

# PROXEMICS OF THE ILOCANO HUT: THE "KALAPAW"

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## ABSTRACT

**The study aims to describe the proxemics of the Ilocano hut, with particular focus on the Ilocano native hut, the "kalapaw". It attempts to find out how culture can shape the Ilocano's consciousness in his use and perception of the "kalapaw" as his private space.**

The study has confined to a sitio or segment of Pantay Fatima, a western barangay in Wigan, Ilocos Sur where the main sources of livelihood of the residents are fishing in the nearby river, occasional farming and small seasonal construction jobs. The "kalapaw" featured for this purpose is located in the neighborhood.

The Ilocano's use and perception of space are best characterized in his small, low and compact hut - his "kalapaw". Instead of separate rooms, there is a single room - the main room, yet differentiated where one can converse, sleep, groom, read, pray and dine. The character of each space is determined by a concrete thing such as a cabinet, a bench, a cooking stove, a mirror, or a table, among others.

## INTRODUCTION

Edward T. Hall (1969) pointed out that there exists a structure of experience that is molded by culture - those deep, common, unstated experiences which members of a given culture share, which they communicate without knowing, and which form the backdrop against which all other events are judged.

Hall further stated that contrary to popular belief, the many diverse groups that make up a country have proved to be surprisingly persistent in maintaining their separate identities. These groups may all look alike and sound somewhat like, but beneath the surface are manifold unstated, unformulated differences in their structuring of time, space, materials and relationships.

Prior to Hall's thesis, Franz Boas (1911) was the first anthropologist to emphasize the relationship between language and culture. Over fifty years ago, he laid the foundation of the view that communication constitutes the core of culture and, indeed, of life itself.

In the 1930's, Benjamin Lee Whorf elaborated Boas' view when he said that every language

plays a prominent part in actually molding the perceptual world of the people who use it. Thus, figuratively speaking, man's perception of the world about him is programmed by the language he speaks, just as a computer is programmed.

Hall summed up these related views by stating that it is important to know that the language of space is just as different as the spoken language. Space is one of the basic underlying organizational systems for all living things, particularly for people. No matter what happens with the world of human beings, it happens in a spatial setting, and the design of that setting has a deep and persisting influence on the people in that setting.

Taking the Philippines as a case in point, the country is made up of rich, diverse major cultures and subcultures such that there exists different cultural leaves of proxemics. The Filipino's use and perception of space differ among the regions depending on what cultural milieu he has been reared in. In particular, we speak of one of the major cultures, the Ilocano culture.

A brief study of the Ilocano ethnoculture reveals that the Ilocanos come from the western

coastal area of Northern Luzon. The common language spoken is Ilocano, although linguistic and other variations exist among the Ilocos coastal populations, especially distinctions between northern and southern Ilocano.

The Ilocano of modern times has a degree of distinctiveness in language and customs. Keesing (1962) stated that the modern Ilocano identity in ethnic and linguistic terms seems to derive partially from the Central Luzon zone through the consolidating influence of the administrative capital of Vigan in Ilocos Sur. In ethnic terms, the coastal areas of this zone have as their indigenous populations the main body of the Ilocano.

It was within the context of this identified culture that the study of proxemics was based, focusing on the Ilocano's hut - his "kalapaw."

## OBJECTIVES

The study aimed to describe the proxemics of the Filipino hut, with particular focus on the Ilocano native hut, the "kalapaw."

Generally, the study was guided by one objective and that was, to find out how culture had shaped the Ilocano's consciousness in his use and perception of the kalapaw as his private space.

Specifically, however, the study attempted to find out: 1) how the Ilocano organizes the spaces in the "kalapaw" in a hierarchical order, 2) how the limited spaces in the "kalapaw" can assume and be transformed into varied functions; 3) to what extent space outside the "kalapaw" is perceived by the Ilocano to be his territory; 4) how privacy and personalization of space are achieved even in the absence of visible barriers; and 5) how the "kalapaw" forms the Ilocano family as a basic unit of Philippine society and of the individual members with the characteristic Ilocano traits and values.

## SCOPE AND DELIMITATION

The study was confined to a sitio or segment of Pantay Fatima, a western barangay of Vigan where the main sources of livelihood of the residents are fishing in the nearby river, occasional farming and small seasonal construction jobs. The "kalapaw" featured for this purpose is located in the neighborhood.

The study was limited to the visual impression and observation, analysis and evaluation of the featured hut.

## OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

The following terms were defined to provide readers a common frame in understanding the study.

*Cultural Context.* The interplay of social, cultural, ritual, economic and physical factors in decision-making relative to the construction and use of a dwelling unit.

*Culture.* A way of life. It is a system of symbols and meanings.

*Ethnoculture.* Culture that is characteristic of the basic group of people with a common history, language, etc.

*Hut.* A small, simple structure used as a place to live in or for shelter. In Ilocano, it is called "kalapaw."

*Perception.* An insight, impression, idea or concept of things received through the senses.

*Proxemics.* The interrelated observations and theories of man's use and perception of space as a specialized elaboration of culture.

*Space.* A specified measure of an area or a three-dimensional extension on a surface or within an enclosure.

## METHODOLOGY

The study utilized the ethnographic method of analysis. It involved four techniques of investigation and these were:

1. A background research which provided the proper perspective on which to view the merits of the study;
2. A visual impression and participant observation which provided the means of collecting data in the form of notes, photographs and sketches;
3. A candid interview with the homemaker herself that gave insights into the family's use of the spaces in the kalapaw; and
4. A review of related studies and literature which further supported the pursuit of the study.

## FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

### "Kalapaw"; *The Ilocano's Hut*

The "kalapaw" is the Ilocano's humble but. It is usually constructed with kakawati **trunks** (a hardy tree that grows abundantly in the Ilocos provinces and is sought out for *its* long-lasting charcoal) or with bamboo serving as posts; nipa or bolo (lighter and more slender than bamboo) as walls; and nipa or cogon as roof. Nipa are palm leaves taken from groves *that* grow along the banks of swamps and rivers. The leaves are assembled in many ways like basketweaving; these are woven, fitted, inserted, coiled or stitched. To keep the kalapaw safe and comfortable on tropical grounds at all seasons, it is raised about a meter from the ground and reached by means of a short ladder made of bamboo. (Figure 1).

