

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

ETHEL NURGE, Ph. D.¹

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.

vested work their own land by themselves: in addition there are five families who have fields ranging in size from 1 to 9 hectares which for one reason or another they leave uncultivated. In contrast to non-cultivators and single family cultivators there are 41 families, with land area ranging in size from less than a hectare to 51 hectares who have tenants only. They do not work their own land. In addition there are another 41 families whose land holdings range from less than a hectare up to 7 hectares who work on their own land, and/or who have tenants and hire help.

LAND OWNERSHIP AND USE BY FAMILIES

No land	134
Less than a hectare—works own land	10
Less than a hectare—works own land and has tenants or hires help	7
Less than a hectare—has tenants only	7
1 to 4 hectares—works own land and has tenants or hires help	30
1 to 4 hectares—has tenants only	18
4 to 7 hectares—works own land and has tenants or hires help	4
4 to 7 hectares—has tenants only	8
7 or more hectares—works own land and has tenants or hires help	0
7 or more hectares—has tenants only	8

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If we collapse some of the figures shown on the table we find that there are 134 families with no land at all, 24 who have less than a hectare, 48 who have 1 to 4 hectares, and twelve who have 4 to 7 hectares, and eight families who have more than seven hectares. Almost 50% of those who hold land are in the 1 up to 4 hectares category. In considering occupational specialization for barrio people, what are the influences of the land ownership patterns on that occupation which is the primary source of money income for any given family? The ownership or lack of land, the size of the parcel, the use to which the land is put, and the presence of subsidiary resources are all important determinants to the occupation of a family. As we shall see, the occupation of the people of Guinhangdan is also influenced by the location of their barrio in the loop of the river near the sea.

Before we consider the diversity of occupation found in this barrio, there are certain difficulties inherent in stating occupations for rural people in a state of transition which ought to be made explicit. In Guinhangdan most families do not engage in a single money making or subsistence activity to the exclusion of all others. Furthermore, their participation in any activity is seldom systematic and regular. In actuality, they may have several activities that run serially or which may be undertaken simultaneously. Furthermore psychological work patterns have relevance. It is remarkable to the methodical, clockminded Westerner that the Filipino feels no need to work for prolonged, measured periods with single minded devotion to the task at hand. He is much more casual, and easygoing conversation and joking are to him a necessary and unvaryingly present part of the job. The setting aside of blocks of time for the completion of a task is a foreign

inimitable notion. The work patterns of the Filipino are such that he can, and does, work competently but not hurriedly for irregular lengths of time on whatever task he is interested in at the moment. Then he may pass on to something else, apparently forgetting the first job and often leaving it in what some call a state of incompleteness. In light of these differences it may be quickly perceived that a statement of occupation for industrialized peoples is a quite different thing from a statement of occupation for rural people in transition. Are we then justified in labeling the varied activities and the irregular work patterns of the people of Guinhangdan as an occupation? Is the use of this term too misleading? Not if we keep in mind the specialized use to which the word is being put and the meaning which is attributed to the term in this report. An occupation in this report will refer to a family's activities in the *exploiting of some primary resource for cash*. Each family has one primary resource. In attempting categorization of occupational activities, this writer sought to ascertain what was the activity from which was drawn whatever money the family had. Of course, some families also have a fair amount of rice and fish which they obtain directly without the use of money. No attempt was made to measure the yield from subsistence agriculture or subsistence fishing because of the difficulties involved, the short length of time available for the study, and the lack of specialized training on the part of the investigator which is necessary for such a description. It is felt that the occupational statuses obtained are gross but reliable indicators.

As might be expected in a barrio having the location and environment of Guinhangdan, fishermen are the largest single occupational group. They number thirty-seven. What might not be expected is that the next largest group are laborers and they number thirty. People who are dependent for their income on the sale and/or sewing nipa are the third largest group and they number twenty-two. Twenty people said that their main source of income was farming without copra making and nineteen families have the making of copra as their main source of livelihood. The next group, the fifteen fish vendors, are significant in that they are middlemen, comparative newcomers in the barrio economy, and indicative of the changing importance of cash in what was formerly almost exclusively a subsistence economy. A high income group, the pensioned people are next and numbered twelve. Twelve ropemaking families are also reported and nine families each are supported by their children or the household head engages in carpentry. After that, the members for each group fall off and the occupations became numerically unimportant. The table following accounts for all the families.

