of
groups actively participating in the political process of nearly all
the countries contained therein. While in one nation in a region
it might be possible to find institutional, associational and non-
associational groups operating, in a neighboring country one or
another would be missing or so poorly developed as to preclude
comparison. This lack of homogeneity within geographical regions
excepting for Latin America suggests that other approaches to the
study of group political activity will have to take one of two
avenues: (1) single country studies; and (2) multi-national studies
of a single type of political group. Variations exist within each.
For example, research on political groups within one nation could
seek to disclose the total matrix of group forces impinging on gov-
ernment. Or, in contrast, a research design could center on one
specific type of group, or family of related groups. The work that
has appeared in recent years based on the study of political groups
in developing nations has been along one or the other of these
lines. We have had studies of African political parties, on the one
hand, and of the role of an institutional group such as the mili-
tary, on the other.[16] Recent work on the general subject of po-
litical groups and their role in politics in developing nations has
also contained a modest number of items dealing more specifical-
ly with interest groups; these will be discussed in a moment. But
first, note should be taken of three articles that have more than
the average theoretical implication.

The first of these, while not dealing with the study of inte-
rest groups in the developing nations, concerns the attempt to
apply interest group theory, largely American by origin, to non-
American field situations. The author concludes from his own
field work in Italy that such an attempt is frought with danger.
His research findings point to the vital significance of the setting
within which interest groups operate. The Italian evidence dis-

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[16] Thomas Hodgkin, *African Political Parties* (Middlesex, England: Pen-
guin Books, 1961), and Edwin Lieuwen, *Arms and Politics in Latin America*
(New York, N.Y.: Frederick A. Praeger, 1961). Also John J. Johnson (ed).,
The Role of the Military in Underdeveloped Countries (Princeton, N.J.:
Princeton University Press, 1962).

closes interest groups that are extremely narrow, dominated by ideological, class and communal divisions, subject to a high degree of violence, and operating within a belief system that accepts as a given a much harsher set of "rules of the game" than conditions in the American model.[17]   In addition to warning against a too facile transfer of American research techniques and assumptions to a Western European setting, LaPalombara also questions the utility of interest group theory itself.   He notes, as others have done, that the proponents of the interest group approach to the study of politics have claimed too much for it, and are ultimately forced to admit the limitations of their theories.

This questioning of the use of interest groups as a focus for study serves as the unifying theme of the second theoretical article.   Its author—Roy C. Macridis—takes the position that the study of interest groups in the non-Western world will divert attention from the more important tasks of developing more adequate theories about development.   He charges that ". . . no theory can evolve" from studying groups, and, further, ". . . if the proponents of group analysis ... attempt to elevate the study of interest groups into theory, dangers emerge."[18]   These dangers he sees as (1) assuming democracy to exist simply because a pluralism of interest groups do; (2) an "excess of empiricism"; and (3) the danger of "definitional shortcomings."   He argues that research conducted under interest group theory tends to lose sight of the role of ideology, and of the whole range of factors that condition political behavior.   His alternative would be to rivet attention on some portion of the political system that promises more direct insight into the forces at work in a political community.   He proposes that ". . . to focus attention on leadership changes in comparative study is far more economical than an emphasis on groups."[19]

To the degree that political leaders use their control of governmental power to crush rival political parties and signs of interest group autonomy, we must, obviously, follow Macridis advice and look at these leaders and them alone if we are to devise adequate theories about political change under such conditions.

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[17] Joseph LaPalombara, "The Utility and Limitations of Group Theory in Non-American Field Situation," *Journal of Politics*, XXII (February, 1960), 29-49.

[18] Roy C. Macridis, "Interest Groups in Comparative Analysis," *Journal of Politics*, 23 (February, 1961), p. 26

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

But under slightly more favorable circumstances, the study of interest group pressures can serve as part of the larger search for political reality as Myron Weiner so well demonstrated in his recent study of India.[20] And, as will be suggested in this paper, with certain refinements the study of interest groups can be a powerful tool in measuring political development.

The third theoretical contribution that should be made part of this general overview of the literature is Fred W. Riggs's idea of "clects," a neologism he created to describe a type of association that " ... while using some of the modern organizational techniques and terminology of associations, retains somewhat diffuse and particularistic goals."[21] In several discussions of the concept, Riggs advances it as a theoretical advance over the existing tools of the group approach which he believes have been inadequate when applied in the developing nations. As he says "... by utilizing too simple a framework for conceptualizing the various types of groups, a blind is thrown up which conceals from sight phenomena which cry out for recognition."[22] And at a later point he states that "... in reading the literature of Southeast Asia one can often substitute the word 'clect' for 'association' and begin to make more sense of the phenomena described."[23]

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[20] Myron Weiner, *The Politics of Scarcity: Public Pressures and Political Response in India* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

[21] Fred W. Riggs, "Interest and Clientele Groups," in Joseph L. Sutton (ed.), *Problems of Politics and Administration in Thailand* (Bloomington, Ind.: Department of Government, University of Indiana, 1962). A more complete statement of the idea is found in his "The Prevalence of 'Clects,'" *American Behavioral Scientist*, 5 (June, 1962), 15-18, and in *Administration in Developing Countries, op. cit.*, pp. 164 ff.

[22] Riggs, "The Prevalence of 'Clects,'" op. cit., p. 15. In writing about Myron Weiner's work on Indian associations, Riggs concludes that "... the groups to which he devotes most of his attention would be 'clects' by my definition." He ends the discussion with these words: "Anyone using a model more germane to this type of system—and I consider the prismatic model a possible tool in this context — would find a wealth of useful material in his report, useful because in large part it fits the model so precisely, and therefore helps to illuminate some of its implications." Fred W. Riggs, *Administration in Developing Countries, op. cit.*, pp. 454, 458.