The floor is likewise made of bamboo slats, spaces at about one-fourth to one-half of an inch,

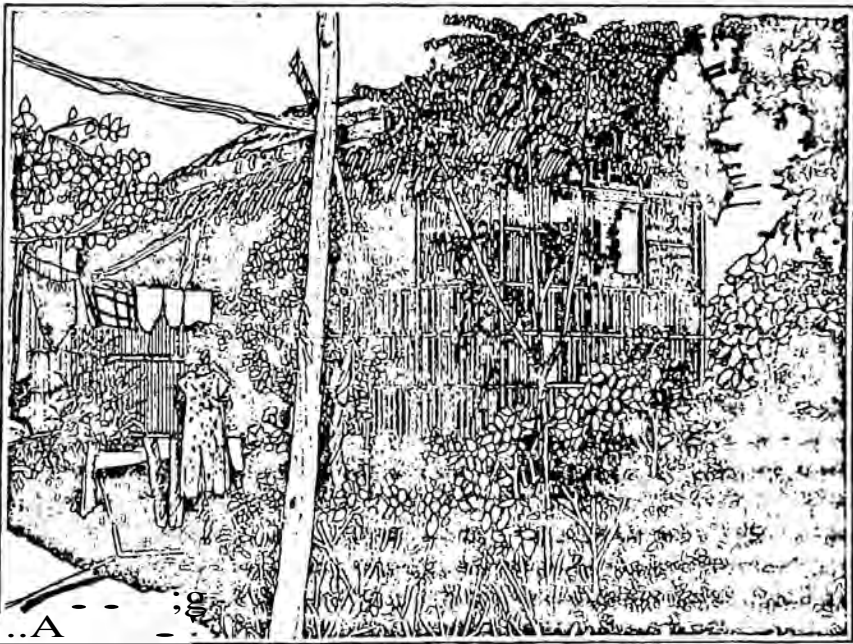


FIG. I. ILOCANO TYPICAL HUT: THE "KALAPAW"

letting in air from below - an adaptation to the tropical weather of the north. The doors and windows are made of nipa; the windows are opened by sliding them over the side of the walls or, are supported awning-type made of slender bamboo poles.

Constructed of materials indigenous to the place, the hut is small and low. The main room measures about 3 meters by 3 meters; the porch is about 2 meters by 1.5 meters; and the dining and cooking areas about 2 meters by 1.5 meters. The main room, porch, dining and cooking areas are generally the four main areas of the hut.

Inside the main room, over which is a gable roof, there is just enough headroom clearance for **the average** Filipino height. On the porch, dining and cooking areas, there is a tendency to stoop since the roof of the main room continues and therefore runs low over these areas.

The "kalapaw" is the most decent and most modest house that the Ilocano can build for himself for a start. Self-effacing and frugal, the Ilocano can content himself with this compact decent shelter that serves all the basic purposes for which it was built, until such a time that he has really saved enough money that then, he will soon replace this humble "kalapaw" with a bigger, permanent house for him and his family.

The "kalapaw" is constructed to respond to stress. During an earthquake, the pliant materials fitted together into a skeletal frame held fast to sway with the shock. The lowness of the but can resist typhoon winds to some degree, and it is usually before the rainy season that the owner reinforces the structure by bracing the posts and replacing worn-out nipa shingles. After the rainy season, the owner again assesses any damage wrought on his hut to be repaired. However, lack of durability and vulnerability to fire are still the main problems of the structure.

The lightness of the hut in terms of construction speaks of the ease with which it can be

transplanted whole into **another** setting considering the Ilocano trait as a homesteader venturing into new, untilled lands.

### *The Spaces in the Kalapaw*

Hall (1969) said that man's sense of space and distance is not static. Instead, it is dynamic because he senses distance and perceives space relating them to action - what can be done given space - rather than what is seen by passive viewing.

Man, just like birds and animals, has a uniform way of handling distance from his fellows. It was from Hall's observation of human beings in social situations that convinced him there are four of them: intimate, personal, social and public distances (each with its close and phases). His choice of terms was a desire to provide a clue as to the types of activity relationship associated with each distance, **thereby** linking them in people's minds with specific inventories of relationship and activities.

The Ilocano maintains these four spaces: intimate, personal, social and public - in "kalapaw." There are isolates that can be identified as making up the sets that constitute such zones or spaces in the hut. The boundaries of these zones are considerably constant, as do the locations for specific activities within each zone, such as sleeping and eating. There are visible material manifestations of territoriality as well as culturally-determined invisible territorial markers designed in the "kalapaw" that govern both **dwellers** and outsiders as they move about in it.

The following discussion and analysis of the various zones or spaces in the "kalapaw" attempt to identify such spaces by describing the activities and relationships that occur in each of them.

### *The Entrance Gate*

The formal entrance to the home is marked by a gate defined by thorny bamboo branches flattened into semblance of a gate door by hori-

zontal bamboo slats and secured into place by bamboo ties. Apart from being "branchy" (a few branches would suffice for a meter-wide gate), the thorns of the bamboo branches serve as a practical protective barrier against not so forceful attempts of outsiders to enter the yard. (Figure 2).

A low, run-down makeshift gate is still a gate that marks the private territory of the household, and any outsider cannot enter through it, go over it, or pass through the gaps unless permission to do so is granted by the dweller.

### *The Yard and Perimeter Fence*

The lot is often demarcated from the surrounding properties by the same bamboo branches and twigs interspersed or lined with decorative plants and trees such as malunggay and papaya. Sometimes, just the decorative plants would serve to identify the lot boundaries. But no matter how low or sparse the fence is, crossing or jumping over it without the owner's permission would constitute trespassing.

