

SCHOOL PERFORMANCE AS A FACTOR IN PHILIPPINE RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION

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INTRODUCTION

Significance of the Study

Rural stagnation, which can be attributed principally to the drawing away of capable individuals from rural areas to the cities, motivated this investigation with the hope to arrive at a more realistic and practical approach to the problem.

This investigation is likewise designed to stimulate others who might have an equal opportunity to observe the drift and its effect, but who may have spent too little time or overlooked the necessity of embarking into a similar study.

The ideas presented have been developed and have taken form through an actual study of the problem. This does not guarantee their validity. However, it may in some measure serve to bring the ideas in which they are presented to better perspective.

Statement and Definition of the Problem

The study proposes to differentiate the school performance of migrants and non-migrants. Specifically, the study inquires into the following:

1. Do migrants prove to be the most capable or the least, or of average ability?
2. Do migrants differ from non-migrants in extra-curricular activities? Which of these groups were active leaders during their senior year in High School?
3. What sex was found most migratory?
4. Is there a direct association between school grades and extent of migration or distance travelled?

Methods Used

The data consisted of official school publications, "The Republic" and school records (grades) of 1,543 former high school seniors of M. H. del Pilar High School (Malolos, Bulacan) during the years 1946 to 1950. Other matter vital to the present investigation were obtained through information from the cooperative school principal, teachers, and friends and relatives of subjects studied. These data consisted of school grades, extra-curricular activities, addresses while in the senior year High School, and current addresses of 1,543 sample individuals. The time elapsing between the date the individuals were in High School and the date this investigation was conducted ranged from five to nine years. Five years for those who graduated in 1950 and six, seven, eight, and nine years for the 1949, 1948, 1947, and 1946 graduates, respectively. The span was believed sufficient time for the individuals concerned to migrate.

* From part of a master of arts thesis submitted to the University of the Philippines in March, 1956.

Of the 1,543 sample individuals, specific addresses of the 1,405 had been obtained, making classification of individuals according to their present addresses possible,—that is abroad, local cities, and rural communities. From here, the investigator proceeded to compare the school grades and extra-curricular activities of migrants and non-migrants.

Limitations of the Study

The investigator considers it fitting and proper to consider the scope of the inquiry made for a more thorough understanding of the problem.

The investigator believes that the graduates of the M. H. del Pilar High School in Malolos, Bulacan to be the most logical sample for the study taking into consideration the status (rural community), distance to the nearest and admittedly the biggest local city in the Philippines—Manila, and the total absence of institutions of learning offering professional education in Malolos. Graduates of class 1946 to 1950 were chosen by the investigator on the assumption that the majority of them, if not all, have graduated from college except for the later graduates who took courses which require more than four years, like law and medicine. There are still twenty-four college students, fifteen of whom are abroad, who belong to the "migrant" category at the time the inquiry was conducted. All indications point to the fact that these individuals are not going back to Malolos.

The investigator assumed that, since at the time the survey was made the sample individuals who were believed to have graduated had not returned to their former addresses, they were then, not only away at school but permanently established in places other than their community of high school attendance.

The investigator selected high school graduates, considered a selective group as the subject of inquiry. It may probably be that the pattern of migration would be quite different among those who dropped out of school before reaching the senior year high school class.

The fact that the investigator's attention was focused only on migration from rural areas to nearby or adjoining rural areas should not create the impression that none of the subjects moved to further rural areas of Luzon, the Visayas, and Mindanao. There were seventeen individuals who belong to this group. This number is so negligible that specific discussions of them had not been given.

The fact that the present study is confined only to one rural area makes obvious the impossibility of determining the pattern of migration that may arise on the different social and economic status of other rural communities.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF MALOLOS

The investigator felt the necessity of inquiring into the social and economic status of the place—a factor which either drives out (push) or draws in (pull) people from one place to another. "Push" refers to whatever conditions exist that make a place unattractive to a group. "Pull," on the other hand, designates the attractions which draw people to one particular place instead of another.

Malolos, the capital of Bulacan, is situated forty-two kilometers north of Manila. Being the seat of the First Philippine Republic, Malolos won great significance in Philippine history. The town has 38,000 citizens scattered in its fifty-two barrios whose culture, mores, and folkways are identical to that of the people found in other rural areas of the Tagalog region.