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION

Fishing	37	Fish basket making	2
Laborer	30	Selling firewood	2
Sell and/or weaves nipa		Driver	2
Farming excluding copra	20	Mechanic	2
Copra making	19	Judge	1
Fish vendor	15	Curer	1
Pensioned	12	Clam seller	1
Ropemaking	12	Runs jeep 1 day a week	1
Supported by children	9	Maid	1
Carpentry	9	Laundress	1

Sari sari owner	7	Nipa thatch vendor	1
Clerks	6	Tuba seller	1
Teachers	5	Buys and sells relief clothing	1
Tuba gatherer	3	Sells tobacco by leaf	1
Policemen	3	Raises and sells carabaos	1
Seamstress	3	occasionally	1
		Total	231

Most of the 134 landless people may be found in the first three categories of occupation. They are fishermen, laborers, or nipa weavers or sellers. Only six families with any land take up fishing for a livelihood. Only three households with any land (all of whose holdings are less than a hectare) are laborers. The picture of the nipa weavers is not so simple because most of them (14 out of 22) own land on which they grow nipa. All but two of the farmers who do not raise copra have their own land. Of the ten copra makers sixteen have land, and of those, fourteen have a hectare or more. The old saw about living at indolent ease in the land of milk and honey has its parallel among landowners with coconut groves. Life is easy and work loads are light when there is little to do but make copra every three months. Pensioned people may be found in all categories of land ownership but only three have no land. The ropemakers are largely landless as only two of their number have holdings. Elsewhere the relationship between land and occupation is not marked.

OCCUPATION AND LAND OWNERSHIP

Occupation	No land or uncultivated	Less than a Hectare	1 to 4 Hectares	4 or more Hectares	Totals
Fishing	33	2	1	1	37
Laborer	27	3	0	0	30
Nipa selling or weaving	8	6	6	2	22
Farming without copra	1	2	10	7	20
Copra	3	2	11	3	19
Fish vendor	12	1	2	0	15
Pensioned	3	4	3	2	12
Ropemaking	10	1	1	0	9
Supported by children	9	0	0	0	9
Carpentry	7	1	1	0	9
Sari sari	4	1	2	0	7
Clerks	1	0	3	2	6
Teachers	1	0	4	0	5
All Others	20	1	4	3	28
	139	24	48	20	231

Before discussing cash income, it ought to be remarked that it is not easy for the barrio people to make monthly estimate of their cash income. For one thing, they are not budget minded and do not think in terms of inputs and outputs or even expenditures and liabilities for that matter. For another thing, they keep either no records or incomplete records of purchases and indebtedness. Barrio merchants do not know when they are operating at a profit except that when their stock is low they have a

feeling that they are prospering. For another thing, the people are not time minded so that a month is rather a meaningless interval except to salaried and pensioned people. When the data for this report was gathered each family was asked to make its own estimate of its monthly cash income and frankness and candor were enjoined. The candor was something less than complete in some cases because of fear that amounts which were taxable would be reported to the income tax collector. In a few other cases amounts which were patently too little were declared in the hopes that succorant aid would be forthcoming from some benevolent source.

Because of these complication, each stated income was reviewed in light of certain indicators to income such as the type of house the family lived in, the furniture within it, whether or not the family owned land, and whether or not they had any unusual expensive possessions like a fish corral. Furthermore, everybody knows who has cash to land and in what probable amounts and who has been borrower of cash and whether such borrowers have lands in mortgage or crops pledged as collateral. This information, too, was taken into consideration. After this review it was necessary to make upward revision in eighteen cases where the standard of living of the family was at marked variance with the income reported.

When the individual household incomes were listed it was found that the range in incomes reported was from no cash at all to a dependable P650.00 a month. While this is a wide range the distribution of income among the 231 families is not equally varial. For purposes of ease in reading and analyzing, the range distribution has been collapsed to six categories.

CASH INCOME IN PESOS

Per Month	Households
0 to 15	34
16 to 30	106
31 to 60	43
61 to 105	17
106 to 150	10
151 and above	21
	231

From the above chart it can be seen that 34 families manage to exist with no cash at all or with as little as 15 pesos a month, a feat of budget balancing which seems almost unbelievable but some people undoubtedly participate in the money economy to a lesser degree than do others. Also, apparently, there are still some individuals who live wholly on a subsistence basis but who are few in numbers. Some of these are old couples whose children have left home and the needs of the old folks in their declining, childless years are modest indeed. Finally, it is this category of extremely low cash income that we find families who exist only by virtue of incurring greater and greater debts as daily or ceremonial needs for cash mouth. This may well be the tragic story of many of the landless people.