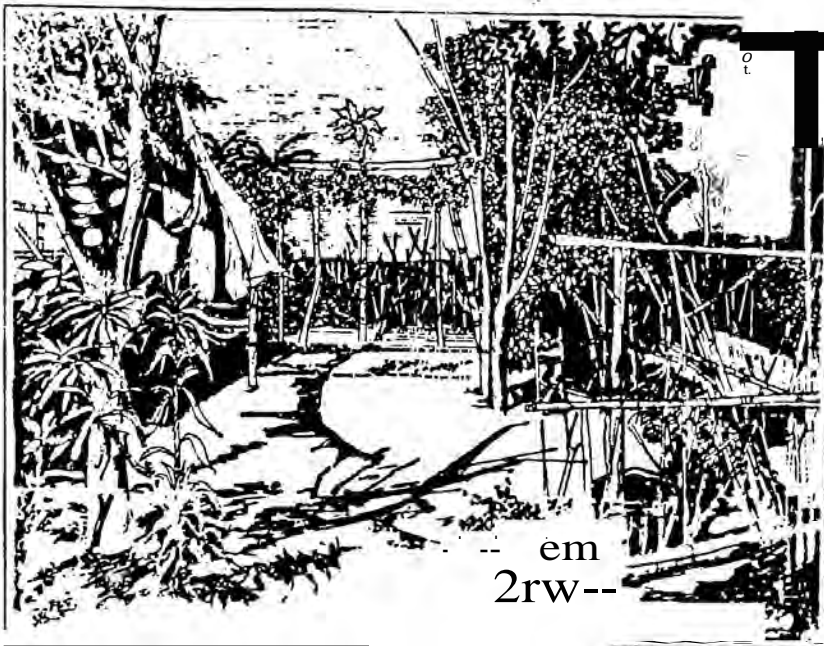


FIG. 2. THE ENTRANCE GATE

An open gate means that visitors are welcome, or the members of the household are at home; a closed one may indicate that nobody is at home, or a member is alone at the moment and is busy somewhere in the house. Nevertheless, one's presence is made known by calling "Tao, apo", "Apo" or the name of any of the household members from outside the gate since knocking on it is ineffective. It is only when one is invited to come **inside** or when a visitor is met at the gate that the visitor can enter the yard.

Defining the lot that contains both hut and yard is natural and inevitable to the owner, even in farmers' huts in the middle of the fields. The farmer, for example, would always come to define the extent to which he can have space for his yard, and those which he has to include to plough as part of the fields. Often, decorative plants or vegetable trellises would mark the boundaries.



FIG. 3. THE SIDE YARD

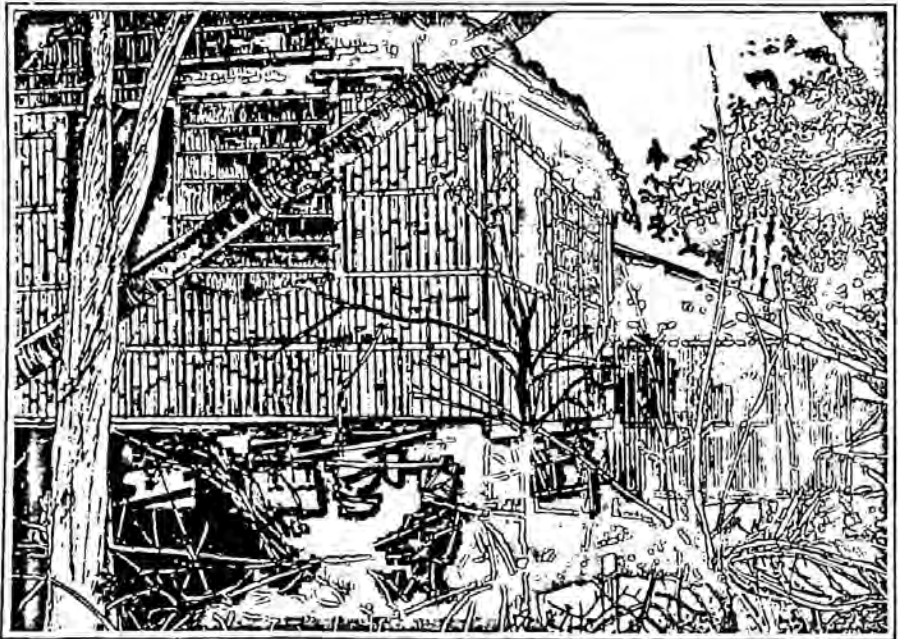


FIG. 4. THE REAR YARD

During large gatherings such as fiesta, baptisms, weddings or wakes, the yard, small as it becomes an extension of the main room as a reception area. On ordinary days, it becomes a playground for the children and a drying area during the day. (Figures 3 and 4).

In the featured hut, a prominent attraction of the front yard is a few vines of grapes in one corner supported by a trellis. Grapes grown in the front yard are a common sight in most rural homes in the Ilocos where grape-growing has been favorable far. Informal everyday conversations with neighbors stopping for a short chat are conducted standing position. When the conversation is long, wooden seats or a bench may be brought down from the hut, or pulled from underneath the hut, or else, the neighbor may be asked to go up the porch where the conversation may be continued.

### *The Staircase*

The few flight of bamboo steps marks the entrance to the hut itself. (Figure 5). It is still a custom to leave one's pair of slippers (both by the member and the visitor) below before going up the steps, although the household member may insist that the visitor brings his pair of slippers up inside the hut. That being the case, it is a custom to wipe or shake one's pair of slippers on the doormat before going up. Important visitors are advised to go up with their shoes on.

On some relaxing afternoons, the flight of steps may be used as a seating place by the members of the household engaging in light conversations.

### *The Porch*

Going up the short flight of steps, the visitor comes to the porch. Here, informal gathering of the members of

the family, especially during early evenings (which may even extend down to the stairsteps) and receiving common, everyday visitors or callers (e.g. neighbors) are held. The porch is where the callers may be initially invited, but the innate hospitality and warmth of the rural folk cannot escape him (caller) for the owner would soon insist that he comes up "inside" (main room) and to just overlook the "humbleness" of the abode, hastily snatching clutter here and there and putting them discreetly out of sight.