The *damay* system of interaction continues in Malolos. *Damay* as here used means a type of community life in which intimate, sympathetic and neighborly relationships prevail. In other words, people live in an atmosphere where life is warm, personal and intimate. Although Malolos is not distinctly different from other rural districts, it is not found wanting in prominent social and civic organizations. Among them are: Rotary Club of Malolos, Knights of Columbus, Philippine Red Cross, Malolos Lodge no. 46, and Malolos Jaycees. All these would seem to imply that the people are aware of their duties as citizens.

Outside of the family, which is the most important social institution in rural communities, the church or *visita* may be considered as the next outstanding. Any religious service, whether it be Catholic, Protestant, or Aglipayan, is made something of by the people. It gives the people an excuse to get away for an hour or more from their daily cares and hardships. Although some religious activities, outside of Sunday services may come only once in a while, they are anticipated by the people of Malolos for they change the routine of country life.

The town of village fiesta is another social institution which is eagerly looked forward to for they give a welcome relief from the drudgery of rural life.

Malolos has a land area of approximately 8,836 hectares, 4,608 of which is devoted to farmlands and 2,100 hectares in fishpond. Since Malolos is principally agricultural, the majority of its inhabitants derive income from a limited range of occupations—farming and fishing. This does not mean, however, that Malolos does not possess some minor industries, such as salt making, poultry raising, and general merchandizing.

Taking into consideration the increase of population, the economic conditions of Malolos are not all healthy. Although ninety-five percent of the farm area are cultivated, farming yields have not increased. Production—consumption unbalance appears to exist. There is a need to increase the production of food and the per capita income of the people to satisfy their minimum requirements to sustain a normal health. Since Malolos is primarily agricultural, it is in farming and fishing where such increase income should arise.

Farmer-tenants still cling to the old (not to say primitive) ways of farming. They still lag way behind in applying technical knowhow and new systems of farm management. Only a few of the landholders employ modern farm equipment.

So long as the economic status of the place remains unchanged, its population cannot expect to rise above its present level and the flow of the intellectual class cannot be arrested but will continue on its way to the cities for better opportunities. The draw of the more educated individuals towards cities intensifies the tendencies toward economic stagnation. Unless and until Malolos is on the road to economic progress, there will be little chance to hold or keep its people together.

SCHOOL PERFORMANCE AND EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES OF SAMPLE INDIVIDUALS

Often considered a safe criterion in the appraisal of school performance is a knowledge of the system of grading¹ adopted by the school. An examination of the school records of sample individuals was also resorted to by the investigator.

Let it be emphasized here that the investigator utilized as sample only those whose current addresses are known. Of the 1,543 graduates during the years 1946 to 1950, the present addresses of 1,405 were obtained.

Of the 1,405 individuals studied, 995 did not migrate from their community of high school attendance; the rest moved to nearby or adjoining rural areas, local urban centers or places abroad. A very big number migrated to Manila. Manila attracted 276 migrants out of a total of 298 who moved to local cities. The United States got the biggest share of migrants among the places abroad. There were eighteen who moved to the United States while five were almost evenly distributed among Melbourne, Australia, Guam, Honolulu, Hawaii, and Madrid, Spain. There were 89 individuals classified as rural to rural migrants. In this group, seventeen moved to the further rural areas of Luzon, the Visayas, and Mindanao while the rest migrated to the nearby or adjoining rural communities.

TABLE I
DISTRIBUTION OF THE TOTAL SAMPLE

Migrants Abroad	1.64%
Migrants to Philippine cities especially Manila	21.21%
Migrants to Other Rural Communities	6.33%
Total Percentage of Migrants	29.18%
Non-migrants	70.82%
Total Percentage of total sample	100.00%

As already stated, the investigator uses the school grades to measure school performance. She is aware of possible bias tendencies resulting from this technique. However, it was considered the best method under the circumstance.

¹ The M. H. del Pilar High School adopts the "cumulative" system of grading. Cumulative, it is so called because the rating for any grading period is determined by adding the previous grade to twice the tentative rating and dividing the sum by three. The last cumulative rating is considered the final grade in each particular subject.

TABLE II
DISTRIBUTION OF GRADES OF STUDENT BY SEX,
NUMBER AND PERCENT *

General Average	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
90-95	22	2.67	18	3.10	40	2.85
85-89	107	12.98	92	15.83	199	14.16
80-84	380	46.12	329	56.63	709	50.46
75-79	314	38.11	142	24.44	456	32.46
below 75	1	0.12	—	—	1	0.07
Total	824	100.00	581	100.00	1,405	100.00

* Source: School Records.