[23] Riggs, "The Prevalence of 'Clects,'" *op. cit.*, p. 17. He has tried to illustrate the midway position of the "clect" in a simple matrix: (p. 16).

	primary group	clect	association
membership by	ascription	attained	achieved
norms	particularistic	selectivistic	universalistic
goals	diffuseness	poly-functionalism	specificity

The idea of expanding the typology of groups beyond the simple Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft framework is a most useful idea that, unfortunately, has not as yet been given the serious consideration it deserves. Probably additional categories beyond the single mid-passage form will be required. But a step forward has been taken. It remains for research to follow through and test the efficacy of the idea and to suggest additional forms of groups and/or modifications.[24]

Through the last decade there has been a small but steady flow of literature dealing with interest groups in the developing nations. Non-Philippine articles include, for example, a number on the role of trade unions in politics. Two of these deal with single-nation systems, a third with a broader view of labor union leadership within the nations found in a single geographical region.[25] Each of these contributes to our knowledge of the types of leaders found in the trade unions of developing countries comparable to those from which the data were drawn, and points out the great power inherent in labor once organizing skills and ideological content are supplied. Further, the conclusions from the study of organized labor in Morocco call our attention to the interrelation between urbanization, industrialization, unionization and political consequences. Ashford points out that as a result of industrialization and urbanization "... the labor movement may easily include half of the most active new citizens and nearly all of those about to enter into active political participation." From this ready supply of "... experienced and articulate militants and organizers" it is an easy step to expect from labor an increasing set of demands on the political system. These came in Morocco.[26]

Other researchers in addition to Lichtblau have attempted to trace the influence of interest groups within the Indian political system. One has studied groups seeking to influence Indian foreign policy, somewhat after the model of Almond's earlier work on

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[24] My own research on Philippine medical associations revealed that high achievement norms for entrance and the relatively high degree of specificity connected with the professional goals of the various groups largely left them devoid of clect-like characteristics. This is not to suggest, however, that other groups will not have them. As Riggs himself suggests, the word clect can *often* be substituted for association in Southeast Asia, but need not always.

[25] George E. Lichtblau, "The Politics of Trade Union Leadership in Southern Asia," *World Politics,* VII (October, 1954), 84-101.   The other two are J. Norman Parmer, "Trade Unions and Politics in Malaya," *Far Eastern Survey,* XXIV (March, 1955), 33-39, and Douglas E. Ashford, "Labor Politics in a New Nation," *Western Political Quarterly,* XIII (June, 1960), 312-331.

[26] *Ibid.,* p. 331.

American interest groups and their impact on the formation of United States' foreign policy.[27] The resulting paper was based on limited data and covered only a few associations, but it was sufficient to uncover methods by which the groups interested sought to gain their ends, and to begin to assess the role played by a few groups in influencing Indian foreign policy relative to certain limited goals.

While this research looked at the most urban and westernized of the associations in India, that of Lloyd and Susanne Rudolph focused on a new type of organization — the caste associations. These have become powerful, playing a unique role in providing a communication network between the traditional sectors of India and the new urban-based political leadership of the nation. Further, the caste associations represent a new mixture of forms, ". . . moving away from the latent structure of caste towards the manifest structure characteristic of the voluntary association." The caste association uses all the techniques of a modern association, but limits membership ascriptively, although a caste individual must *join* to belong.[28]

Myron Weiner, in the *Politics of Scarcity*, analyzes the roles being played by different groups in India. He builds on the work of the Rudolphs, and adds rich material from a wide variety of other interest group activities in India. He makes the important connection, moreover, between the rising flood of urban violence in India and the lack of access given interest groups as well as the general hostility shown such groups by Indian intellectuals.[29] Finally, he shows that the expansion of political rights, of governmental activities, of suffrage, etc., have been accompanied ". . . by a rapid rise of organized interests in Indian political life." He believes that on the whole the government has attempted to ". . . control; restrain, ignore, and repress organized demands" and that such responses have done nothing but create a pyramiding of problems.[30] His conclusion is that it is futile for the government to attempt such responses, or at least self-defeating of the values upon which the political system claims to be based. He would have the government seek to build lines of communication with

[27] Richard J. Kozicki, "Interest Groups and Indian Foreign Policy," *Indian Journal of Political Science*, XIX (July-September, 1958), 219-227.
[28] Lloyd I. and Susanne H. Rudolph, "The Political Role of India's Caste Associations," *Pacific Affairs*, XXXIII (March, 1960), 5-22. p. 8
[29] Weiner, *op. cit.* p. 233.
[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 216-220 *passim*.

all interest groups; to be more responsive. He believes that the results would not only strengthen democratic institutions but would also improve the chances for rapid political and economic development.

Although there is a scattering of other interest group literature,[31] the only remaining work to be considered in detail is that by Fred W. Riggs.[32] His study of Thai interest groups produced his concept of the "clect," and pointed to a number of other characteristics of Thai associations. One is the high degree of reliance on government sponsorship and/or financial assistance of such groups for their existence. This has meant in general a placid acceptance of government determination of policies for associations, and a clientele relationship between clients and patrons producing what Riggs call "patronates."[33] A large part of this reliance on official support derives from the lack of leaders outside of government service and the lack of private resources.

His Thai materials also support what he believes to be a general characteristic of interest groups in new nations: that they are largely phenomena found only in the capital city, and lack roots in the provincial cities let alone in the smaller towns. However, even though this is true and even though they may contribute little to public opinion formation in Thailand, still, according to Riggs, they already "...have displaced — but not replaced —the traditional groups."[34]

INTEREST GROUPS AS A MEASURE OF DEVELOPMENT

Many individuals working in the field of development politics have been concerned with devising tools for measuring change.

