

A Bittersweet Taste of Sugar
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INSTITUTE OF PHILIPPINE CULTURE

A BITTERSWEET TASTE OF SUGAR

A PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE SUGAR INDUSTRY
IN NEGROS OCCIDENTAL

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The Philippine sugar industry reflects the nation's economy in a number of ways. It is technologically developed, for one thing, but only to a degree; it is dependent in large part on the American market; and it is reputed to perpetuate a system of unequally distributed wealth and income, its labor force suffering from serious levels of unemployment and underemployment.

More than other major crops such as rice, corn, coconut, and abaca, sugar has a long history of scientifically controlled cultivation and organized promotion. As early as 1861, for instance, the British vice-consul in Iloilo expressed his amazement at the phenomenal progress the sugar industry was making in Iloilo and Negros, predicting that it would take even greater strides with the spread of steam power throughout the archipelago (De la Costa 1965:153-54). And of course it did. Today the industry enjoys the support of a network of resources—technological, commercial, and political—far greater and more powerful than those of any other agricultural activity in the nation. Its weakest area is perhaps the technological, but even here the deficiencies of the government's Philippine Sugar Institute (Philsugin) are in part compensated for by the vigorous experimental program prosecuted by the Victorias Milling Company. Further, if the rice industry can claim superiority in research, owing largely to the presence of the International Rice Research Institute (IRRI) at Los Baños, it has relatively little to offer in marketing and political superstructure. All in all, sugar is probably the best developed industry we have.

Nonetheless it has a long way to go before it will match technologically the Australian sugar industry, let alone the Hawaiian. The yearly sugar output per worker is five tons in the Philippines, one-twentieth of what it is in Hawaii. Not only that: though Hawaiian sugarcane planters pay the highest labor wages in the world, their efficiency is such that they harvest their cane for about the same per-unit cost as we do in the Philippines. As McHale puts it (1970:20), this is "the high cost of cheap labor." The local industry has indeed a long road to travel.

* First report on human conditions in the sugar industry of Negros Occidental, submitted February 15, 1970, to the Survey Advisory Council and the National Federation of Sugarcane Planters (NFSP).

The sugar industry is also like the Philippine economy in its dependence on the American market. The U.S. market, opened after 1909, enticed the industry to expand as it did. But now, when for the past 50 years more than 90 per cent of sugar exports have been going to the United States, we face 1972 and 1974 and a possible end to the financially favorable conditions under which this trade has been conducted.

But above all the sugar industry is, in the minds of many, synonymous, or nearly synonymous, with social injustice in myriad shapes and forms. A common stereotype of the hacendero, for instance, is that of a pampered "sugar baron" living luxuriously on the rich profits wrung out of an oppressed and exploited laboring class. The *sacadas*, those migratory, seasonal canecutters who travel to Negros annually to harvest the sugar, are a symbol of this kind of injustice. At the national level, the sugar bloc is credited with powers of undue influence apt to shake the confidence of any politician, regardless of rank. Indeed one critic goes so far as to say that since the sugar group "put up its first speaker of the House of Representatives, in the person of Enrique Montilla, during the Quezon regime, the maintenance of the balance of power between administrations and the bloc has been a routine exercise" (Business Day 1970).

Organized, but in need of considerably more rational organization; dependent to a fault on the American market; and possessed of a none too savory public reputation—this is the sugar industry which, in hopes of some concrete suggestions for improvement, asked the Institute of Philippine Culture (IPC) to make a professional assessment of human conditions among a large portion of the 320,000 workers whose livelihood depends on sugar.

Neither the Survey Advisory Council nor the board members of the NFSP will find anything surprising in these pages, for they result from a dialogue between themselves and the IPC. In following this give-and-take procedure before publishing, we were following the practice of every ethical research organization. And in insisting that the IPC be final arbiter of what should be published, we acted as every university-connected research organization must act. On this point the sponsors of this study, the National Federation of Sugarcane Planters, were in complete agreement with us.¹

Chronology of the Survey

The IPC first became involved in this study through Fr. Manuel Regalado, S.J., Bacolod representative of the Institute of Social Order (ISO) and an assistant of socially conscious Bishop Antonio Fortich. Fr. Regalado visited the IPC in late January 1969, to see if it were interested in doing a survey of human conditions in the sugar industry of Negros Occidental. When

¹ For a development of what the IPC understands by its freedom to publish, the reader is referred to Appendix B. Reproduced there is a policy document discussed at length at a board meeting of the NFSP December 18, 1969. The policy's terms were accepted by the board on that occasion.

his inquiry was referred to the nine-man IPC Policy Committee for an opinion, the response was immediate and enthusiastic: the director, Mary R. Hollnsteiner, was instructed to give the project priority because of its potential significance for such a large number of Filipinos.

As the IPC's program coordinator, I visited Bacolod March 31 to see what kind of research might be called for. At a meeting hosted by Bishop Fortich himself and attended by Fr. Regalado and eight others representing labor, government, education, the Church, and the sugarcane planters, it became clear that an *exploratory* survey was needed to determine more precisely what had to be examined in greater depth.

Although the National Federation of Sugarcane Planters had been represented at the March 31 meeting, it was only on April 21 that Fr. Regalado and I met with Carlos Ledesma, NFSP president, to explain the plan in some detail. He urged its further development and on May 20, in a meeting at the Philsugin Building offices of the federation, gave the go-ahead signal and made prepayment in full of the NFSP's share of the costs. At this meeting, attended for the federation by Mr. Ledesma and his executive secretary, Atty. Emerito Bagabaldo, and for the IPC by Fr. Michael F. McPhelin and myself, it was clarified that the federation would welcome the survey results, guaranteeing to accept and implement, on an experimental basis, any reasonable solutions to problems indicated by those results. This assurance was crucial, since without it the IPC would not have undertaken the research.

The month of June was spent in final prefield preparations for the survey. Previous studies were analyzed and, where possible, those persons likely to have first-hand information to share were interviewed at length.² In the latter part of the month recruitment of junior staff members for the survey began in Bacolod through Fr. Regalado, Bro. Martin Simpson of De la Salle College, and Sor Aida of La Consolacion College. On June 26, at their Quezon City offices, board members of the NFSP discussed and approved the final survey design with which I had presented them. We were cleared for take-off.

Perla Q. Makil, IPC field supervisor for the project, arrived in Bacolod July 8, together with IPC research assistants Meliton Juanico and Romana Pahilanga. After completing the selection of team leaders and junior interviewers, Miss Makil trained them for their tasks. Beginning July 15, the team leaders began visiting the farms in their assigned districts. On July 21, Fr. Joseph A. Galdon, S.J., research associate, arrived and began interviewing off-farm respondents. I joined him the following day. On the weekend of July 26-27, teams visited the remaining farms in their districts. By August 3 all

² Perhaps a footnote is the best way to give special thanks to Gerald Sussman, a Peace Corpsman assigned to the IPC for the month of June 1969. Mr. Sussman made essential contributions to the survey by his analysis of the existing literature, his many interviews of knowledgeable informants, both in Manila and Negros, and his assistance in preparing the farm sample. When the major field operations began in July, Mr. Sussman had already left for his regular schoolyear assignment in Cagayan province.

interviewing had been completed and the IPC staff members returned to Manila.