It is also at the porch where members of the family spend their siesta-hour especially during the hot, dry months. During siesta-hour, sleeping on the slatted floor without mats on is often done since the floor is a natural ventilation. The father,

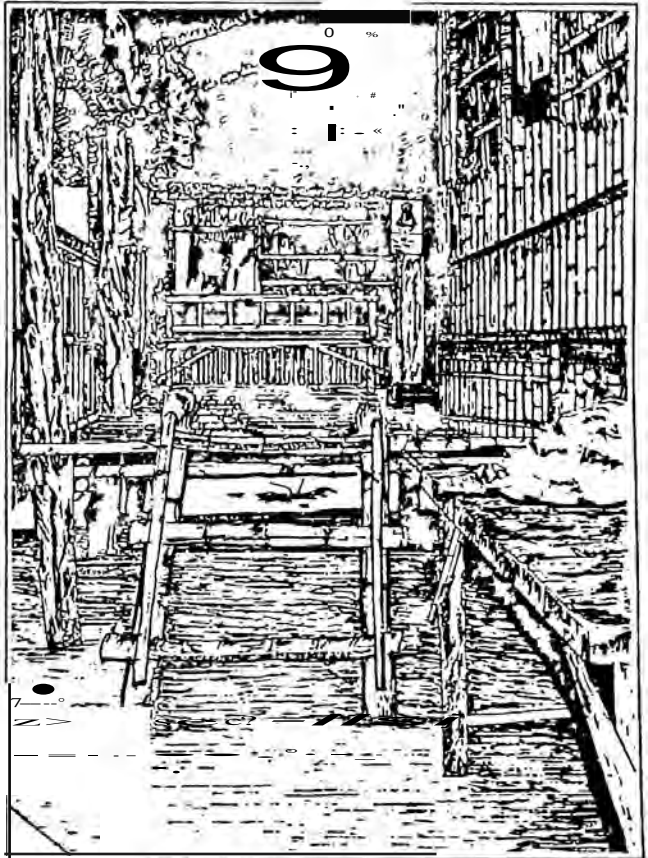


FIG. 5. STAIRCASE

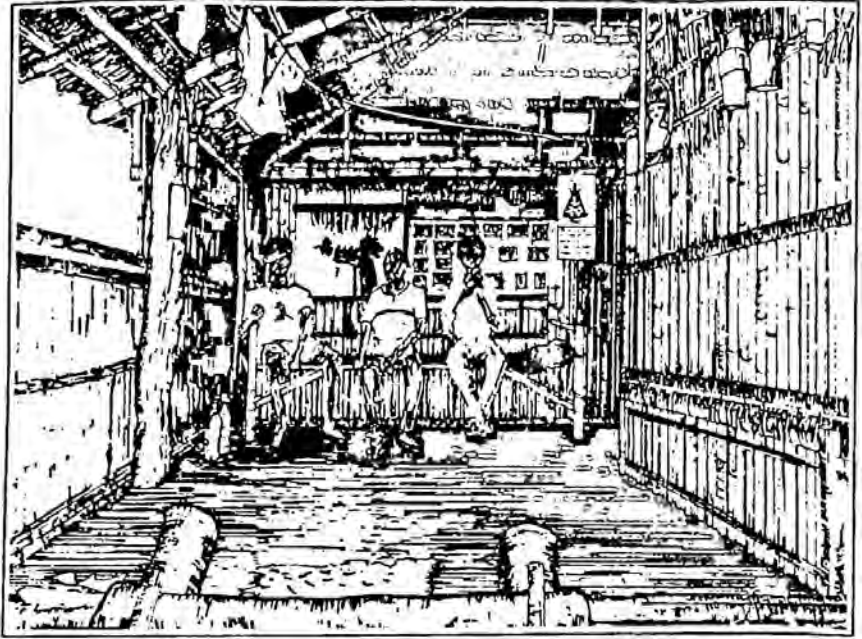


FIG. 6. THE PORCH

however, would take the bamboo bench instead, as his favorite lounging bench, which is known and understood by the whole household.

In the featured hut, the bamboo bench is a welcoming sight and a framed picture display of the household members behind the bench gives a homey atmosphere and warmth to the hut. (Figure 6). The other wall of the porch, which actually is an *isanipa* window panel permanently fixed in place, will reveal interesting things about the members: the school ribbons displayed speak of the household's pride of a member's scholastic achievements; another is adept at class projects, and of the family's deep religiosity. (Figure 7). Attempts to beautify the hut is evidenced by these displays including the hanging plants.

The main room is separated visually and physically from the porch and from all other areas by a full 12-inch step up at the threshold and a valence hung over the doorway. (Figure 8). It is also the largest of all the areas and the highest in

terms of headroom clearance. The presence of; doormat below the threshold and a doorway *th* is secured by a door indicate the importance of } room. The writer's analysis on any change height on bedroom clearance is also due to k Filipino height. If levelled with the main room; floor, the floor of the porch and dining area would be so low for comfortable headroom clearanc

The main room assumes the role of a multi function area. It is here where receiving important visitors are held; where common visitors are all received; where household members sleep; and where treasured and important belongings are key and stored.

*The Personal Space.* The household's claim to material possession is a family heirloom - an antique aparador which is actually the centerpiece of the room. (Figure 9). Here, important documents such as baptismal certificates of the children, the couple's marriage certificate, the title of the land on which the hut stands, the cow's d



carabao's document of ownership, one or two heirloom jewelry of the wife, clothes for special occasions, treasured wedding gifts such as China wares and glasses and even money are kept under lock and key. Usually, it is the wife who holds the key and it may only be her who has the sole authority and honor of opening the aparador. This single furniture and the space it occupies and the immediate spaces around it is a very personal space in the kalapaw, usually the domain of the wife.

Below the cabinet are pairs of shoes still in their boxes that are used only on special occasions, and kitchenwares carefully stored back in their boxes and only brought out and used on similar occasions.

The top of the cabinet serves as the family altar. Again, the religiosity of the family is pronounced here. The top also provides additional display space for family pictures. The personal character of the space is further reinforced by a small mirror at the corner

post where, obviously, grooming is done by the family.

Hung from the gable roof above the cabinet is a plastic bag where snacks usually reserved for unexpected visitors are kept. Its location speaks of the purpose, that it is not intended for family consumption and literally, it is out of reach to the members.

*The Formal Receiving Area.* On the right side is the main room's bamboo bench. Immediately around this furniture constitutes the formal receiving area where visitors invited up inside are taken and seated. (Figure 10). Marking this social space is a frame of pictures of the family and various decorations and knickknacks.