[31] Norman A. Bailey, "The Black Hand—Goals and Activities of the Centro de estudio y acción sociales, a Non-Political Pressure Group in Colombia," *Inter-American Economic Affairs*, 16 (Autumn, 1962), 79-85; Paul L. Kleinsorge, "Employers' Associations in Malaya," *Far Eastern Survey*, XXVI (August, 1957), 124-127, and (October, 1957), 152-159; Merle A. Kling, *A Mexican Interest Group in Action* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1961); Frank C. Langdon, "Organized Interests in Japan and Their Influence on Political Parties," *Pacific Affairs*, 34 (Fall, 1961), 271-78; Philip B. Taylor, Jr., "Interests and Institutional Dysfunction in Uruguay," *American Political Science Review*, 57 (March, 1963), 62-74; and Robert Scigliano, *South Vietnam: Nation Under Stress* (Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1963), pp. 172 ff.

[32] "Interest and Clientele Groups," *op. cit.*, and "Census and Notes on Clientele Group in Thai Politics and Administration," Thailand Public Administration Program, Reports and Selected Papers (Bloomington, Indiana, February 1963).

[33] "Interest and Clientele Groups," *op. cit.*, p. 158.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 158. On their role in public opinion formation, p. 179.

James S. Coleman is one of these, Karl W. Deutsch, another.[35] The suggestion that flows from the literature is that certain levels of attainment—as measured by literacy rates or by spread of newspapers, for example—seem to have very high correlations with political development. The implication is that by using these indexes that tend to cluster and to move in the same direction, some measurement of political development can be made.

As an extension of the list of variables that are likely to prove significant indicators of political development, I would propose that various data derivable from a study of associations be added. While there may be too great a degree of simplicity in the idea of studying associations as a method of measuring the degree of change towards an associational way of life, still a case can be made for their more systematic study.

Some of the advantages that can come from research on associations in the developing nations arise from the variety of relatively solid data they produce. Assuming the nation being studied permits the existence of such groups, it will in all likelihood keep some sort of account of how many associations are registered in any one year. From this it is possible to trace the gross increase over a period of time in the number of groups operating. It is also possible to tell from names of the registered associations the sorts of interests that are—and are not—organized, and to detect at what point in time a segment of the population that had previously not had an association to "represent" it joined the others. It is necessary, of course, to ascertain to what degree the increase in the number of associations operating within the nation is the result of "one-man" outfits, and to modify the result accordingly. Coupled with a general examination of membership figures of associations, crude as they will probably be, a good in-

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[35] James S. Coleman's concluding chapter in Almond and Coleman, *op. cit.* Karl W. Deutsch began more than a decade ago in his *Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality* (Cambridge, Mass.: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1953). Also his "Social Mobilization and Political Development," *American Political Review,* LV (September, 1961), 493-514, and a more recent book—edited with William J. Foltz—*Nation-Building* (New York, N.Y.: Atherton Press, 1963).

dex of the rate of change toward a greater use of associations can
be gained.[36]

All discussion of political development sooner or later touches
on the problem of bridging the widening gap between the urban
and the rural communities. A number of the indexes of moderni-
zation currently in use measure the extension of urban-based va-
lues and skills throughout the rural areas. Included in these are
such data as newspaper circulation, spread of literacy, extension
of transistor radios to rural areas, viewing of motion pictures, etc.
The spread of associations outward from the capital city can also
be a valuable gauge of this type of change. If associations that
had their beginning in the nation's chief metropolitan center be-
gin to establish a network of provincial branches, this indicates
that other population centers have developed to the stage where
they also require more sophisticated forms of organization to han-
dle their multiple interests. It also indicates that the older, more
simple capital-centered national politics will be altered by having
to consider the greater feedback that can be expected to pour in
from the provinces, now arriving not only through formal admin-
nistrative channels but through interest group channels as well.
And in nations with legislatures, additional avenues for influence
open as the interest groups take on a provincial dimension and as
these in turn seek to establish direct contact with their geographic
representatives to the legislature.

While it is true that the establishment of a national grid of
interest groups in a geographical sense is not the same as pulling
together the urban and rural communities, still the multiplication
of models that had once existed in but one center should mark an
acceleration in the rate of change outside the national capital.
To draw from my study of the Philippine Medical Association, it
was not until provincial chapters were functioning that the Asso-

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[36] The recently reported findings on membership in asociations, based on
a study of political attitudes in five nations, one of which was Mexico,
are an important corrective against discounting membership figures. As
stated: "... Perhaps the most striking finding is that any membership—
passive membership or membership in a non-political organization—has
an impact on political competence. Membership in some association, even
if the individual does not consider the membership politically relevant
and even if it does not involve his active participation, does lead to a more
competent citizenry. Pluralism, even if not explicitly political pluralism,
may indeed be one of the most important foundations of political democ-
racy." Cf. Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture: Poli-
tical Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton
University Press, 1963), p. 322.

ciation began to be concerned, at the national level, with the medical problems of rural people, and, likewise, for any unit to take active steps to go to the rural population with any sort of program. In a real sense, it was not until there had been developed an active provincial level of medical associations that the national medical leadership became fully convinced of the need to work on the problems facing the development of modern medical practice for the whole population, not just for a limited portion enjoying middle and upper class living standards in the major cities of the Philippines.

Any of the larger interest groups will leave some sort of written record that can be analyzed for indicators of development. A careful study of one or more of these can permit drawing a number of valid conclusions from changes internally and externally. For example, if the interest group over a period of time manages to develop from members, advertisers, and other private sources of income, finances sufficient to pay for its activities, the association has obviously reached a point where it can be increasingly independent of official sponsorship. Adequate funds also make it possible for the interest group to build more efficient methods of internal communication, and these can be traced quite easily as they develop through time. Annual reports, newsletters, professional journals, trade news, etc., all tell a story of the rate of increase in communications within the organization. Through such records changes in the size of the association's professional staff can also be followed, as can types of leaders, the handling of internal fights, and the types of issues discussed and adopted. The internal life of any major interest group constantly illustrates in a manner that is often easier to grasp than in the larger setting the problems that arise under conditions of rapid change.