The month of August was spent largely in the construction of codes needed for the machine processing of open-ended replies recorded in the interviews. By September 6 coding itself (the translation of replies into numbers, using the codes we had constructed) had begun, and it was completed only in the third week of October.

Meanwhile, however, I had made a preliminary report to the NFSP board on October 2, coincidentally the day when there appeared in the *Manila Times* the first of three newspaper articles (Mercado 1969a) retailing an essay written by one of my fellow Jesuits about his stay of several weeks with some sacadas (Jesena 1969a). This coincidence resulted in considerable confusion among officers of several of the planters' associations who were supporting the survey. They thought Fr. Jesena's report was mine and felt, understandably, that they had been short-changed. Why had it taken me so many months and so many pesos to produce such a simple personal document?

The matter was resolved once copies of the preliminary report (introduction and survey findings, but no conclusions or suggestions) were delivered to members of the advisory council and the NFSP board of directors.

The next step was the gathering of feedback and alternative interpretations from sugar planters, labor leaders, churchmen, economists, and a large variety of other interested and knowledgeable people. In this connection Victor M. Taylor, IPC associate editor of publications, joined me in a meeting with the Advisory Council held November 27 in Bacolod. We spent five hours in a lively and informative discussion of the meaning of our findings and in planning the content of the survey's second phase. Since the NFSP had just the day before approved release of funds for that purpose, the plans were timely indeed.

Plan of the Study

General purpose. The ultimate goal of the overall study is knowledge as a basis for action. The IPC is to identify, locate, and estimate the distribution of problems and opportunities presently facing the people of Negros Occidental in general, and the sugar industry in particular. As stated earlier, the findings are to produce conclusions and practical suggestions, the latter to be implemented by the NFSP and its member associations on an experimental basis.

The investigation is planned as a three-step study, the first two of which rely especially on the survey technique. The final phase will consist of in-depth examinations of selected aspects of the sugar industry.

The first phase. The first phase, on which I am now reporting, was in essence an exploratory survey aimed at discovering what respondents found

right and wrong with the province and with the people who work and live in it. In designing the first phase for this purpose, we were following the suggestions of our advisory council, who believed it would be wise to discover first of all how people coming from various sectors of Negros society felt about the province and the sugar industry.

While gathering these opinions, however, the exploratory survey also collected considerable background and behavioral information. We recorded not only the opinions of people about others, but also the ways in which they behaved toward them or with them. Further questions included the diet of our respondents, as well as the wages they usually received—questions that were added because of the impressions many people had of major problems in the sugar industry. This was an opportunity to gather information that might throw light on them.

Sampling design. The respondents who were interviewed in the exploratory survey were chosen in one way if they were of the on-farm group (hacenderos, encargados, cabos, permanent workers, and temporary workers) and in another way if they belonged to the off-farm group (sugar industry officials, government officials, labor leaders, and members of the clergy).

For the on-farm respondents, the sampling was done by stages. To begin with, respondents were to be from farms whose owners belonged to one of eight different planters' associations belonging to the NFSP namely: Binalbagan-Isabela, La Carlota, Ma-ao, San Carlos, Sagay-Escalante, Silay-Saravia, Talisay-Silay, and Victorias.

Since so many informants had told us that it was important to distinguish farms of high productivity from farms of low productivity, and farms of various sizes, and that there would be a big difference, especially on small farms, between the operations of owner-planters and those of lessee-planters, all these variables figured in the sampling design. Using these various controls, there emerged a list of eight kinds of farms to be investigated, namely:

A. High-productivity farms

1. Large-sized
2. Medium-sized
3. Small-sized
- 3₀. Owner-operated
- 3₁. Lessee-operated

B. Low-productivity farms

1. Large-sized
2. Medium-sized
3. Small-sized
- 3₀. Owner-operated
- 3₁. Lessee-operated

Because the survey was exploratory and the time limited, it was decided to settle for one randomly selected farm for each of these categories. To find this farm, all farms were first located in the lists provided by the planters' association of the district, then identified as high or low in productivity, and as large, medium, or small. A high-productivity farm was taken to mean a farm whose average production of sugar per hectare in Crop Year 1967-68 was at least as high as the average for the district. Farm size was categorized as large, medium, or small according to these locally accepted and agreed-upon standards: large, over 100 hectares; medium, 40-99 hectares; small, under 40 hectares. The small farms, both high and low in productivity, were further identified as operated by owners or by lessees. Randomly selected from these lists were farms to be included in the sample. Substitutes were drawn at the same time.

For the sampling on the farm itself, the procedure followed was this. Both the hacendero and the encargado, if there were one, were interviewed.³ Beyond this, one cabo, three permanent workers, and three temporary workers were included. Where there was more than one cabo, the respondent was chosen randomly. Similarly, where there were more than enough permanent or temporary workers, the choice was also made by chance.

According to the original plan, sacadas were to be interviewed in the exploratory phase of the survey. Because it was found impractical to contact and interview them in their home provinces, to which they had returned by July, this part of the plan was not followed. Sacadas will be interviewed, however, during the second phase of the research.

The selection of off-farm respondents proceeded in a different manner. Here we combined both purposive and random choice. The staff tried to interview the officers of all the planters' associations of the districts under study. However, if one of the officers was unavailable, he was replaced by another member of the board who was chosen randomly. Representatives of the government, labor unions, the clergy, the press, and other sectors were chosen purposively with the advice of the Survey Advisory Council in Bacolod.

Interview schedules. Two different interview forms were used, one for on-farm respondents and another for off-farm participants. *All respondents*, both on- and off-farm, were asked for this information: name; category (for example, owner-planter or cabo); residence most days of the month; place of

³The *hacendero* (I heard it pronounced "haciendero" most commonly in Negros) is the planter himself, whether he be the owner or lessee of the hacienda. The *encargado*, found on larger farms or on other farms in the absence of the hacendero, is the *overseer* of the farm operation. The *cabo* (Spanish for "corporal") is a timekeeper-foreman to whom workers report for assignments. The *permanent worker*, or *diabano* ("oldtimer") is a member of the regular farm staff and resides year-round on hacienda property, as does the cabo. *Temporary workers* generally live in a nearby barrio, not on the hacienda. *Sacadas* are migratory seasonal workers assembled and brought to Negros by labor contractors, or *contratistas*. They usually live in barrackslike quarters which are left vacant in their off-season absence.

work most days of the month; Bacolod address, if any; farm address, if any; background characteristics: age, sex, civil status, religion, educational attainment, schools attended, mother tongue, and other languages spoken; opinion as to how closely, and in what manner, each of the following approximated the respondent's ideal for him: cabo, contratista, hacendero, permanent worker, priest, and sacada; and the relation he had to his five closest social allies outside the immediate family.