*The Study Area.* The receiving area has a dual role. Underneath the bamboo bench are the children's school paraphernalia stored in an empty cardboard box in the absence of a bookshelf. The box becomes convenient underneath since the children do their homework on the bench at night

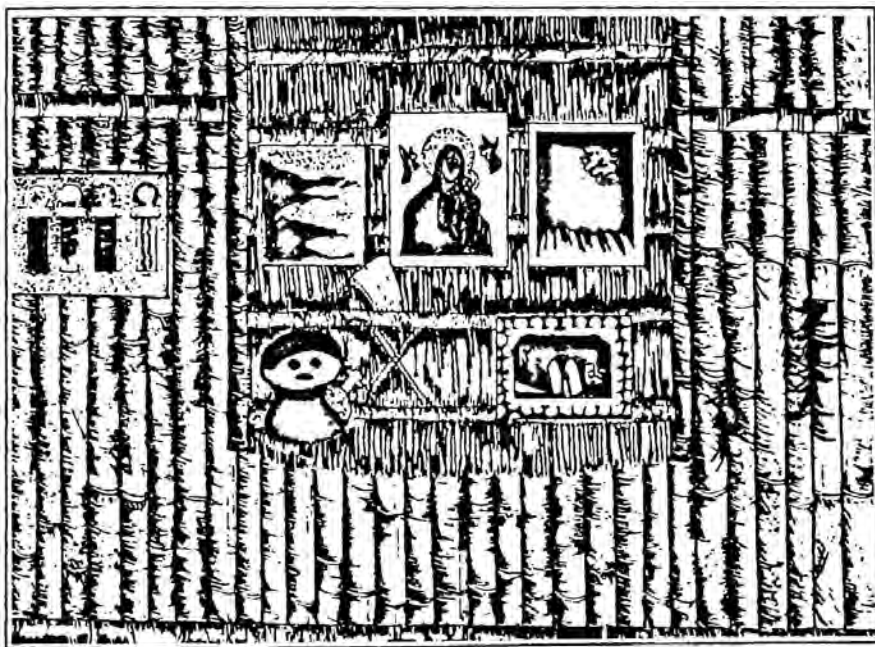


FIG. 7. WALL OF PORCH

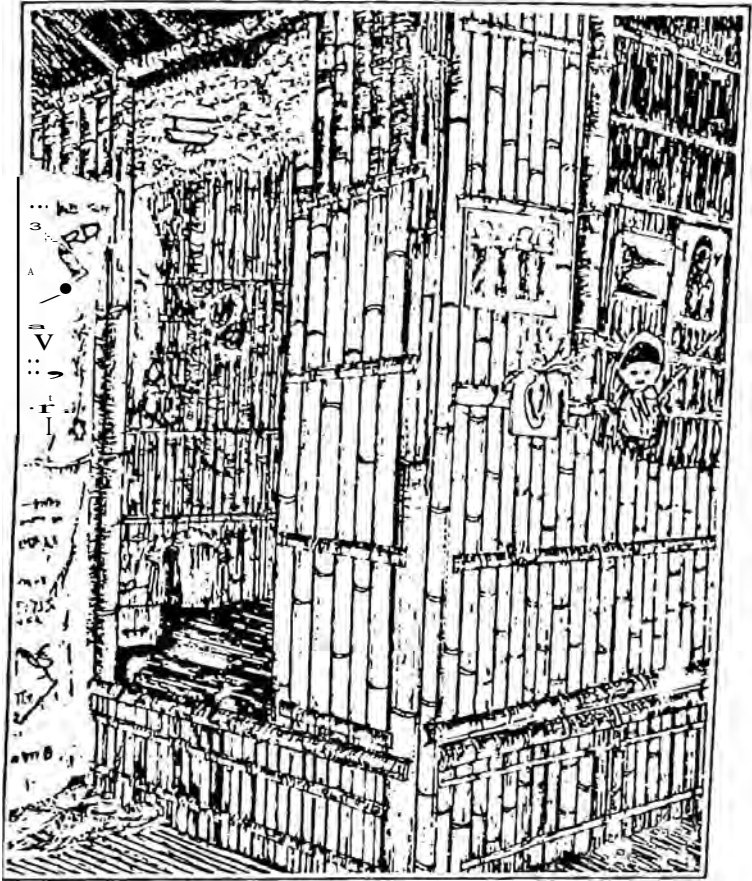


FIG. 8. ENTRANCE STEP TO MAIN ROOM

*The Sleeping Area.* The sleeping area of the family is the middle of the room itself. The family members sleep side by side. At night, the mats are spread over the whole floor and mosquito nets are tied to the surrounding posts. Neatly-piled bedding are brought out from behind the door - the space for bedding storage. (Figure 11). The door which is kept open during the day provides a visual screen for these effects.

The main room is cleared of the bedding and is ready for an early visitor the next morning **because** the Ilocanos are early-risers, which speaks of their industry as people. The farmer or the fisherman wakes up at dawn and prepares for

the farm or for the river, and the rest of the rise too, store back the bedding and begin daily chores in the hut like feeding the chic sweeping the yard, pasturing the goats, **wat** the plants and cooking breakfast. Children early age are trained to rise early and go early. Members, especially the children caught the morning sun's rays in their sleep are displeasure by the elders and chided as simil, the legendary "Juan Sadut" (Juan Tamad).

*The Clothes Area.* The other corner the main room is the family's space for clothes storage. Big cardboard boxes provide each member a neat storage for folded clou