Lastly, a careful examination of changing methods for handling external relations by the interest group can tell a great deal about changes in the larger political system. If the assumption is sound that an interest group will have a good "feel" for where the keys to power lie, then any changes in seeking access on the part of the group's leaders will point to a shift in locus of power nationally. If the interest group over a period of time comes to devote more of its attention to the legislature and to individual legislators, this is important to know. If it moves from a reliance on personal contacts alone as the method of operating to one that also relies on legal briefs, on permanent contact with the proper

legislative committees, on representation on administrative com-
mittees and regulatory agencies, then we can see that important
changes have taken place in the nation's political system. If it
begins to seek out allies among other interest groups, and if it
begins to mount public relations' programs in an attempt to create
a favorable public opinion as a way of achieving its goals, then
it is safe to assume that the political system as a whole is likely
to be responsive to these pressures. And if all these things hap-
pen, the interest groups will have contributed to changing the
larger political system, if we can assume something of a circular
effect at work.

The study of interest groups being advanced here is not
meant to be a substitute for other tools of measurement, but as a
useful supplement; its utility is limited, recognizably, by the nature
of the political system being studied. Although the examination
of political groups in general can be conducted in any developing
nation, the more restricted class of these — interest groups[37] —
requires the existence of a political climate that is not actively
and aggressively hostile. Associations are persistent, however, and
manage to survive and even to prosper in rather arid political soil,
as the Riggs' study of the genre in Thailand shows.

Let us now turn to a review of one interest group in the
Philippines.

THE PHILIPPINE MEDICAL ASSOCIATION
A CASE STUDY IN INTEREST GROUP DEVELOPMENT

The decision to select medical associations as a focus of study
rather than another type of association was made for a number of
reasons. These included the knowledge that physicians are held
in high esteem in the Philippines, placing them in positions of
influence, and that they are, by their very training, cast in roles
as innovators in every nation changing from traditional medicine

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[37] Lasswell and Kaplan define an interest group as "... an interest ag-
gregate organized for the satisfaction of the interest." They go on to
state that "...all groups might be regarded as interest groups, since they
all involve demands... and expectations. But we may distinguish among
various patterns of group activity those concerned with the satisfaction of
interests." Alfred de Grazie holds that "Interest groups are privately or-
ganized... They originate as, and tend to be, non-government, non-legiti-
mate and non-authoritative organiztaions." Harold D. Lasswell and Abraham
Kaplan, *Power and Society: A Framework for Political Inquiry* (New Haven,
Conn.: Yale University Press, 1950), p. 40, and Alfred de Grazie, *Public and
Republic* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1951), p. 200.

to modern.[38] Furthermore, we know from the studies of the American Medical Association that the AMA was one of the early professional groups to become organized and that it was early involved in politics. Likewise, the Philippine Medical Association has a long history. Having a history, it has also a recorded life a definite advantage to one from another country attempting to prepare himself for field research. Lastly, the fact that other studies of medical interest groups exist favored the choice of the medical associations in the Philippines as the research focus.[39]

The Philippine Medical Association (PMA) dates back to 1903. Until World War II it was closely associated with government physicians, and was given space for its offices and library in the nation's public college of medicine and in the large public hospital in Manila. Although private practitioners existed and multiplied during this time, their point of view was cooly received, to the degree that in the early 1930's a group of them pulled out and formed their own organization, the Philippine Federation of Private Medical Practitioners.

During the pre-war years the PMA grew slowly, and built a few chapters outside Manila, largely as a result of the sending of physicians to provincial hospitals by the Department of Public Health. The Association, however, remained capital-city bound and largely dominated in its policies by the government point of view.

After World War II, the PMA had to rebuild. With remarkable vigor, however, its leaders reactivated provincial chapters, got new ones started, sought to pull in private practitioners as well as government physicians, and moved to establish a firm financial base and a physical plant of their own to escape once and for all the subtle pressures exerted from the institutions granting them space and the use of facilities.

During this building period a major change in leadership occurred, with the "old guard" being replaced by a new, aggressive

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[38] It should be noted that as far as training is concerned practically all Filipino physicians receive their basic medical training in the Philippines at one of the seven medical schools in the nation. Foreign training comes only to those who go on into some form of specialization.

[39] James G. Burrow, *AMA: Voice of American Medicine* (Baltimore, Md.: John Hopkins Press, 1963); Oliver Garceau, *The Political Life of the AMA* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1941); Harry Eckstein, *Pressure Group Politics: The Case of the British Medical Association* (London, England: Allen and Unwin, 1960); and Malcolm G. Taylor, "Role of the Medical Profession in the Formulation and Execution of Public Policy," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, 26 (February, 1960), 108-127. William E. Steslicke has recently completed a study of the Japan Medical Association.

group. Within a decade after Philippine independence, the PMA
was not only independent of its old patrons, but had achieved
resources sufficient to house its staff and library, to sustain a
moderate sized staff of professionals, to hire special services such
as legal assistance and "PR" guidance, and to mount an ever ex-
panding list of services for its members. By the end of the second
decade following the liberation of the Philippines from Japanese
occupation, the Association had developed such a firm network
of component medical societies throughout the nation that more
than two-thirds of the members of the PMA reside outside the capi-
tal city. The active membership, at the same time, reached 40%
of the practicing physicians in the Philippines, and was increasing
somewhat more rapidly than new physicians added to the total.