Of all off-farm respondents and on-farm planters and encargados, the following were asked: ideal expectations for Negros Occidental; obstacles preventing Negros Occidental from reaching that ideal; and steps to be taken to help the province reach that ideal.

All on-farm respondents were asked the following: patterns of visiting, conversing with, and residence near the hacendero, encargado, cabos, contratistas, sacadas, permanent workers, temporary workers, and local priest; food taken in the 24 hours before the interview; and knowledge of, and dealings with, the local priest.

All on-farm cabos and workers were asked the number of days they had worked in the month preceding interview; estimated earnings in the month preceding the interview; usual daily earnings when working; whether own name is known by the hacendero, encargado, cabo (if the respondent was a worker), and workers (if the respondent was a cabo); and whether the birthdays of the following were known: hacendero, encargado, cabo (if the respondent was a worker), and workers (if the respondent was a cabo).

The following were asked of *all on-farm planters and encargados*: number of cabos, permanent workers, temporary workers, and sacadas employed on farm, hometown and province of most sacadas, if any, on farm; fraction of permanent workers known by name; and fraction of cabos known by name.

Of all on-farm planters, the following were asked: farm size and productivity, the latter in number of piculs of sugar per hectare; milling district in which farm is located; sugar central used for Crop Year 1968-69; and planters' association to which farm owner belongs.

Field procedures. Pretesting and modifying of the interview schedule took place in Negros during June and early July. By July 12, the interview questionnaire had been finalized and translated into Ilongo, and all team leaders and junior interviewers trained in the use of both versions. However, off-farm interviews were generally conducted in English, as were those with hacenderos and encargados. Cabos, permanent workers, and temporary workers preferred the Ilongo form.

All on-farm interviewing was accomplished in the space of about two and a half weeks, with team leaders interviewing on both weekdays and weekends. Junior interviewers, most of them college students, worked only on Saturdays and Sundays. Completed interview forms were edited by the interviewers and checked by the field supervisor before being approved for analysis.

Limitations

The findings of the study are subject to two important and possibly limiting considerations: first, most of the data were gathered during relatively brief, two-hour encounters between an interviewer and a respondent who had not met before; second, the farm sample was small, including only one farm per category per milling district.

To appreciate how small a sample this is, consider the size of the farm population from which the sample was chosen (Table 1). Out of a total of 4,366 farms, 63 is a 1.4 per cent sample—not very large. On the other hand, the purpose of the exploratory survey is not to determine how widespread various conditions are. It is rather to discover what conditions are worthy of further study and to compare various subgroups, on-farm and off-farm, to see

Table 1

Negros sugarcane farms listed in the 1967-68 annual reports of selected planters' associations, classified by association and crossclassified by productivity and size, compared with the IPC/NFSP survey farm sample.

Association	High productivity*			Low productivity			Total	IPC/NFSP sample
	1**	2	3	1	2	3		
Binalbagan-Isabela	51	86	529	17	95	1,098	1,876	7
La Carlota	35	30	35	27	49	123	299	8
San Carlos	19	17	13	7	44	169	269	8
Ma-ao	8	16	43	1	22	74	164	8
Sagay-Escalante	33	34	57	8	33	69	234	8
Silay-Saravia	3	4	20	15	32	60	134	8
Talisay-Silay	21	20	38	12	24	98	213	8
Victorias	179	103	207	24	113	551	1,177	8
Total	349	310	942	111	412	2,242	4,366	-
IPC/NFSP sample	8	8	16	8	8	15		63

* A farm is considered highly productive if it produced in Crop Year 1967-68 piculs of sugar per hectare at least equal in number to the 67-68 average for the planters' association in which it is listed. If it falls below the average, its productivity is considered low. Averages used differ by association: Binalbagan-Isabela, 73.49 piculs of sugar per hectare; La Carlota, 96.75; San Carlos, 97.07; Ma-ao, 93.38; Sagay-Escalante, 66.54; Silay-Saravia, 119.13; Talisay-Silay, 111.89 for Talisay-Silay district, 103.08 for Bacolod district; and Victorias, 111.80 for Victorias district, 93.33 for Manapla district. A picul of sugar weighs 63.25 kilograms, or about 139 pounds.

** Symbols used: 1 - large farm (100 has. and over planted to sugarcane); 2 - medium-sized farm (40.0-99.9 has.); 3 - small farm (under 40 has.).

how differences in thinking and acting relate to such differences as role, farm size, and farm productivity.⁴ Findings here lead to hypotheses for further study and not to firm conclusions about all the planters and workers of Negros Occidental.

Table 2

Numbers designating farms appearing on IPC/NFSP exploratory survey map, classified by planters' association to which owner belongs, crossclassified by productivity and size of the farm (July 1969).

Association	High Productivity (A)*				Low productivity (B)				Total N
	1**	2	3 ₀	3 ₁	1	2	3 ₀	3 ₁	
Binalbagan-									
Isabela	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	—	7
La Carlota	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	8
Ma-ao	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	8
Sagay-									
Escalante	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	8
San Carlos	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	8
Silay-Saravia	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	8
Talisay-Silay	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	8
Victorias	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	8
TOTAL N	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	7	63

*See footnote to Table 1.

**The farms in this column are all of the "A1" type, that is, high productivity and large. In the second column, all are high productivity and medium sized. In the third and fourth columns are high-productivity, small farms, but in the third column (A3₀) are those operated by the owner; in the fourth (A3₁), those operated by a lessee. Low-productivity (B) farms are similarly identified.

The survey technique was used for this phase of the study because it is a good way to get replies from many people in a short time. It is especially good for getting information about their ordinary, unexciting, and blamelessly routine behavior, or their opinions about large, anonymous groupings with some of whose members they interact. If one looks at the contents of the interview schedules he will see that these are the kinds of questions the interviewers asked, and no others.

⁴For similarly designed studies, see Lynch and Makil (1968) and Kahl (1968). Our conclusions (below) about workers' educational level and malnutrition are generalized because of evidence beyond that gathered in this survey.

Findings

A critical distinction inherent in the research process, often poorly made even by the investigator, is that between findings and conclusions. A finding is a fact, a datum, something perceived. Of itself it gives no information, tells no story, has no predicate, says nothing. A respondent's age or educational attainment is such a fact, nothing more, just as empty of meaning as the percentage of college graduates who study abroad and eventually emigrate from the Philippines. All are findings, all are data which may or may not be meaningful, may be good or bad, frightening or consoling, depending on the conceptual company they keep.

If, for instance, my respondent's age is 25 and he appears among a sample of freshman college students, I may attach *meaning* to his age by saying: he is atypical in that he is eight years older than the average freshman. This is now a *conclusion*, an interpretation drawn from the relation of one fact (respondent's age) to a more general fact (average age of college freshmen in the Philippines). Again, another respondent's educational attainment may be third-year college. This is again a fact. But if I consider this fact in relation to eligibility norms for certain jobs, I can *conclude* that the respondent does not qualify, since he has no college diploma. Finally, the fact that about 38 per cent of Filipinos who do postcollege studies abroad eventually emigrate is just that—a fact. To conclude that this is good or bad for the nation requires the addition of another premise, either a general principle or some formal or informal policy on the matter.