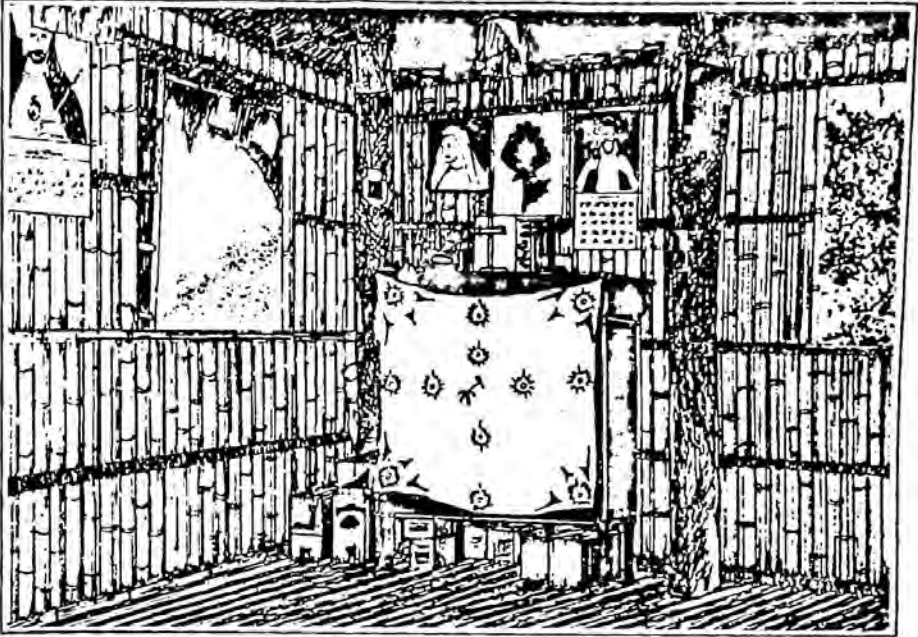


FIG. 9. THE MAIN ROOM

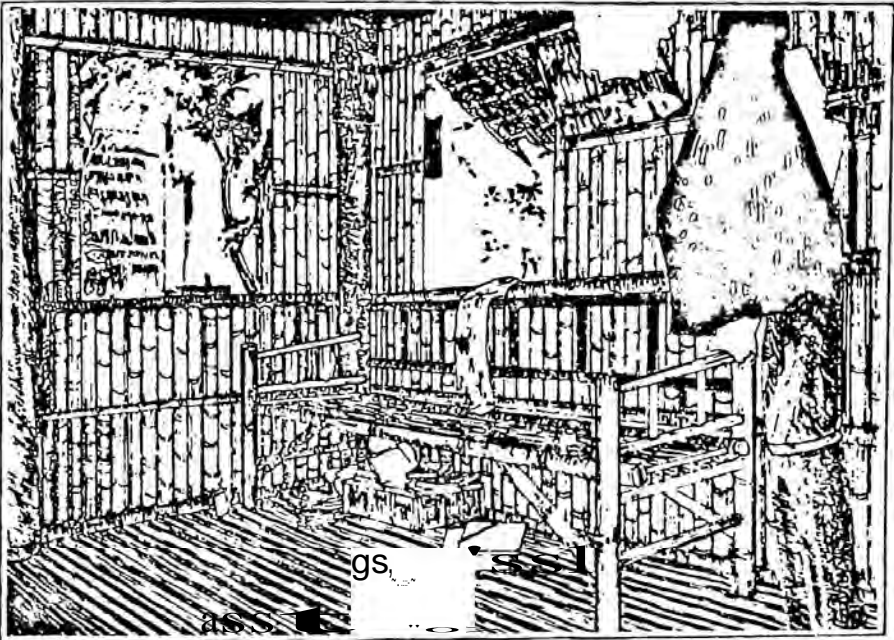


FIG. 10. THE FORMAL RECEIVING AND STUDY AREA



FIG. 11. THE BEDDING STORAGE



FIG. 12. THE CLOTHES AREA

while a makeshift rod overhead becomes a convenient place for hanging the rest. Above the rod is a makeshift shelf provided as additional space for other belongings. The corner post likewise provides a space for hanging bags. (Figure 12).

Above the bedding storage is a hanging space for everyday used clothes of the two females in the family - the mother and the young daughter. The corner post and another post adjacent to it are used as hanging racks by means of nails driven halfway through them.

It must be noted that it is only the main room which is secured by a door and windows. The porch is open from the entry to the dining and cooking areas. Therefore, the most secured and the safest area in the "kalapaw" is the main room.

### *The Dining Area*

The dining and cooking areas are screened from view at the porch and at the door leading to the main room by a curtain made of plastic sacks. (Figure 14). In other huts, this may be substituted by a wall of nipa or bolo and this marks the

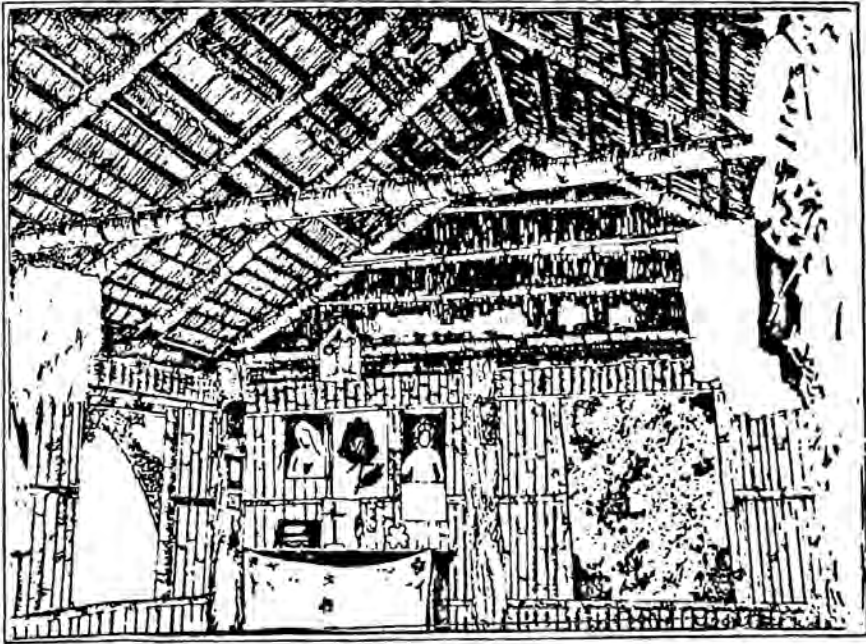


FIG. 13. G.I. WIRE STRING ACROSS THE MAIN ROOM

In the middle of the main room is a G.I. wire string across where, at both ends, are the hanging spaces for everyday used clothes of the four males in the family - the father and three sons. (Figure 13). At night, a curtain spreads across the wire which divides the room into two, providing a semblance of privacy at the inner area for the females in their sleep.

delineation of the dining and cooking areas from the public zones of the house.

The dining area is only for the household members; otherwise, visitors offered a meal in the hut are served in the main room. (Figure 15). A dining table of standard height would be impractical in this area because of its low roof. A low

table called "dulang" is used instead and the family eats squat-style, food is served on the floor and the family eats in squat-fashion.

In this area are found the various eating, food preparation and cooking utensils and condiments. In one corner is the drinking area where an earthen jar, glasses and cups and a pitcher are found. Hung above is a bag of the day's uncooked food and possibly the next day's. At the end wall is a hanging bamboo rack for plates and other eating utensils, and right above are the basic cooking condiments. On the floor below is a space for cooking pots. (Figure I6) Here, serving the food from the pot is done right at the dining area. The post in one corner holds the hand towel. With the smallness of the "kalapaw", all available spaces are virtually utilized: the basic hygiene items (i.e.; the toothbrushes) are wedged in the wall; and with such a low roof, its underside becomes a convenient place to wedge in small things.