During the same post-war decades the PMA saw its internal
deliberative machinery overhauled and radically improved from
the point of view of expanding the circle involved in deciding on
the issues facing the profession. For many years before the war
and for a few years after, a small clique controlled the Associa-
tion, dominated its committees and its official positions of leader-
ship. By the early 1950's this began to change, and after consti-
tutional modifications in the middle of the decade, forced on the
PMA largely from pressure originating outside Manila, the whole
organization was liberalized.   Full geographic representation on
the key committees was institutionalized, and the organization be-
gan to draw throughout the nation for its leaders. With them came
new ideas, new demands fortunately the new representative ma-
chinery had sufficient continuity with earlier forms to seem legi-
timate to the members. It was able to withstand the internal
pressures that mounted at the end of the decade in response to
pressures from the provinces.

Intermixed in these changes was the gradual shift from a gov-
ernment-physician dominated association to one that came to
speak more for private practitioners.   No single confrontation
between the two groups ever occurred, but by the end of the
1950's the PMA had come to represent in many of its policies and
in the majority of leadership positions the private point of view.
However, since the Association had worked hard at hammering
out a series of policy positions on medical questions facing the
nation, and since all points of view had been included in delibera-
tions, the Association was able to make the transition and still
keep the allegiance of the government physicians.

Throughout the building process, great attention has been given to improving internal communications. The Association has had a constantly improved set of internal communications directed to officers of each of the component medical societies, and a clearly defined set of procedures on elections, on handling disputes, and on other organization routine. The *Journal* was increasingly used to carry organizational messages to the rank-and-file, until such time that the Association began a separate news bulletin in 1961 to handle such matters. For at least a decade the top leaders of the Association have devoted great care to call on each of the component societies periodically. With some 60 units scattered throughout the nation, this has meant that the national leaders are constantly on the move. Regional vice-presidents play the same role on their level; reports from both the regional and the national levels are included in the monthly news bulletin.

One of the active programs designed for the benefit of members is the taking of scientific seminars and clinics out to the provincial centers. This serves to keep isolated physicians in touch with the latest medical techniques as demonstrated by the visiting team of specialists; it also, moreover, serves to keep the Association's image alive and to demonstrate to the members the types of services performed for them. Additionally, of course, many personal contacts are maintained through these visits.

The Association also performs a wide range of other services for its members, a list that increases each year and makes active membership increasingly attractive. Forms of mutual insurance, legal aid for physicians subjected to court charges, monthly scientific meetings, job placement service and assistance in research are provided.

In the past two decades the Association has changed from a small, elite-dominated group to a rather lusty, mass organization. Its annual convention, at which the national leaders are elected and at which final approval is given or denied policy proposals that have worked their way through successive layers of committees, have become highly political. By the early 1960's candidates for different positions were campaigning openly for election, and groups worked out slates that would appeal to the voting delegates. In the past two years attempts have been made to set limits on the more crass forms of politicking, and with some success. But the very importance of the Association in speaking with an authoritative voice on national medical problems makes it certain that

there will continue to be powerful contests for control of its machinery.

Turning outward, we can see equally important signs of change through a study of the PMA's adaptations to political development in the larger community. During its early years both before World War II and in the reconstruction days immediately following, the organization tended to rely completely on the chance contacts it might have with individuals in power in the national government. Since physicians had extremely high status then (probably higher than today) and since there were a number of excellent contacts available, the Association relied on the direct, personal face-to-face method for achieving its goals. But since its goals were largely those of the government, there was little reason for complicated mechanics for influencing the influential.

However, about the time that the Magsaysay era was altering Filipino politics in the direction of the rural population, the PMA's expansion outward and downward was occurring. It was as if the national medical elite had discovered the nation, and with it the fact that legislators come to Congress from different parts of the country. Whatever the confluence of causes, the PMA began directing an increasing share of its resources to the influencing of Congress, and to seeking professional-legal assistance in preparing its briefs for presentation before the health committees of each House. By the end of the decade the Association had come to have excellent working relations with the Congress, and to be assured of being called on whenever legislation appeared that affected public health or the medical profession. Further, the Association came to be completely self-reliant in drawing up its own legislative program for submission to Congress: in the late 1940's it supinely seconded the list of proposals sent down from the Department of Health.

Probably because we are still in the era during which the PMA is taking an increasingly independent position on medical policies and as a result challenging the Department of Health, relations between the public agency and the private organization have tended to be guarded unless, as has happened on occasion, a single individual holds top positions in each. The PMA has had only limited formal representation on Department of Health committees, and joint consultation seems to happen only on a basis of personal relations, not institutional. On the other hand, the PMA has a

powerful voice, sanctioned by law, on the Board of Medical Examiners and on other related regulatory boards.

The early style of relations with the executive branch of government was to send delegations to the President's office to seek some remedial action or other favor. These visits to Malacañang have all but ceased, although the practice of inviting the nation's President to address one of the sessions of the annual convention still continues, as well it might since it presents him with an audience of over 2,500 physicians, with each side of the rostrum seeking to influence the other.

The PMA, in addition to improving its lines of communication with the legislature and with regulatory agencies, has attempted to reach the public more effectively than in earlier decades when it took little concern over what the public thought about the profession. Since the mid 1950's the PMA has sought its component medical societies elect or otherwise designate a public relations officer through whom the public can be reached. The Association has had one community service program after another under way during the last ten years, using the network of local medical societies for implementation. Each of these programs has a public relations dimension, consciously recognized as such by the Association. These include roving rural demonstration clinics, barrio sanitation projects, inoculation centers, and medical indigency projects. This direct community service role of the PMA has been one of its more imaginative responses to the problems facing the profession in the Philippines. By involving an elite-type individual in direct community projects, the Association is contributing significantly to national development, not alone in the work being done but in the model of behavior it is encouraging.