In the present case, and in all research for that matter, the investigator does well to take time out between stating his findings and writing his conclusions. He will do a much better job on the latter if he shows his findings to those whose unfamiliarity with research procedures is more than balanced by their knowledge of the research subject. The wise investigator will show his findings to those who *really* know, and then sit back, pen and notebook in hand, to listen.

Let the reader then remember that this section on findings lays the essential groundwork for meaning, but of itself can tell no story, drive home no points. This is reserved for the section on conclusions and suggestions. In order of presentation, these all-important findings are grouped as follows: first, on the characteristics of respondents; second, on selected problems of on-farm respondents; third, on respondents' relations with others; fourth, on respondents' views of themselves and others; fifth, on respondents' views of Negros Occidental.

1. Characteristics of respondents

On-farm sample. By the prefield sampling plan we expected to interview a maximum of 576 on-farm respondents. Ultimately 469 were interviewed, of whom 24 were "extras" not provided for in the plan but willing to give information. The 445 on-farm respondents whose replies are discussed in this report are classified by farm type and role in Table 3.

Table 3

IPC/NFSP exploratory survey on-farm respondents, classified by farm type, crossclassified by role category.

Farm type	Planter		ENC*	CAB	PW	TW	Total
	Owner	Lessee					
<i>High productivity**</i>							
Large**	8	0	8	8	21	18	63
Medium	5	3	7	8	24	15	62
Small	8	8	7	11	39	32	105
Subtotal A	21	11	22	27	84	65	230
<i>Low productivity</i>							
Large	6	2	8	7	24	9	56
Medium	8	0	6	7	23	15	59
Small	8	7	9	9	40	27	100
Subtotal B	22	9	23	23	87	51	215
Total	43	20	45	50	171	116	445

* Abbreviations used: ENC – encargado; CAB – cabo; PW – permanent worker, locally called *dumazan*; TW – temporary worker.

** For the meaning of these terms, see the footnotes of Table 1.

The difference between the maximum expected figure and the actual number interviewed is accounted for especially by there being no cabos or encargados and few permanent or temporary workers on several of the small farms studied.

Although their occupational roles differ, members of the on-farm sample may be described as adult, male (of all hacenderos only nine are females), Catholic (94 per cent), married (but one out of four is single). The median age category of hacenderos and encargados is 45–54 years; of cabos, 35–44; of workers, 25–34. Most (72 per cent) speak Ilongo as a mother tongue, though 24 per cent speak Cebuano. For two hacenderos the mother tongue is English; for another two, Spanish. The educational attainment of respondents will be considered below.

Off-farm respondents. We originally expected to interview about 118 off-farm respondents, including 50 sacadas already returned to their home provinces and towns. As I explained above, the latter part of the plan proved impractical and was abandoned in favor of a sacada inquiry to be made during the second phase of the study.

Of the remaining 68 intended interviews 59 were accomplished, of which two were extras. The 57 off-farm respondents whose replies are considered here are classified by role category, or occupation, in Table 4.

Table 4
IPC/NFSP exploratory survey off-farm respondents classified by role category.

<i>Role category</i>	<i>Respondents</i>
<i>Sugar industry</i>	
Board officer, planters' association	22
Board officer of the Sugarcane Planters Cooperative Marketing Association (SPCMA)	3
Manager, Sugar central	2
<i>Government</i>	
Governor Montelibano	1
Others	9
<i>Clergy and religious</i>	
Bishop Fortich	1
Others	11
<i>Labor-union leader</i>	8
Total	57

In addition to these structured interviews, the depth interviewing of Gerald Sussman, Fr. McPhelin, and Fr. Regalado provided many insights for the interpretations of the survey findings. By our records, Mr. Sussman and Fr. McPhelin alone spoke at length with 29 off-farm leaders other than the 59 who underwent the structured interview. In all, then, off-farm respondents numbered about 88. Fr. McPhelin's report is reproduced below as Appendix D.

Like the on-farm respondents, the 57 off-farm participants who followed the structured form of the interview are also relatively homogeneous in background characteristics. They are males (except for one nun), over 25 years of age, Catholic (93 per cent), and married (22 per cent are single, however). About 70 per cent speak Ilongo as a mother tongue, while another 13 per cent speak Cebuano. The labor leaders are 88 per cent Ilongo; the clergy, only 37 per cent.

In summary, respondents to the structured interview number 502, of whom about 89 per cent were selected for interview as part of a planter-worker team on a particular farm. The others, some of whom are planters, were chosen for their occupational roles off the farm. In general, both groups may be characterized modally as adult, Catholic, married males who speak Ilongo or Cebuano as a mother tongue.

2. *Selected problems of on-farm respondents*

It was assumed at the outset of the exploratory survey that certain aspects of life in Negros would necessarily be examined in the more detailed and intensive second phase of our research. Among the areas we plan to study are housing, sanitation, medical facilities, clothing, and mass-media exposure. Nonetheless we decided to include even in the initial phase of the inquiry some questions on education, nutrition, and wages. Our findings confirm that each represents a genuine problem area calling for immediate remedial action or for further and immediate probing.

Education. One indicator of a group's basic educational attainment is the percentage of its members who have finished grade school. We find that all off-farm respondent categories rate 100 per cent, but on-farm groups show great differences: of hacenderos, 93 per cent have finished grade school; of encargados, 72; cabos, 58; permanent workers, 17; and temporary workers, 22. It should be added that these average figures for workers conceal great differences by milling district, for the percentage of graduates ranges from six per cent (for temporary workers in two districts) to 28 per cent (for permanent workers in one district).

Nutrition. There are many ways of collecting nutrition data, some of them elaborate, others quite simple, each with its own merits and drawbacks. Use of the 24-hour sample was decided on, for this method adds to simplicity the advantage of producing data comparable with information gathered recently in five other Philippine communities, namely: Estancia, Iloilo; Bongabon, Mindoro; Mauban, Quezon; and San Pedro and Lilio, Laguna (Guthrie 1968:139; 1969:73).

The data gathered in our survey were in reply to questions about what the respondent ate and drank at his most recent breakfast, lunch, and supper. Meriendas were not included, nor did any probe follow the single open-ended question about each meal. Further, it should be remembered that a diet deficient in one 24-hour period may be somewhat corrected in the next.

What the data indicate is that of energy-rich foods such as rice and cereals, 88 per cent of respondents in our study had the recommended three servings; of protein-rich foods like fish, meat, and poultry, 55 per cent had three servings; of leafy and yellow vegetables, 61 per cent had the recommended one or more servings. There are, of course, great differences by occupational role, but only the servings of protein-rich foods seem to vary

directly with presumed income level: of hacenderos, 85 per cent have an adequate diet in this respect; of encargados, 66; cabos, 58; permanent workers, 50; temporary workers, 40 (Table 5).