One wall of the dining area is again a space for several things: the bamboo girt serves as a rack

for everyday footwear; the post becomes hanging space for the husband's workclothes on (Figure I7). The reason why this particular is used as a hanging space for the husband workclothes may be explained by the fact that rural communities where farming or fishing is main source of livelihood, the husband **woa** always enter at the backdoor (kitchen door) avoid soiling the porch floor and that of the ma room with his muddy or dusty feet and soil clothes. Furthermore, he can immediately depo his produce- vegetables if he is a farmer, and if he had just come from the river, for the wife clean and cook. Likewise, it is more convenient for him to go out of the backdoor since it leads him directly to the fields or to the river.

On the floor below are the fixed places coconut husk and kerosene containers.

### *The Cooking Area*

The hierarchy of spaces in the "**kalapa**" is again pronounced here. The cooking



FIG. 1- SCREEN MADE OF PLASTIC SACKS





FIG. 15. FLOOR OF THE DINING AREA

descends four inches from the dining area which means that such space is the least important among the other areas.

On the other hand, a similar analysis previously made regarding the change of elevation of main room can be made. A lower elevation of the cooking area is necessary because the floor would be too low and dangerous for the cooking stove.

The things placed in this area are the earthen cooking stove, firewood, unwashed cook-pots and cooking utensils. Washing of dishes and pots are done in one corner as evidenced by the large can of water. (Figure

18) The useful bolo is conveniently wedged in between the bamboo floor slats to be used anytime to chop firewood which is dried in the yard.

The cooking area being only about half meter from the ground, a flight of steps is unnecessary such that entry is made by lifting the foot up to the floor.

### ***The Storage Below***

The space below the hut is known as "sirok" (silong in Filipino; basement in English.) One corner of the "sirok" is used as a storage for reserve bamboo poles and wood.

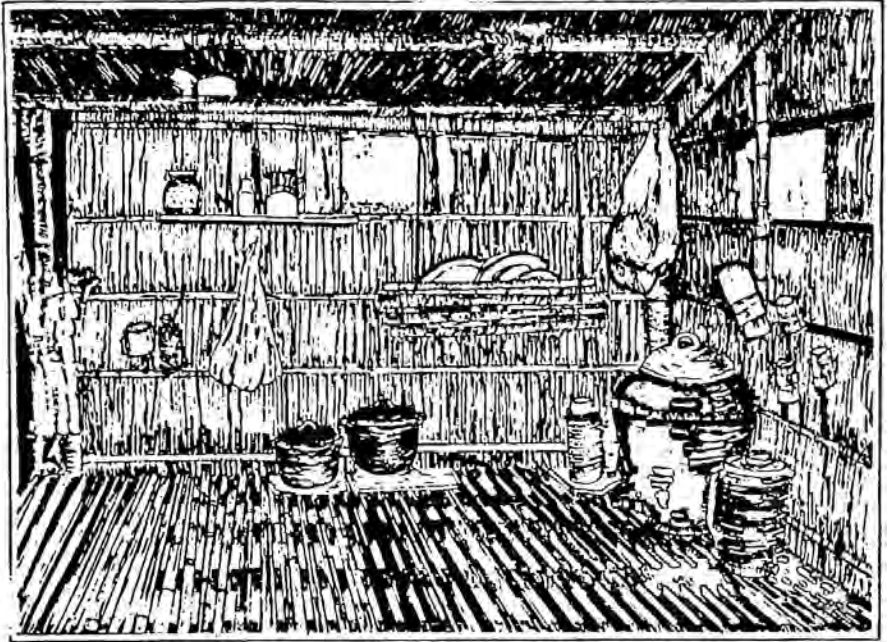


FIG: 16. PREPARATION AREA

An attempt to provide a barrier beneath the hut is made by nailing slats of bamboo, **however** widely-spaced. (Figure 19). It is understood that the area is off-limits to outsiders.

### ***The Washing and Bathing Area***

Washing clothes and taking a bath are normally done in the nearby communal well. **When** the housekeeper is alone and cannot leave the hut, water is carried in pails from the well to the yard where washing is done. (Figure 20).

### ***The Drying Area***

Clothes are dried at the yard, usually where it is brightest and directly under the sun. During the rainy season, the porch becomes the drying **area**

### ***The Sanitary Toilet***

The sanitary toilet is usually located in the farthest corner at the rear of the hut. In rural communities, the latrine type is still widely-used although water-sealed toilets are now common,

In such rural places, the toilet is a separate structure. It is usually the farthest from the hut in order to isolate the odor that come from it. Considering the fact that modern plumbing systems do not exist yet in these communities. The structure is usually enclosed with nipa or cogon walls.

### ***The Pigpen and Other Animal Shelters***

In atypical rural family, raising of domestic animals such as pigs, chicken, cows or goats are common.

The pigpen is usually located at the rear of the hut. A few families keep the pig underneath the hut. (Figure 21) At times, when the pig



been sold and there is no immediate replacement, the pen is used as a temporary storage area for firewood.

Shelter for the cow or carabao is usually a lean to a roof of cogon or nipa near a large tree at the rear yard where the animal can be securely tied to.

Native chickens are left to feed themselves on the yard. The hens lay their eggs in wooden baskets tied to the branches of the trees around the hut.

### *The Compost Pit*

A compost pit is usually dug in a corner of the yard where leaves, grass, dung and other organic garbage are thrown in. The rural folk use the compost as fertilizer for their vegetable and flower gardens.