Nearly half the families cluster in one income category—the P16.00 to P30.00 group. This, surprisingly is the restricted range and the minuscule amounts on which 106 out of 231 of the barrio families live. The figures

are a telling index to the poverty of the simple *tao*. How little can be done by way of expansion and improvement on such an income! In the next major income grouping forty three household heads reported P31.00 to P60.00 as their monthly cash income and they may be considered a little better off financially than the families in the previous category. After that the numbers in each group fall off sharply. If we total the families reporting an income to P61.00 and above (in the chart they are reported with three subdivisions), they number 48.

What do the figure mean? Who are the high income people and what is their source of income? What occupations are most profitable in terms of cash? Who are the people who are best supplied with the necessities of life? For an answer to the last question we might examine the way of life of the families who have more than P150.00 a month, a resource which put them in marked contrast to all their neighbors. Most of these families have as their head (or have as one or more of their members) a government clerk, or a schoolteacher, or a person drawing a pension. The clerks, the schoolteachers, and the *pensionados* are the elite insofar as money income helps to establish an elite in the barrio. That these three income sources are almost the only channels to high income is illustrated in that there are only three households in this high income groups who do *not* derive their money from teaching, clerking, or pension. Of these three, one is the owner of the largest sari sari store, one buys and sells used clothing, and one engages in illegal collection and sale of gunpowder.

So much for the top level. What is the lot of the fisherman, laborer, nipa sewer, and copra and rice farmer, those on the lower level? Most of the fishermen and laborers are in the P16.00 to P30.00 a month group and most of the nipa sewers are in the 0 to P30.00 a month group. But the copra makers fare rather well. None of their number makes less than P16.00 and one earns as high as P360.00 (but he is exceptional in that he has 17 hectares of land, many tenants and, again, there is a teacher in the family—his wife). No farmer (individuals whom we are calling farmers raise no coconut trees for copra) makes less than P16.00. Only one farmer is among the elite and that is by virtue of his teacher-daughter's salary. The moral seems to be that it is financially unprofitable to farm. We cannot overlook the possibility that farming as a way of life with full (although substandard by our standards) harvests may be psychologically quite satisfying to the farmer and may very well afford a security which is immeasurable and which is denied those in other occupations. But as to his participation in the money economy and his opportunities to procure those items which are only available to those with cash, the farmer is at a disadvantage.

The relationship between occupation and income may be charted thus:

	OCCUPATION AND INCOME				Total in cash occupation
	None to 15	16 to 30	31 to 60	61 and above	
Fishing	3	27	6	1	37
Laborer	1	24	3	2	30
Weaves nipa	8	11	2	1	22

Supported by					
children	9	0	0	0	9
Farming	0	6	11	3	20
Fish vendor	1	9	3	2	15
Ropemaker	4	7	1	0	12
Makes copra	0	8	6	6	20
Carpentry	1	2	3	3	9
Sari sari	0	1	2	3	6
Pensioned	1	1	2	8	12
Teachers	0	0	0	5	5
Clerks	0	0	0	6	6
All Others	6	10	4	8	28
Totals	34	106	43	48	231

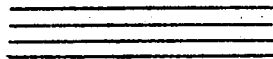
The fishermen, the fish vendors, the laborers, nipa weavers, ropemakers and the old ones supported by their children make the least money. It will be remembered that most of the landless were fishermen, laborers and nipa sewers or sellers. And now it is seen that these three are the lowest income groups also. The clerks, teachers, pensioned personnel, carpenters, and store proprietors have the highest cash incomes.

What is the relationship between land ownership and income? Do those with large land ownings correspondingly have larger incomes? Does cash income lead to the purchase of additional land? Does the availability of cash lead to more profitable use of existing resources? These are knotty questions and not much can be said about them on the basis of existing data. However, we might note that cash and land purchase are linked, of course, but in a circular fashion rather than in a straight line. The ownership of land *per se* makes no one wealthy. Rather the fact of ownership, plus the intelligent use of the land, plus the striving for higher position on the social ladder often results in the pursuit of higher education. A barrio parent utilizes the only means he understands to get a foot on the first rung of the social ladder. He seeks more and more education for his children, and it is the people with higher education (i.e. at least high school) who have a chance at the lucrative occupations such as clerking or teaching. As more and more cash is available, some of it is inevitably turned into land; the tie with the earth through ownership, is still a high value activity in the barrio. There is only one monied family in Guinhangdan who do not turn a part of their cash into land and, in this, they are aberrant.