Table 5

Percentages of sample populations with adequate diets in selected foods, classified by location and crossclassified by food (data gathered 1967-69).

Population	<i>Energy-rich</i>		<i>Protein-rich</i>		<i>Vegetables</i>	
	%	Rank order	%	Rank order	%	Rank order
Iloilo (Estancia)*	100	1	74	2	5	10
San Pedro, Laguna	98	2	52	7	10	8.5
Lilio, Laguna	76	8	86	6	20	7
Mauban, Quezon	90	5.5	58	4.5	46	6
Bongabon, Mindoro	90	5.5	20	10	10	8.5
Negros (HAC)	63	10	85	1	60	4
Negros (ENC)	84	9	66	3	67	2
Negros (CAB)	90	5.5	58	4.5	70	1
Negros (PW)	96	3	50	8	57	5
Negros (TW)	90	5.5	40	9	61	3

*Sources for the Iloilo and Luzon data are Guthrie (1968; 1969).

It is clear that the diets of a large portion of respondents, especially the workers, are badly deficient. And we have not even mentioned milk, of which the following percentages of respondents reported having taken the recommended one serving: hacenderos, five per cent; encargados, 15; cabos, four; permanent workers, two; temporary workers, three.

Wages of cabos and workers. Interviews were conducted in the last two weeks of July, after the close of the milling season in many districts. Yet 98 per cent of our cabo respondents report that they worked at least 21 days in the preceding month. For permanent workers, however, the corresponding percentage is 66; for temporary workers, 54. Given these workers' figures it is perhaps not surprising that the average reported earnings for that month are low: for cabos, about P105; for permanent workers, about P67; for temporary workers, about P53.

It is often said that some workers in the sugar industry inevitably receive low wages because the farms they work can support no higher payment. Planters with small or relatively unproductive farms have no choice, the argument runs, but to pay low, even illegally low, wages.

Because of the frequency with which this statement is made, we examined the usual daily wages reported by cabos and permanent workers who came from different kinds of farms. First we considered ranges, then averages. Finally, we asked a statistician to give us his opinion on the matter.

There is considerable variation in the daily wages reported by cabos and permanent workers. Farm averages for the latter group range from ₱1.20 per day on small, low-productivity farms to ₱6.00 per day, a high that is reached on three kinds of farms, including the small, low-productivity category. For cabos, the corresponding figures are ₱2.00 per day on small farms and ₱7.50 per day on large, highly productive operations.

Even from these figures it appears that variation in wages is related to the productivity and size of the farm that employs the worker. The impression is reinforced by the data in Table 6.

Table 6

Average daily wages reported by IPC/NFSP exploratory survey on-farm respondents, classified by farm type, crossclassified by role category (July 1969).

Farm type	Average daily wage*	
	Cabo	PW
High productivity	₱4.07	₱3.43
Low productivity	3.68	3.19
Large size	₱4.21	₱3.74
Medium size	4.15	3.44
Small size	3.37	2.99
Total	₱3.88	₱3.31

* Minimum wage is ₱4.00 per day. Let the reader recall that the figures in this table represent the average wages reported by workers as their usual earnings when working full time. Additional benefits received, such as free housing, subsidized rice and medicines, loans, and the like, are almost certainly not included. See the third conclusion stated in the text section on conclusions.

To the extent that there is this general correlation between wages paid and productivity, and between wages and farm size, it is legitimate to expect small and low-producing farms to pay their workers less. However, these factors are not so tied together that small and relatively unproductive farms invariably pay lower wages than others. There is greater variation *within* farm types than *between* them. Many small farms pay as well as the big farms (some pay better), and many highly productive farms pay as little as the

poorest do. Statistical analysis of variance indicates that low wages cannot be attributed to the limitations of size and soil.⁵ The cause lies elsewhere.

3. Relations with others

It is often said that what ails the sugar industry is a lack of communication and understanding among planters and workers. As simple indicators of this desired linkage, we decided upon these clues: frequency of conversation, perceived nearness of another's residence, and whether or not one has ever been inside the other's home. Questions about these three kinds of interaction were asked of all on-farm respondents, with the "other" including the five on-farm categories, as well as sacadas, contratistas, and the local priest. The patterns that emerge from the responses to each question will be discussed in turn.

Frequency of conversation. Members of each of the on-farm categories report they conversed with representatives of most target groups. Since sacadas and contratistas are found only in certain districts and farms, however, many respondents say they never had the opportunity to speak with these people.

Taking at least weekly conversation as the norm for frequent communication, we asked what percentage of each on-farm category had this kind of contact with a member of the target group. The answer is found in Table 7 and is illustrated in the accompanying figure.

Table 7

Percentages of IPC/NFSP on-farm respondents that converse with a member of target groups at least once a week (July 1969).

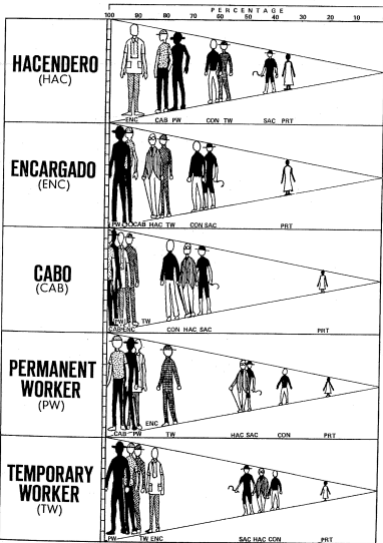
<i>Respondent</i>	<i>HAC</i>	<i>ENC</i>	<i>CAB</i>	<i>PW</i>	<i>TW</i>	<i>SAC*</i>	<i>CON</i>	<i>PRT</i>
Hacendero	—	92%	82%	78%	58%	42%	60%	36%
Encargado	85%	—	97	98	82	64	69	35
Cabo	69	97	100	100	95	65	73	22
Permanent worker	52	95	98	96	78	52	37	16
Temporary worker	44	85	93	96	91	47	40	17

*New symbols used: SAC — sacada; CON — contratista; PRT — priest.

⁵ The analysis was made by Dr. Marcelo M. Orense, statistical consultant of the IPC and chairman of the Department of Mathematics, Ateneo de Manila University. His analysis appears below as Appendix C.

INTERACTION DISTANCE

(FREQUENCY OF WEEKLY CONVERSATION)



Several patterns emerge, especially after the percentages have been plotted and studied. The first is that where all three are found on the same farm, the encargado, cabo(s), and permanent workers are in close touch with one another. The second is that contratistas and sacadas and, to an even greater degree, priests are apt to be found in outer social space, contacted weekly by only a relatively small percentage of on-farm respondents. The third is that hacenderos become progressively less prominent as interactors as one moves down the occupational scale from encargado to temporary worker. The planter seems to deal mostly with encargados and cabos, especially the former, leaving the details of administration, and of direct dealings with workers, to them.