In a larger sense, the PMA is involved with the public as an instigator of change. This is less true today in urban areas, but still very much the case in the rural Philippines. Every traditional society has its intricate system of values connected with sickness and its own specialized body of individuals who operate within these values to care for those suffering infirmities. Only in very marginal instances do traditional medical practices and practitioners overlap in any degree of harmony with those trained in the science and practice of modern medicine. To be a physician is to be one who knowingly or unknowingly, openly or indirectly works against traditionalism and traditionalists in the field of medicine. The PMA in its anti-quackery and anti-superstition drives during the last ten years has attempted to push against these traditional

forces at the local level. It has worked to extend—at first through government means alone but now including private practitioners —medicine to an ever wider segment of the population. It has attempted to find ways to finance physicians in doctorless areas, and to change rural attitudes not only towards the causes and cure of disease but also towards the economics of medicine.

In more recent years the PMA has told its members and the lay public that physicians are centrally involved in breaking the cycle of poor health, poverty and unhealthful conditions. In inducing change in health and medical practices, doctors are key people, according to the PMA, in bringing about rapid development. Even more, the Association is asking its members and all other physicians it reaches through its publications to accept positions of leadership in their local communities, and to use this leadership to foster all types of development projects, from improved sanitation to better farm practices The arguments used are complex mixture of professionally-oriented goals and self-interest, with the latter appearing in the form of statements that without an improved economic base at the rural level modern medical practices and services will never be able to be maintained or developed. In many respects, the Association is asking physicians to venture out into the smaller rural communities as missionaries of change with the promise that if they are successful in inducing change they as individuals will be richly rewarded both psychologically and materially.

In addition the Association has consistently pushed for higher standards in medical schools, for longer training periods, for improved teaching hospitals, for tighter controls over ethical standards in the profession, for continuing education of existing physicians, for more attention to research, and especially on tropical medical problems facing the Philippines. The cumulative results of these programs can be seen within the profession, on the association itself, and nationally. The evidence seems to support the view that the joining together of physicians into a national medical association[40] has played an important role in speeding national

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[40] There are more than a dozen speciality societies directly affiliated with the PMA. In addition there still exists the Philippine Federation of Private Medical Practitioners, although the move in the past decade on the part of the PMA to take on more of a private practitioner's point of 'view has left it with little reason for being any longer. In addition, the women physicians have their own organization, and many doctors also belong to the Catholic Physicians' Guild. Neither of these, however, operates directly as lobbying associations speaking for the medical profession. Both on occasion work within the PMA for or against policies under discussion, and each carries on small public service programs.

development in the Philippines. The data suggest, further, important inferences about political and social changes going on in the Philippines during the past twenty years. The growing power of the legislature is clearly recognized by the men in the Association directly concerned with the task of seeking to influence public policies in the medical field. The need for local support in any legislative program becomes clearer each year, and leads an organization such as the PMA to move more directly into attempting to build a strong base at the local level, something it is doing through its community development projects.[41]

The fact that the Association has been able to build a national network of provincial chapters suggest that organization skills are developing rapidly in the Philippines, and, more importantly, that sufficient numbers of highly trained people exist outside the capital city to sustain local chapters of professional associations. Since the innovators in any developing nation will largely be individuals with modern education who live in an urban environment, spread throughout the island indicates that innovative change can be expected to continue to increase. A supply of physicians in any struggling frontier "city" is one of the things that makes possible the growth of an urban center that is productive, creative. The PMA by helping sustain the first doctors in outlying areas speeds this process.[42]

A NOTE ON OTHER PHILIPPINE INTEREST GROUPS

Most of the general literature on the Philippine politics takes note of the fact that interest groups are better developed than in most of the new nations of the world. This fact is generally attributed to the influence of the United States, and to the open nature of the party and governmental systems.[43]   Certainly

[41] Local is used here to mean the provincial cities and large towns, not yet the barrio level, although some of the direct action programs of the PMA are moving constantly closer to the village people.

[42] The PMA is currently proposing that the government regroup and expand scattered services so that each province will have all the major diagnostic facilities of a large urban center available in one place. This, if accomplished, would in turn attract medical specialists and further improve the medical environment of provincial cities.

[43] See, for example, David Wurfel, "The Philippines," in George McT. Kahin (ed.), Governments and Politics of Southeast Asia (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1964). It might be noted that Wurfel had earlier written two excellent studies each of which dealt with interest groups in one manner or another. Cf. "Trade Union Development and Labor Relations Policy in the Philippines," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, 12 (July, 1959), 582-608, and "Foreign Aid and Social Reform in Political Development: A Philippine Case Study," American Political Science Review, 53 (June, 1959), 456-82. This last is a summary of his doctoral dissertation (Cornell, 1960. Film 1328).

any reading of Philippine newspapers and magazines, filled as they are with pictures and articles dealing the activities of associations of one variety or another would convince one of the truth of these general statements.   The many physical signs of interest groups in Manila—the offices and buildings identified as belonging to this or that association — are testimony to the importance that many attach to these organizations.

Beyond this general level of awareness of Filipino interest groups is the growing number of careful studies that is making it possible to begin to talk with greater certainty about the whole field of interest groups in the Philippines.   One of the first of these was a survey done in the early 1950's of the general impact of pressure groups on public policy in the Philippines. Unfortunately the study never received widespread notice, and now needs to be replicated in view of the rapid changes that have taken place since the research was conducted.   Its author in a subsequent work particularly updated the data, but, on the whole, the task of fitting together all the pieces remains to be done.[44]

No other attempt at a general survey exists.   However, two types of monograph literature on interest groups in Philippine politics have appeared: one has a focus on some specific political struggle within which these groups have played a significant role, and the second centers its attention on a specific group of interest organizations.   Three examples are readily available illustrating the first of these.   Each is a most important addition to the literature on Philippine politics.   The first analyzes the pressure that were at work during the period when President Magsaysay attempted to implement a community development program.   Although some private interest groups were involved in the struggle, most of the participants represented institutional groups rather than private.[45] This was followed by a comparable study that nicely balanced the former by dealing largely with private groups contending for legis-

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    [44] The original study was by Jose D. Soberano in an M.A. dissertation titled "The Impact of Pressure Groups upon Public Policy in the Philippines" (unpublished M.A. dissertation, Department of Political Science, University of the Philippines, 1953).   His later study is *Economic Planning in the Philippines: Ecology, Politics and Administration* (Manila, Philippines: Institute of Public Administration, University of the Philippines, 1961).