There are, as shown in the foregoing Table, a total of 1,405 sample graduates of M. H. del Pilar High School, almost two thirds of which are males. The greater number of males do not, as boldly pictured above, prove superiority in school performance. On the contrary, there is a greater percentage of females over males in the first three highest brackets classified into: 90-95 "excellent," 85-89 "very good" and 80-84 "good". Males, however indicate their superiority in number in the last two brackets classified into: 75-79 "average" and, below 75 "below average". In other words, more boys finished high school than girls, but on the whole girls appear to do better. It would appear that the Bulakeños do not attach a high premium to full training of the girls.

School Performance of Migrants and Non-migrants

What may be the most appropriate and altogether interesting question to be asked in the point of view of this study is whether or not there exists a distinguishable difference between the school performance of migrants and non-migrants. The term "school performance" as here used is the scholastic ability of the sample individuals as measured by their school grades at the time of graduation in High School. In other words, the present study is confined to knowing whether the intelligence of migrants as measured by school grades is higher or lower than that of the non-migrants.

Before coming to the result of the present investigation, it is thought of as proper to cite first studies conducted abroad by different investigators regardless of the methods used, to properly determine to what extent they agree, or, to what degree they are in conflict among themselves, and with the present study.

Klineberg's researches on Negroes moving north from certain towns and cities indicated that those who migrate have no more intelligence than those who did not.

Zimmerman, in studying migrants in Minnesota, arrived at a conclusion in varied contradiction to that of Klineberg's. He concluded that youths with the most and those with the least natural ability went to the city, whereas the average youth remained on the farm. By this he meant that the cities attract disproportionately large shares of the most capable and

the least intelligent whereas the country retains high percentages of those of medium ability. No doubt many youths of average ability are not willing to fight their way in the city when they can achieve a mediocre success in the familiar environment of the farm. Whereas the most able individuals—feeling they can do better migrate, while the least able appear to believe that they could not do worst by migrating.

Quite different from the cases heretofore cited are the findings of a great number of other investigators:

Gessner, in studying migrants from a rural school district in New York, found that a large proportion of those remaining in the district were in the lowest quartile of their school classes. Somewhat akin to the findings of Gessner is that of Gist and Clark. It was found that in regard to ability as measured by intelligence tests, superior persons tend to migrate more frequently to the cities than those from the inferior or average classes.

Again at a different time, Gist, together with his colleagues—Pihlbald and Gregory, studied the selective processes involved in the migration of 5,464 persons who had attended high school in rural communities in Missouri between 1920 and 1930, using school grades as an index of superiority and inferiority. Their evidence indicates that those with better scholastic ratings tend to go to rural non-farm and urban areas.

What seems consistent in the findings of Gessner and Gist *et al.*, is the result of the present study. As has been intimated earlier, the investigator made use of scholastic grades obtained by sample individuals at the time of graduation as the basis of determining school performance of migrants and non-migrants.

TABLE III
DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS AND NON-MIGRANTS
BY GENERAL AVERAGE, BY NUMBER AND PERCENT *

	Migrants		Non-Migrants	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
90-95	30	7.32	10	1.00
85-89	157	38.29	42	4.22
80-84	159	38.78	550	55.28
75-79	64	15.61	392	39.40
below 75	0	—	1	0.10
Total	410	100.00	995	100.00

* Source: School Records and Interviews.

What can easily be noticed at a glance on Table III, is the impressive difference in school performance between those who migrated and those who remained. As indicated, of the forty students within the 90-95 "excellent" bracket, thirty migrated, ten remained. Such superiority in number of migrants with high scholastic ratings extended to the 85-89 "very good" category, where 157 moved out as against forty-two who remained. What undoubtedly confirmed Zimmerman's findings—that the city secures the most desirable elements in the population while the country retains the great middle group is the fact that of the 709 students within the 80-85 "average" bracket, only 159 migrated as against 550 who seem to be con-

tented with what their rural community offers. Of the 457 individuals studied who belong to the "75-79" and "below 75" brackets, and who undoubtedly compose the less able group of the sample individuals, only sixty-four migrated, 392 remained.