Perceived nearness of residence. The replies on perceived nearness of residence reveal additional patterns (see Table 8). The first is that, as before, encargado, cabo(s), and permanent workers show a special closeness to one another. The second is the consistent, perceived residential remoteness of sacadas, contratistas, and hacenderos, particularly the latter, of whom relatively few feel they live near the members of any target group.

Table 8
Percentages of IPC/NFSP on-farm respondents that feel they live near to a member of target groups (July 1969).

<i>Respondents</i>	<i>HAC</i>	<i>ENC</i>	<i>CAB</i>	<i>PW</i>	<i>TW</i>	<i>SAC</i>	<i>CON</i>	<i>PRT</i>
Hacendero	—	55%	47%	55%	40%	53%	50%	44%
Encargado	42%	80	92	96	68	62	50	25
Cabo	45	87	86	94	70	63	65	15
Permanent worker	37	87	90	96	63	39	42	16
Temporary worker	46	80	79	89	77	40	38	23

Visits to the other's home. Have you ever been inside the home of, say, a cabo? This is another very simple indicator of intercommunication—or at least of the occasion for it. The percentages of respondents who say they have been inside the home of a member of the various target groups are presented in Table 9.

Table 9

Percentages of IPC/NFSP on-farm respondents that have ever been inside the home of a member of target groups (July 1969).

Respondents	HAC	ENC	CAB	PW	TW	SAC	CON	PRT
Hacendero	—	94%	94%	89%	67%	68%	59%	90%
Encargado	100%	50	100	100	79	67	67	80
Cabo	92	98	100	100	95	81	76	69
Permanent worker	78	95	98	95	75	71	49	51
Temporary worker	69	86	85	92	85	68	52	46

Again the solidarity of the *encargado*, *cabo(s)*, and permanent workers is the first pattern to strike us. The second is that *sacadas* have more often been visited than *contratistas*, even by *hacenderos*—but neither figures prominently in this kind of interaction. The third is that *hacenderos* have been hosts to most *encargados* and *cabos*, but to a progressively smaller percentage of respondents as one moves down the occupational scale; the same is true of priests.

4. Respondents look at themselves and others

Each of our respondents, on-farm and off, was asked to describe his idea of the ideal, or best possible, *hacendero*, *cabo*, and permanent worker, *contratista*, *sacada*, and priest. Each was also asked to consider at what point on an 11-point ladder scale (0–10) he would, for example, place most of the *hacenderos* whom he knew, if a rating of 10 meant they measured up perfectly to the ideal he had just expressed. Finally, if he rated most *hacenderos*, for instance, as deserving anything less than 10, he was asked to tell why the score was not a perfect one.

While this last question generally elicits what respondents think are the common failings of *hacenderos*, the poorly educated respondent shows a marked tendency to explain his low score by saying, in effect, "Well, after all, *no man* is perfect." The same kind of informant shows his tolerance in another manner: in the 500 responses considered in this study, as well as in some 5,000 we have elicited similarly in surveys since 1964, the less well-educated respondent scores more leniently than does the better educated one.

Because this tendency is patterned, it is possible to translate the raw ladder ratings in such a way as to make them more comparable across and within rater categories. In the present study, for instance, an average rating of 8.5–9.0 given by elementary-school graduates seems to register about the same

level of approval or acceptance as a 7.0-7.5 given by college graduates. Again, the lowest levels of approval given by these two educational groupings cluster around 6.8 and 4.9, respectively. Where rating groups differ so in high and low scores, and consequently in the ranges between them, some kind of translation is called for to make it possible (a) to see at a glance how acceptable or unacceptable a rated group is relative to the other five groups rated by the same raters; further, (b) to see in the same glance how that rating compares with those given to the same group by other raters.

My solution is the use of the rated group's *rank order* (by ladder score) among the groups rated by the same raters. Thus clergymen give permanent workers an average ladder score of 5.1 and give the hacendero 4.6. Within all six scores given by clergymen, these scores rank third and fifth, respectively. To judge to what extent the clergymen's rating of these groups differs from the rating given by cabos, for example, we can then translate the cabos' ladder scores for permanent workers (8.8) and hacenderos (7.2) into rank orders: first and fifth, respectively. The combined ratings are interpreted by stating that, despite differences in the ladder scores they give, cabos and clergymen have about the same low regard for hacenderos as a group, but cabos think more highly of permanent workers than clergymen do. Comparing rank orders in this manner, one can make a broad generalization: among all but one of the seven rating groups, priests, permanent workers, and cabos are regarded more highly (ranked 1-3) than hacenderos, sacadas, and contratistas (ranked 4-6). Only the sugar officials show a different pattern: they rate the hacendero more highly (second place) than the permanent worker (fourth). We now discuss each of the six groups in turn.

Hacenderos. From the viewpoint of the planters themselves, the best possible hacendero should excel in courteous behavior, the payment of good wages, general care and solicitude for his employees, and generous fringe benefits, in that order. Competence, frequent contact with the workers, and other qualities are also mentioned, but less prominently. In the ranking of these virtues, hacendero respondents are in close agreement.

Note the paramount importance given to courtesy, or smooth interpersonal relations (SIR). Note also, however, that good wages, or justice in dealing with employees, is the second most commonly mentioned quality. For cabos and permanent workers, especially the latter, the ideal hacendero is more paternalistic: to courteous behavior toward his workers he will unite a care and concern about them that shows itself in the gratuitous sharing of material goods and the granting of generous fringe benefits. Cabos place justice, especially in the matter of wages, as the third most important quality; for permanent workers it is in fifth place. Among themselves, both cabos and permanent workers show close agreement on their respective rankings.

How is the average hacendero ranked by his own kind and by his workers? Among the six groups rated, his average position is fourth, which is also the rank he gives himself. His self-view is to this extent accurate and realistic. However, many hacenderos of my acquaintance—but certainly not

all—will find it hard to believe that permanent workers, who live on the hacienda itself and presumably have first claim on the paternal assistance of the hacendero, should give him their lowest rating. Given the tendency of poorly educated respondents to protect themselves and their interviewers by responding positively when rating power figures, this rating takes on added significance.

<i>Rater</i>	<i>Placement of average hacendero</i>	
	<i>Ladder score</i>	<i>Rank order</i>
Hacendero	6.6	4
Cabo	7.2	5
Permanent worker	6.8	6
Sugar official	6.4	2
Government official	5.4	4
Labor leader	5.5	4
Clergyman	4.6	5

The planters say they rate themselves less than perfect chiefly because of the low wages that many of them pay. In fact, to judge from the replies we recorded, the planters are more concerned about this than are their cabos and workers, who complain far more about the discourteous treatment that workers receive. Nonetheless, for both cabos and workers low wages is the second most common complaint against hacenderos. And on the ranking of these and other failings they are in solid agreement.