### RESULTS RESUME' AND CONCLUSIONS

Man's personal distance varies from culture to culture, with each culture having a characteristic use of space. Filipinos in general and



FIG. 17. ONE WALL OF DINING AREA



FIG. 18. THE COOKING AREA

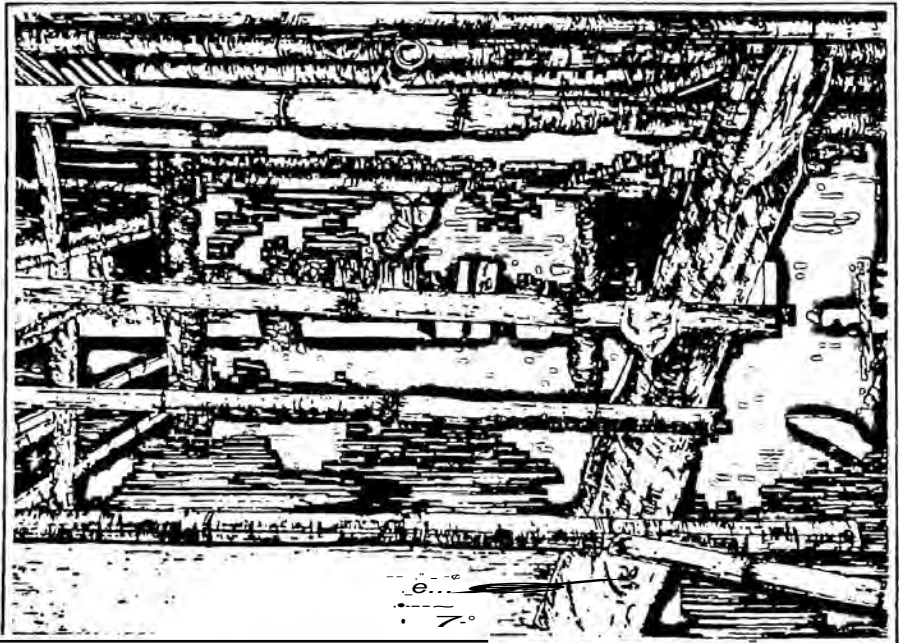


FIG. 19. THE STORAGE BELOW

Ilocanos in particular can comfortably occupy such smaller spaces than other peoples of different cultures.

The Ilocano's use and perception of spaces best characterized in his small, low and compact hut - his "kalapaw". The structure of the hut is primarily that of a place, but as such, it also contains an interior structure, which is differentiated in several small places and connecting paths. Instead of separate rooms, there is a single

acters, and their coordinate totality expresses a form of life. In this case, life in the "kalapaw" is simple. Such activities have also varying degrees of relation to the outside. The character of each space is determined by a concrete thing such as a cabinet, a bench, a cooking stove, a mirror, or a table, among others.

The Ilocano specializes his use of space and associates space and time with function, rank, activity and affect. In short, there is a time and

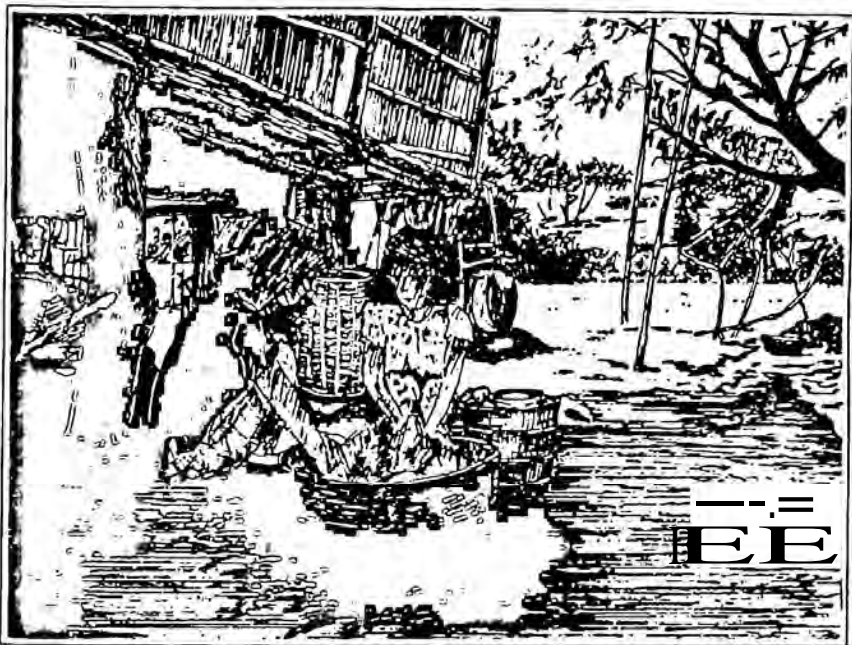


FIG. 20. THE WASHING AREA

oom - the main room, yet differentiated where one can converse, sleep, groom, read, pray and dine. Even with such an openness of space, the sense of privacy is internalized such that personal activities are not denied. Here, space is a silent anguage.

The "kalapaw" is a space consisting of places with different activities and varying char-

a place allocated for each activity, and there is a territory for each member of the household. For example, the main room is a receiving area during the day but becomes the sleeping area for the family at night. Likewise, the porch is a favorite relaxing place during the hot, dry months, but becomes a drying area for clothes during the rainy season. The hut suits the task that the Ilocano has set for himself - straightforwardly functional.

Speaking of rank and affect, the sanctity of the threshold is still revered in the Ilocano hut by such behavior as removing one's pair of slippers or wiping one's pair of shoes before entering the dwelling.

The decoration of the hut's interior symbolizes the inhabitants' feelings about self. In this case, pride in the children's achievements usually centered in the school (this may well speak ambition), and of the family's religiosity. Deco-



FIG. 21. PIG PEN AT THE BACK OF THE HOUSE

Space is sociopetal in the "kalapaw". The main room, which contains the vital activities, is the sociopetal force that draws the members to it. In short, this is the main area from which the members depart and to which they return.

It is said that a man's home is the visible **evidence** of his life-style, his family relationships, his income level, his aspirations and his feelings about his fellowmen. Thus, the "kalapaw" is seen as the symbol of the Ilocano's self- an image of him clearing the land and building a hut for himself and his family. To a culture inbred with this image - the hut, self-identity is particularly strong. This image is a reflection of what seems to be a universal need for a houseform in which the self and family unit can be seen as separate, unique, private and protected.

rations are also expressions of the members' identities and these speak of the need for individual personalization of each member's territory. Truly, it can be said that the "kalapaw" is the farmer's hut, the fisherman's shelter, and the poor man's decent dwelling.

Summing it up, the Ilocano is totally and inevitably ingrained with the attitudes, values and moralities of his own culture, molded and influenced by the spatial setting he himself has created - the "kalapaw". He could not be otherwise, even if he so wishes. Hall (1979) says that no matter how hard man tries to divest himself of his own culture, it is impossible. for it penetrates to the roots of his nervous systems and determines how he perceives the world.

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