    [45] Jose V. Abueva, *Focus on the Barrio: The Story Behind the Birth of the Philippine Community Development Program Under President Ramon Magsaysay* (Manila, Philippines: Institute of Public Administration, University of the Philippines, 1959).

lative and public support for their respective positions.[46] More recently a third volume in what might be considered a related series has appeared. It is a collection of case studies relating to problems in public administration—and politics—in the Philippines. A number of the cases deal with the impact of private interest groups on the political and administrative processes.[47]

A well researched class of interest groups in the Philippines is labor unions. Two comprehensive articles are available to fill in the details on the formation of unions and their subsequent development. Both agree that the trade union movement has seen a very rapid expansion in the past decade, that it has played an active political role, and, as one has stated, has ". . . contributed both to high wage levels and to political stability, by channeling mass aspirations into efforts producing measurable achievements."[48] Both also agree that while the movement has considerable relative strength, it is weak in being able to make effective demands on the society. This weakness arises from lack of unity, the impact of unemployment, the continuation of "company unions," and the inability of the union leadership to "deliver the vote."[49] Both seem optimistic about the future of the labor movement in the Philippines.

No other segment of Filipino interest groups has quite as complete a survey available as has labor. Two groups working for rural development have been studied: the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement and the Philippine Federation of Free Farmers.[50] While the lack of a synthesizing work on groups in rural areas

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[46] Remigio E. Agpalo, *The Political Process and the Nationalization of the Retail Trade in the Philippines* (Quezon City, Philippines: University of the Philippines, 1962).

[47] Raul P. de Guzman (ed.), *Patterns in Decision-Making: Case Studies in Philippine Public Administration* (Manila, Philippines: Graduate School of Public Administration, University of the Philippines, 1963).

[48] David Wurfel, "Trade Union Development," *op. cit.,* p. 582. Also, John J. Carroll "Philippine Labor Unions," *Philippine Studies,* 9 (April, 1961), 220-254.

[49] Carroll, p. 244; Wurfel p. 714.

[50] Albert Ravenholt, "The Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement—Barrio Folk Awaken," American Universities Field Staff, April 5, 1955; Jeremias U. Montemayor, "The Role of Farmers' Organizations in Land Reform," *Comment,* 15, 3rd quarter (1962), 9-18; and Sonya Diane Cater, *The Philippine Federation of Free Farmers: A Case Study in Mass Agrarian Organizations* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Department of Far Eastern Studies, Southeast Asia Program. Data paper 35, 1959). Frances L. Starner includes some valuable data on rural interest group organizations in her *Magsaysay and the Philippine Peasantry: The Agrarian Impact on Philippine Politics, 1953-1956* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California, Publications in Political Science, Vol. 10, 1961).

is quite understandable, it is more difficult to account for the absence of any concentrated analysis of the many trade and industrial interest groups or of the groups representing the powerful primary produces: sugar, coconut, for example, as export crops, and tobacco and rice for the internal market. To an extent this can be partially accounted for by noting that many of the legislators are viewed as being direct lobbyists for the industry of their region, so that any study of national politics is also a study of the key interest groups.   But more precision is required than this permits.   Studies of the major agricultural interests are urgently needed.

There are a few other groups that have been studied, however. At least two "good government" organizations have been traced from their beginnings through their active phase of intervention into national political campaigns.   The first was the Magsaysay-For-President Movement of 1953, the second the Quezon City Citizens League for Good Government.[51] Each left an important mark on Philippine politics, the former by developing new forms of citizen participation in national politics on a nation-wide basis, and the second by giving urban centers a new model for extending the influence of the emerging middle class in politics.

Although there is general agreement that teachers are key people in the building of the nation, and that they play quasipolitical roles in much that they do in the rural areas, little has been done to study the interest groups within which they work to advance their interests.[52] The same could be said for the associations created by the various other professions in the Philippines as well.

The role of the Catholic Church — as well as other religious communities in the Philippines — especially as it works through a variety of lay organizations has yet to be systematically studied. The more recent activities of the Church in sponsoring the crea-

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[51] For the former, cf. Jorge Coquia, *The Philippine Presidential Election of 1953* (Manila, Philippine: University Publishing Co., 1955), and for Quezon City, Jose Abueva, *Quezon City Experiment: A Case Study of the Quezon City Citizens League and the 1959 Elections* (Manila, Philippines: YMCA Philippines, 1961), also to be found in Raul P. de Guzman *op. cit.*
[52] Albert Ravenholt in "Religion Enters Philippine Schools and Politics," (American Universities Field Staff, September 22, 1955) touches on some of the groups, and Tito Firmalino's *The District School Supervisor vs. Teachers and Parents* (University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, IUCP #73, 1962) is an excellent study of interest group pressures generated out of a dispute of the nature described by the title.

tion of new functional interest groups — for rural workers for example[53] — should be included.

As one moves out from the central core of interest groups that are most likely to be important politically a line must be drawn beyond which only limited research resources can be expected to be committed. Since there are more than 500 nationally organized associations operating in the Philippines today, some narrowing of the field is necessary. It should not, however, be narrowed to exclude a searching analysis of the role played by service clubs. Most of the larger provincial cities contain chapters of one or more of these associations — a Kiwanis Club, a Rotary Club, or a chapter of the Junior Chamber of Commerce. While many of the activities of these groups are purely social in nature, most are involved in community projects of one sort or another, and many are centers where productive schemes are begun. To a degree these service clubs might be considered similar to the "Committees of Correspondence" of a revolutionary era, with the revolution being planned one of national development. In any event, since these groups attract the more aggressive and successful individuals, they deserve to be included in any general survey of interest groups in the Philippines.