Cabos. The cabos themselves give greatest weight to a cabo's courtesy and competence, in that order, with justice and honesty a trailing third. They also feel he must be a good subordinate who knows how to take orders from his employer. The workers likewise emphasize SIR, competence, and honesty, but of the same (third) importance as honesty is the cabo's providing them with regular opportunities to work and earn. Since underemployment characterizes many large sugarcane farms, and since cabos determine who will work on a particular day and who will not, his fairness is crucial to workers almost all of whom are paid only when they work.

Hacenderos want a cabo who has the same three qualities, but they stress honesty more than the others do. Further, as if to complement the cabo's self-ideal of being a good subordinate, the hacendero, who is his employer, wants a "loyal" employee and middleman.

In the ladder ratings they receive, cabos are generally more favorably viewed than hacenderos, ranking third on the average.

<i>Rater</i>	<i>Placement of average cabo</i>	
	<i>Ladder score</i>	<i>Rank order</i>
Cabo	8.2	3
Hacendero	7.9	3
Permanent worker	8.7	3
Sugar official	5.9	3
Government official	6.0	2
Labor leader	6.0	3
Clergyman	5.5	2

Cabos depreciate other cabos mainly on the score of discourtesy, then dishonesty and incompetence. Workers feel very much the same about them, but hacenderos, while also concerned about violations of SIR, put it in second place, after disloyalty to themselves. Dishonesty ties with discourtesy, with incompetence and illiteracy as fourth and fifth. It is noteworthy, however, that while cabos and workers agree on what makes some cabos undesirable, hacenderos think differently among themselves.

Permanent workers. In his own view, the good worker is above all a decent human being. After that he is generous, a good subordinate, and competent in his work. He is also loyal, industrious, and honest, in that order. Cabos agree on a primacy of SIR, but they give the virtue of obedience and loyalty understandably higher places in their plan for the ideal worker. Industry and competence come next, then generosity and justice. Hacenderos place loyalty to themselves above all else, putting honesty in fourth place; workers and cabos alike place it last. Agreement is strong within all groups, though planters diverge notably from workers and somewhat from cabos.

On-farm respondents give permanent workers first place, above cabos and hacenderos. Workers do not fare quite so well with off-farm raters, their overall standing ultimately being second place.

<i>Rater</i>	<i>Placement of average permanent worker</i>	
	<i>Ladder score</i>	<i>Rank order</i>
Permanent worker	9.0	1.5
Hacendero	8.4	1
Cabo	8.8	1
Sugar official	5.8	4
Government official	5.7	3
Labor leader	6.4	2
Clergyman	5.1	3

If the workers consider most of themselves less than ideal, it is because of discourteous behavior, disloyalty to their employers, and too much drinking and gambling, in that order. Hacenderos are concerned first of all about their disloyalty, then their dishonesty and laziness. Cabos censure the workers' insubordination, disloyalty, and discourtesy. Each man sees it from his own viewpoint, but all are agreed on this, that the average worker is not as reliable ("loyal") as he should be.

Sacadas. Since they were not available for interview at the time we did our fieldwork—almost all of them had returned to their home provinces between the milling seasons—we could not ask sacadas or *contratistas* about themselves. But we did speak about them with hacenderos, cabos, and workers.

What the planter wants from a sacada is an honest day's work: a canecutter should above all be industrious, competent, and honest. He should also be courteous and obedient. Cabos and workers emphasize courtesy, but cabos follow this by obedience and competence, while workers think generosity and industry are more important.

Sacadas are not very favorably rated. In fact their combined rating by all groups puts them in the lowest, or sixth, place. Slightly less negative than most are clergymen, labor leaders, and permanent workers.

<i>Rater</i>	<i>Placement of average sacada</i>	
	<i>Ladder score</i>	<i>Rank order</i>
Hacendero	5.5	6
Cabo	6.9	6
Permanent worker	8.1	4.5
Sugar official	4.4	6
Government official	4.0	6
Labor leader	4.9	5
Clergyman	4.8	4

Why the low ratings? Hacenderos feel that most sacadas are somewhat dishonest, incompetent, and lazy, but they do recognize the handicaps, such as lack of education, under which the sacada labors. Cabos downgrade sacadas as being discourteous and disobedient, as well as incompetent. Workers are least hard on sacadas, but do find most of them discourteous, unjust, and too much given to drinking, gambling, and fighting.

Contratistas. In the hacendero's mind the first requirement for a good contractor is honesty and justice; after that, courtesy and competence. Cabos

and workers see courteous behavior as more important than justice or competence, placing honesty only in third place, after competence (cabos) or generosity (workers).

In terms of ratings received, *contratistas* occupy fifth place. Labor leaders and clergymen put them in last place, however.

<i>Rater</i>	<i>Placement of average contratista</i>	
	<i>Ladder score</i>	<i>Rank order</i>
Hacendero	5.9	5
Cabo	7.6	4
Permanent worker	8.1	4.5
Sugar official	4.6	5
Government official	5.0	5
Labor leader	3.1	6
Clergyman	3.0	6

Ratings of on-farm respondents reflect the conviction shared by planters, cabos, and workers alike, that the average contractor is dishonest, discourteous, and neglectful of the needs of his *sacadas*. Off-farm respondents would agree.

Priests. Hacenderos and workers are unanimous in their conviction that the good priest is, above all, active in the traditional spiritual ministries of the priesthood—dispensing the sacraments, preaching, giving moral advice. Second, they agree he should be courteous toward all with whom he deals. For hacenderos, the third most important quality is leadership in community affairs, an emergent expectation shared by members of all the off-farm categories, but not by the less sophisticated, more traditional farm workers. For them, generosity with material goods is far more important.

<i>Rater</i>	<i>Placement of average priest</i>	
	<i>Ladder score</i>	<i>Rank order</i>
Clergyman	6.2	1
Hacendero	8.2	2
Cabo	8.6	2
Permanent worker	9.0	1.5
Sugar official	7.0	1
Government official	7.1	1
Labor leader	7.4	1

Overall, priests are in first place, though hacenderos and cabos rate them second to permanent workers.

The hacendero thinks the average priest's most common failings are two: failure to visit the people as often as he should, and immorality. Permanent workers place primary emphasis on the priest's failure to perform his spiritual duties, while cabos are more concerned about his discourtesy.

Among off-farm respondents, sugar officials (most of whom are hacenderos) come closest to on-farm respondents in their conception of the ideal priest. However, government officials, labor leaders, and the clergy have a different view. For them the ideal priest is *above all* an active community leader. He should not, however, neglect the performance of his traditional spiritual duties nor his obligations to treat all with courtesy. The average priest's greatest failing, according to off-farm respondents, is his *conservatism*, his being out of step with the times. His failure to perform traditional spiritual duties properly is also criticized.

5. *Views of Negros Occidental*

The question, "What would you like Negros Occidental to be like?" or "What kind of province would you like it to be?" was asked of the 57 off-farm respondents and those 108 on-farm respondents who were hacenderos and encargados.