Assuming that the trend of out-migration is the same in other rural districts, there is no doubt that rural areas are losing to cities their potential leaders—those who have the ability to contribute to the upliftment of rural communities. It is observed that those who migrated to cities do not return to their home communities. It would seem logical to suppose that the backwardness of rural areas is due in part to the flow of the intelligentsia toward cities.

Extra-Curricular Activities

Although the main aim of the present investigation is to determine, by way of comparison, the school performance of migrants and non-migrants, the investigator extended the inquiry as to what bearing and influence, if any, has school performance on extra-curricular activities. The term "extra-curricular activities" is defined as "those legitimate activities not provided for in that part of the school program usually designated as the curriculum."

As has already been significantly shown in Table II, migrants have a higher school performance than non-migrants. A question may well be posed: Is the former group superior, inferior, or equal in percentage of participation with the latter in extra-curricular activities? To what extent, or in what respect, if at all, do they differ? The answers to all these perhaps may be seen in Table IV that follows.

TABLE IV
NUMBER OF PERCENTAGE OF MIGRANT AND NON-MIGRANT PARTICIPANTS IN EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES *

Extra-curricular Activities	Migrants		Non-migrants	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Literary-musical (1)	75	18.29	54	5.43
School Organizations (2)	209	50.98	311	31.25
Boy and Girl Scouts	12	3.41	24	2.41
Athletics	45	10.98	98	9.85

* Source: Annual Official Publication of M. H. del Pilar High School (1946-1950)

- (1) Organizations that engage in literary-musical activities are the following: Dramatic Club, Debating Club, Glee Club, Balagtas, Club, and BHS Writers' Guild.
- (2) School organizations which engage in non-literary-musical activities are the following: Senior Class Organization, HE Club, Poultry Club, BHS Odd Club, SAADAR Club, Entrepreneur's Club, Sorority Club.

As shown in the foregoing Table, migrants have a greater participation than non-migrants in all fields of extra-curricular activities. At a glance it can be noticed that 18.29 percent of the migrant group participated in literary-musical field as against 5.43 percent of the non-migrant group. The great difference in percentage of participation between the two groups holds through in school organization. In this line, only 31.25 percent of the non-

migrant group joined as against 50.98 percent of the migrant group. The high percentage of participation of the migrant group in both literary-musical and school organization fields suffered a sharp decline in athletics and scout organization. In both fields migrants and non-migrants are almost equal in percentage of participation. However, in both activities for both groups, participation is rather small.

How could the difference in percentage of participation be accounted for? There would seem to be no doubt that individuals with high scholastic abilities engage in literary-musical field where certain talents or abilities are required. There is also the natural tendency for those with high scholastic ratings to become leaders or members of school organizations. The difference in the percentage of participation of both groups in scout organization and athletics is insignificant since the number of those who participated in those activities is quite small. One reason for the lesser participation of non-migrants may be due to either physical disability or sheer lack of interest if not lack of time.

SEX DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS

Also worthy of consideration is the study of the sex distribution. The sample considered showed that of the 1,405 subjects, 410 migrated. Of these migrants 259 were males and 151 females. From Table IV below, one derives the conclusion that the sex ratio of male to female migrants is approximately 2:1 or more exactly 1.7:1. The number of males who migrated is almost twice the number of females who changed residence.

TABLE V
TOTAL SUBJECTS STUDIED BY SEX, NUMBER AND PERCENT *

Subjects Studied	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Migrants	259	31.43	151	25.99	410	29.18
Non-migrants	565	68.57	430	74.01	995	70.82
Total	824	100.00	581	100.00	1,405	100.00

* Source: School Records and Interviews.

In Table VI is presented the statistical information on the sexual composition of the migrants.

TABLE VI
DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS BY SEX AND DESTINATION *

Places Migrated	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Abroad	17	6.56	6	3.97	23	5.61
Local Cities	190	73.36	108	71.53	298	72.68
Other Rural Communities	52	20.08	37	24.50	89	21.71
Total	259	100.00	151	100.00	410	100.00

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Total	259	100.00	151	100.00	410	100.00

* Source: School Records and Interviews

TABLE VIII
GENERAL AVERAGE AND DESTINATION OF MIGRANTS BY
NUMBER AND PERCENT *

General Average Grades	Abroad		Local Cities		Other Rural Communities	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
90 - 95	8	34.78	21	7.05	1	1.12
85 - 89	8	34.78	127	42.62	22	24.72
80 - 84	4	17.39	108	36.24	47	52.81
75 - 79	3	13.05	42	14.09	19	21.35
Total	23	100.00	298	100.00	89	100.00

* Source: School Records and Interviews

It can be glanced from Table VIII that more than one half of the total migrants abroad come under the "excellent" and "very good" rating categories. The prevailing number of those who moved to local cities are from the "very good" category, and majority of the migrants to other rural communities come from the "good" rating category. It can be readily seen that those who travelled the furthest, which in this instance are migrants abroad, have the highest scholastic ratings.