However there is not a clear relationship between the amount of land owned and the size of cash income. Fifteen families who have no land are in the P61.00 and above income group. Fourteen families in this high income group have four or more hectares of land and also in this high income group are sixteen households who have land holdings of 1 to 4 hectares. But there is a clear relationship between non-ownership of land and low income—of the non-landowners (and 5 households who do not cultivate) a hundred and five families report an income below P30.00 a month.

Data as to the land ownership patterns: the diversity of occupation, and the range and distribution of cash income in a Visayan barrio have

been presented. It has been demonstrated that the people of Guinhangdan show a good deal of variation in these three features which may be considered indices to socio-economic status. On the basis of this data it is possible to postulate the existence of three social classes in Guinhangdan: a lower class, a middle class, and an upper class. The lower and the upper class are most clearly defined and the middle grouping is the largest and most amorphous in form and composition. Definitely in the lower class are the 89 fishermen, laborers, and nipa sewers and sellers of whom only 2 households have an income of *more* than ₱61.00 a month. Definitely in the upper class are the 24 teachers, clerks, and pensioned personnel of whom only two households have an income *less than* ₱61.00 a month. Furthermore, among the fishermen, laborers, and nipa sellers or sewers only 21 own land and of these 14 are nipa sewers and of the 14, eleven have holdings of a hectare and a half or under. In contrast only one of the teachers, clerks and pensioned personnel does *not* own land. While cash income and land ownership do not describe class differences in any detail, they are a quickly read and easily grasped indication of wide and pervasive differences in opportunity and advantage of the way of life of a given family or a given group.



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MALOCO: A REPRESENTATIVE AKLAN BARRIO*

ROBERT HUKÉ, Ph.D.

In many ways Maloco is typical of any one of hundreds of barrios in the area of the Western Visayan Islands. It is laid out in a grid pattern with streets intersecting at right angles. None of the streets are paved and transportation becomes somewhat difficult during the rainy season. A barrio road leading east toward the Ibajay River connects with a municipal road leading to the *poblacion*. Jeep service is available along these roads at very irregular times and on market day busses connect Maloco with the surrounding barrios and with the *poblacion*.

In the center of the barrio is the traditional plaza with a chapel boasting of a corrugated iron roof. The plaza in front of the chapel has a basketball court of concrete, a reading center and a few stalls used by vendors on market day and as a gathering point for the young men of the village every evening. The basketball court finds most use as a dance pavilion and a playground for the very young children as there is no one in Maloco who owns a basketball. The six *sari-sari* stores and two carpenter shops in the barrio all face the plaza, thus emphasizing its importance as a focus of social activity within Maloco. On a low hill at the southern edge of the village a new two building elementary school has been built.

Maloco is the largest of 32 barrios of Ibajay Municipality in the Aklan section of Capiz Province. According to the 1948 census, the entire municipality had a population of 24,086, and of this number 2,026 lived in Maloco barrio while only 1,935 people lived in the *poblacion*.¹ Apparently the barrio has been growing slowly but somewhat more rapidly than the municipality as a whole. The Census of 1918 reports the municipality as having 17,542 people while the barrio of Maloco had 1,376. In the 30 year period between 1918 and 1948 the *poblacion* actually declined in population by 229 from its 1918 total of 2,164.²

Both in 1918 and in 1956 the sex ratio, the number of males per hundred females, was very low. In both years the number of females exceeded the number of males by about 20%. Many married women with families, but with no husband resident in the village, were interviewed. It was found that the husbands were working in two different parts of the country. In about half of such cases the husbands had gone to Mindanao to work on new land and planned to send for the family as soon as the new farm was well established and a home was built. In the other half of the cases the husband had gone to Manila to find work. Generally the husbands in Manila did not plan to send for the family, but instead sent small sums of cash home at uneven intervals and usually visited Maloco

* The observations expressed in this report are the result of two weeks spent in and around Maloco during April, 1956. Comparisons with the land use practices in other parts of Asia are also the results of field experience in Burma, India and Japan.

¹ *Census of the Philippines, 1948, Population, Part II, Bureau of Printing, Manila, 1954, Table 1.*

² *Census of the Philippines: 1918, Volume Two, Bureau of Printing, Manila, 1921, p. 146.*