It is clear from what has been said that there is not as yet sufficient spade work done to permit the drawing of a general picture of interest groups and their continuing role in Philippine politics and political development. And until such a review is available it is well to be cautious in evaluating their overall importance. For one thing, in the Philippines as elsewhere, interest groups are often far short of their own self-image. One writer has gone so far as to state that ". . . Filipino pressure groups, in spite of their imposing names and long list of members, are mostly one-man organizations."[54] Jose Soberano states that associations have not, even in urban areas, clearly established a preponderance over primary groups. He argues that the result is a " . . . high degree of ambivalence of behavior and an uneasy balance between two effective standards of action," with the individual deciding first to use one standard, then the other, with the decision depending "upon the 'mood' of the individual."[55]   Finally, if

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[53] Albert Ravenholt, "Social Yeast in the Sugar Industry: Jesuits Organize the Plantation Industry," American Universities Field Staff, April 24, 1959 and earlier the Philippine Federation of Free Farmers.

[54] Remigio Agpalo, op. cit., p. 274.

[55] Jose D. Soberano, Economic Planning, op. cit., p. 73.

urbanized individuals find within themselves an ambivalence towards
associations, the balance tends to fall more to the side of primary
groups the further toward the rural level one travels. An impor-
tant study of social forces in a small community points to the
permeation of associations by the older family-based factional lines
that have long existed there.[56] These reservations, however, should
also be balanced by the conclusions reached by the authors of
one of the standard sociology texts used in the Philippines. They
write that the Philippines is moving ". . . toward a more rational
and less traditional organization of rural life, toward universalistic
rather than particularistic norms, and, finally, toward a *gesellschaft*
rather than a *bayanihan* [*gemeinschaft*] type society and culture."[57]

CONCLUSIONS

The Tönnies classification of societies into Gemeinschaft and
Gesellschaft types has only marginal relevance today, but it still in
an indirect manner points out a weakness in the current state of
our tools for studying political development. Although much has
been done to select quantitative data for measuring change, and
although considerable headway has been made in conceptualizing
the probable impact of rapid advances in communications, urban-
ism, and education, little theoretical attention has been granted
the role that associations might be playing in development. What
attention has been given has largely been assigned to political
parties, and while a rich literature on parties exists and rather
sophisticated typologies of party systems have been drawn up, even
in this field much remains to be done to connect this with political
development. In the area of private associations, and especially
of interest groups, almost no theoretical work has even been
begun as yet to relate them to the process of political development.
This is the more surprising since, as Tönnies rightly observed,
associations and interest groups of at least the business commu-
nity played a major role in the development of modern Western
nations. It is time the comparative study of interest groups,

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[56] Mary R. Hollnsteiner, *The Dynamics of Power in a Philippine
Municipality* (Quezon City, Philippines: Community Development Research
Council, University of the Philippines, 1963).

[57] Chester L. Hunt, Agaton P. Pal, Richard W. Coller, Socorro C. Espi-
ritu, John E. de Young and Severino F. Corpus, *Sociology in the Philippine
Setting* (revised edition) (Quezon City, Philippines: Phoenix Publishing
House, 1963), 347.

after a few faulty starts, be reactivated, and this time directed systematically to the study of such groups in the developing nations.

If the well documented findings in the Almond-Verba study can be assumed to apply in other developing nations in addition to Mexico, then the proposition can be supported that an increase in the number, variety, membership, geographical spread and leadership experiences in associations will have extremely important effects on the individuals involved, all pointing in the direction of supporting a more positive identification with national political values and political participation. It would seem that a careful recording of these changes should tell as much or more about political development than some of the measures now accepted as indicators. Furthermore, changes in the manner by which interest groups seek to influence public policy tell clearly about shifts in the political system that might otherwise escape notice, just as changes within these interest groups tell us much about developments in leadership patterns, the growing or diminishing reliance on groups as instruments for achieving goals, and other related aspects of socialization.

The study of medical associations in the Philippines has disclosed a rate of organizational maturing that was not anticipated, a rapid geographical spread of chapters that, if typical of Filipino associations generally, pressages a new era in Philippine politics based on the growing influence of provincial centers. The data pointed to a score of areas where an association of professionals directly advanced the cause of modernization of society. More importantly, the growing strength of the private association permitted the constant increase in the profession's confidence to present alternative policies for public discussion on an ever wider range of questions relating to public health. The result of all this has been a rapid rate of progress in dealing with health problems, flexibility in services provided the public, an experimental attitude in seeking new ways to deal with the many massive problems that remain. Further, standards in the profession have been raised, and increasing services provided for the profession. All this has meant an increase in professionalization and from this a strengthening of a vital sector of the nation.

Although only one other class of interest groups in the Philippines — labor unions — has received serious attention by scholars, enough is known from scattered literature and from one

early survey to say that the total number of national associations is large and constantly rising. The use of the techniques of association is widespread throughout the nation, and the national coverage of an association such as the PMA is not unique but standard, at least for such groups as the teachers, the press, and other professions. The interest group organizations for commerce and the export industries are old, well financed and clearly quite capable of knowing where and how to influence public policy. And the highly prosperous teachers' association with its quasi-captive clientele is a recognized power.

However, each of these deserves closer study as do the newer associations representing industrial interests, the groups affiliated with the Catholic Church and the other religious communities in the Philippines, and the increasing variety of interest groups appearing in rural areas. Lastly, the service clubs should have a place on the high priority list since they are centers attracting innovative types.

In a substantial number of the developing nations conditions exist permitting interest groups to emerge. Because such groups are highly researchable and because they lend themselves quite readily as tools for measuring a variety of types of social and political change, they deserve much more systematic attention than they have received in recent years.