From these differences, it could be deduced that youths who migrate toward other rural areas as well as those who remained in their home communities are comparatively inferior to those who went abroad and to local cities with respect to scholastic achievement. That is, rural areas tend to attract and retain individuals with average scholastic ratings. On the other hand, places abroad and local urban centers draw in those with a higher scholastic performance. Thus, response to greater challenge can only be expected from the more able.

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND PROPOSALS

The results of the present study can be briefly summarized as follows:

1. Less than one-third or 29.18 percent of the 1,405 individuals studied resided in a place different from the community of school attendance.
2. The migrants had a higher school performance than non-migrants. The former also prove to be more active than the latter in extra-curricular activities.
3. In general, males were found to be more migratory than females. This is particularly true in rural-urban and country to country migration. On the other hand, the percentage of female migrants to adjoining or nearby rural areas exceeds that of the male migrants. This cannot be explained by the fact that women are physically handicapped for long distance travel. The investigator is inclined to believe that this tendency among women to move to nearby or adjoining areas may be explained by their desire to live close to their families.
4. High scholastic performance seems to induce long distance migration. School performance of migrants abroad and to local cities are significantly higher than non-migrants and those who moved to other rural communities,

although the ratings of the rural to rural migrants were slightly higher than those of the non-migrants.

In general, the results of the present study agree with those of other investigations in supporting the hypothesis that rural-urban migration tends to be selective of the intellectual cream of the population. It should be remembered, however, that the subjects of the present study are high school graduates and, therefore, they compose a selective group in the population already. How many migrated of those who dropped out of school before their graduation, is a matter not covered by the present investigation.

If it be conceded that migrants have a higher level of school performance than non-migrants, what explanation can be offered to account for the difference? As can be noted in Table IV, less than one-third or 29.18 percent of the subject resided in a place different from the community of school attendance. Although small, their number could be said to constitute a large proportion of the most enterprising of the rural population.

It cannot be doubted that a great number of those with higher school performance seek improvement in educational institutions not found within their home communities. Similarly, rural communities without or with limited educational facilities will likely lose its youth with good school grades to places adequately supplied with such resources. Furthermore, there is the desire for self-improvement which may be acquired or achieved in either business or clerical fields. Rural districts are admittedly deficient along these lines. While away at school in cities, new desires, new contacts are established. The "pull" of the city is intensified. Migration, propelled by the feeling of being exposed to the conditions of instability and insecurity, seems to be an expression of the desire to seek a place which promises a degree of progress and security.

The tendency of cities to attract migrants from rural areas results in a number of complicated problems such as unemployment, the housing shortage and poor public health conditions.⁵ Cities in themselves are already burdened with problems of their own inhabitants and the added responsibility for the rural migrants works to the detriment of both cities and migrants.⁶

Thus, because rural communities have but limited opportunities and limited remunerations to offer for leadership compared to urban centers, those with a higher school performance tend to migrate toward cities. With the migration of those who are the most capable of providing the needed leadership, rural areas are left without competent leaders, resulting in their state of backwardness.

The society in its present educational set up emphasizes urban values—urban possibilities.

Proposals

In summing up the implications of this survey, the following proposals are advanced to arrest the flow of population from country to cities. It is important to put a stop to this flow if we take into account, not so much the absolute numbers migrants, but rather, the high percentage of young

⁵ Richard Collier, "Role of the Philippine Rural High School", *Philippine Sociological Review*, July, 1954, p. 43.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

men and women of leadership qualities who have joined the trek to the cities. In the flow of the population to cities were merely to seek better educational opportunities, there would not be much cause for alarm. But, unfortunately, these young people seek permanent residence in cities.

It is believed that schools have been in many ways a direct means of taking out from rural communities the needed leadership. Because of a lack of vision or a lack of understanding of the potentialities of rural life, the teachers have helped destroy the interests of the students in country life. They tended to present to the students the false conception that a job in the city is the best and easiest way to success.

The inculcation of the proper attitude towards rural life is a necessary and important function of rural secondary schools. School children must be re-oriented in the dignity of rural living. They must be imbued with "a love for the land and a love for life in the land."⁷ The teachers must be rural minded. They must develop a missionary zeal.⁸ This is important if we consider that in point of limited facilities for modern living, rural life can be unattractive and monotonous. The teachers must be constantly aware of the dignity of farm life and they must convey this love for rural living among the students.

A course of study adopted to existing rural needs is also considered essential. All necessary phases of rural life must be given due attention. As pointed out by Vitaliano Bernardino in his article entitled, "Improving the Curriculum to Meet the Needs of Living in Rural Areas":

"There are certain common needs of most Philippine communities; there are, however, needs that are peculiar to certain communities. The curriculum must discover both the common and peculiar needs and provide appropriate activities and experiences for children, the youth, and adults that will help them in improving their lives... Many of the knowledges, skills and abilities that are contained in the textbook or prescribed in the courses of study are of little or no practical value to the pupils. Studies should be made of the knowledges, skills, abilities, and attitudes in subjects that are truly of value to the rural folk, and these should be the core of the curriculum."⁹

Other means to put a stop to the trek to urban centers must be made through the improvement of the economic status of rural communities by way of improving agricultural practices, developing small scale industrialization, and attracting professional services to flow from populated places to rural areas.

Rural areas, whose inhabitants we pay tribute to as the backbone of the nation, have been for many years and still continue to be a major problem of the country demanding immediate attention from the govern-

⁷ Address delivered by Hon. Gregorio Hernandez, Jr., Secretary of Education on the occasion of the Seminar on Rural Leadership held at the University of the Philippines, May 21, 1955.

⁸ Antonio Isidro, "Education in the Rural Areas", *Educational Quarterly*, June 1954, p. 329.

⁹ Vitaliano Bernardino, "Improving the Curriculum to Meet the Needs of Living of Rural Areas", *Education in Rural Areas for Better Living*, 1950 Yearbook, Manila: Bookman Inc., p. 204.

ment. It has only been recently that the government has shown much concern to elevate the standard of rural living with the greater emphasis on the upliftment of rural masses. It is felt that by giving them the same benefits and conveniences enjoyed by rural dwellers,—guiding them to a better life, they will be useful and contented citizens of tomorrow.

The foregoing ideas are not presented with a notion that they provide a solution to the present problem of rural areas. They are merely intended to indicate the lines along which a solution might be sought and found.

LAND OWNERSHIP, OCCUPATION, AND INCOME IN A LEYTE BARRIO

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Guinhangdan² is a small barrio nestled in the loop of the Guinhangdan River in the Municipality of Palo in the Province of Leyte in the Philippine Islands. The barrio is formed of several blocks of residences on both sides of the National Highway. Approximately 1200 people live in 260 households according to a survey made by the teachers of the elementary school in 1954-1955. For purposes of this report, information is given on 231 households. Twenty nine of the 260 whose members had moved to a farm, to another barrio, or who had lost a household head through death in the interim between the initial survey and my use of the data in December 1955 are not included in the report. In like manner, households which were set up by incoming families or those established through marriage in the same interim are not considered.

Since it is practically impossible to understand a people's way of life without understanding their land ownership patterns and their occupation, the securing of this data was one of the first task undertaken in the course of a study whose primary focus is child training practices and women's roles. As analysis of land ownership patterns commenced, a significant feature which came to light was that 123 (out of 231) households were landless. That left a remainder of 97 families who owned the land. How is it divided among them? Are there some owners who have very big holdings and many more who have minute plots? Do the owners of extensive land holdings work their own land or do they invariably hire tenants and laborers? What is the biggest plot or land which may be worked by a family without outside help? In answer to the last question it may be said that there is a practical limitation on the amount of land a family may own and work with the equipment and methods in use here. Although it does not seem an overly large or unwieldy tract, no family works an area larger than a hectare without contracting for help in some form. They either hire tenants or helpers or let all, or part, of the land grow wild. There are 15 families out of the 97 landowners who do not hire tenants or temporary helpers: of these 10 households have holdings under a hectare and the family in which ownership is

¹ The writer is a Fulbright grantee engaged in anthropological research in the Visayan Islands.

² Name is fictionalized in order to conceal the real barrio studied.