Of the 288 responses given by the on-farm group almost two out of five center about the general notion of prosperity and progress. Hacenderos and encargados thus describe their ideal province as "rich, first class, and like Manila." Other responses given frequently by the same group are peace and order, adequate infrastructure ("more and better roads and irrigation projects, rural electrification"), and the provision for basic human needs such as "food, clothing, shelter, and education."

Off-farm respondents, however, list a different set of priorities. Of 181 responses by sugar and government officials, labor leaders, and religious, more than one out of five concern social justice and the desire for a province that is a "showcase of social justice," with "no big gap between rich and poor." Second in importance for this group is the provision for basic human needs (one out of five responses), with diversification of industry a very close third. Adequate infrastructure is also an ideal for this group, representing one out of ten of their responses. It is noteworthy that the off-farm participants appear to place primary importance on the human side of the sugar industry, and give only secondary importance to its economic and technological aspects.

A second question asked of respondents was, "What prevents it (that is, Negros Occidental) from reaching your ideal?" In about one of five of their 152 replies, on-farm respondents blame the planters, who are "preoccupied with profit-values," involved in the "unequal distribution of wealth," and paralyzed by "indifference." The general populace according to one out of six responses is "lazy," and "lacks national discipline and a self-sacrificing attitude." Government officials are similarly indicted for their "indifference"

and inability to secure funds. Off-farm respondents reverse the order of responsibility somewhat: first, the general populace; second, the planters; and third, government officials.

Finally respondents were asked, "What can be done about it (that is, to overcome obstacles to the progress of the province)?" Respondents, both on-farm (36 per cent of 186 responses) and off-farm (25 per cent of 94 responses) agree that primary responsibility rests with the government which must fulfill minimum expectations ("good government officials" and "wise use of government funds"), abandon undesirable practices ("scrap pork barrel funds"), and intensively pursue certain courses of action ("Philsugin should conduct seminars on new farming methods and new cane varieties," "reforestation, reclamation, irrigation projects"). The on-farm hacenderos and encargados also point to the private sector—the Church, the planters, and the citizenry in general—as sharing in this responsibility. Further, they see industrial diversification as an important means toward progress.

Although off-farm respondents also look to the private sector for assistance in bringing the province up to the level they desire for it (about one out of five responses) they consider education at least equally important.

It is interesting to note that if we compare the replies of the six groups of respondents, we find that hacenderos, encargados, sugar officials, and labor leaders overwhelmingly lay the responsibility for change on the shoulders of the government; the government officials for their part, and the clergy, hold the planters primarily responsible.

6. *Summary of findings*

For purposes of review, we can summarize in a series of statements what we learned from those 502 respondents whose interviews were formally structured.

Respondent characteristics

1. The findings are based for the most part on some 445 interviews with on-farm respondents and another 57 off-farm participants, conducted in July 1969.
2. Respondents to the structured interview may be characterized modally as adult, male, married, Catholics, who speak Ilongo or Cebuano as a mother tongue. The median age category of hacenderos and encargados is 45–54 years; of cabos, 35–44; of workers, 25–34.

Respondent problems

3. Worker-respondents are notably low in educational attainment, the percentage of elementary-school graduates among them being about 20 per cent—17 per cent for permanent workers, 22 per cent for temporary workers.

4. *Diets* are deficient, especially in protein-rich foods, milk, and vegetables.
5. *The average daily wages* reported by cabos and workers tend generally to be below the minimum wage of ₱4.00, a finding which must be interpreted with care (see Conclusion 3, below).
6. Statistical analysis of reported daily wages lends no support to the common statement that small farms must pay low wages, or that farms of low production cannot be expected to pay the minimum wage.

As a matter of fact, small and relatively poor farms often pay better than large, productive farms. *Low wages cannot be blamed on farm soil and size.* The cause lies elsewhere.

Relations with others

7. From replies regarding frequency of conversations, perceived nearness of residence, and visits to others' homes, these interaction patterns are suggested:
 - a. Where all three are found on the same farm, the encargado, cabo(s), and permanent workers tend to deal often with one another, to feel strongly that they live near one another, and to have been in one another's homes.
 - b. On the other hand, planters appear to deal mostly with the encargados and cabos. Compared to others, planters show a weakly developed sense of nearness to others, seeing themselves rather as relatively remote from them. However, they have visited, and/or have been visited by, large percentages of encargados, cabos, and priests, and smaller percentages of workers, sacadas, and contratistas.
 - c. The contact of respondents with priests tends to vary directly with their income level. The higher the income, the greater the contact with and nearness to priests.
 - d. Respondents appear to be closer to sacadas than to contratistas.

Views of themselves and others

8. Except by hacenderos and cabos, who rank him second, the average priest is given first place by raters. There are two partially distinct ideas of what he should be like: the traditional view would have him stick to his spiritual tasks; the emergent view, already solidly established among the clergy and other well-educated people, demands that he be an active force in community affairs, open to new ideas and ways, but without neglect of the spiritual side of his role. Both views insist he should be courteous to all.
9. In second place is the *permanent worker*, whose common failings are said to be discourtesy (to all) and disloyalty (to his hacendero).

- Industry and competence are characteristic of the ideal worker, as well as courtesy and loyalty.
10. The average *cabo* places third. He is generally expected to be courteous, competent, and honest, but workers also look to him for a fair and regular share of work opportunities. His major failings are those attributed to the permanent worker — discourtesy and disloyalty.
 11. Placing fourth among the groups rated, the average *hacendero* is least highly esteemed by his own permanent workers. His major faults are reportedly discourtesy and injustice. Hacenderos themselves consider the payment of unjustly low wages the average planter's cardinal sin.
 12. Rated fifth is the average *contratista*. While all agree his most common failings are dishonesty, discourtesy, and neglect of the *sacadas* for whom he is responsible, hacenderos are more concerned about his honesty than workers are.
 13. In last place is the average *sacada*, the seasonal worker who usually spends only eight months of the year in Negros. Among his common failings are said to be discourtesy, dishonesty (laziness included), and incompetence. The ideal *sacada* is, above all, industrious and courteous to others.

Views of Negros Occidental

14. In describing their *ideal province*, on-farm respondents (*hacenderos* and *encargados*) place primary emphasis on prosperity and progress. They also see the need for peace and order, adequate infrastructure, and abundant provision for basic human needs. Off-farm respondents think the most important quality of the ideal province is its fostering of social justice among all. A close and related second consideration is the provision for the basic human needs of all who live in the province. This is followed by adequate infrastructure.
15. *Obstacles* to the attainment of the province ideal tend to be seen especially as people, not conditions or things. On-farm respondents blame planters (themselves), the general populace, and the government officials. Off-farm respondents change the order somewhat: the general populace, planters, and government officials.
16. *Suggested solutions to these obstacles*. Both respondent groups show a marked tendency to look to the government for the means to overcome the obstacles they perceive. However, they also look for assistance from the private sector, and see industrial diversification as an important step to be taken.
Groups differ in their emphases. The clergy and government officials place primary responsibility on the private sector, the planters in particular. All others look first to the government.

Conclusions

Before stating and discussing five major conclusions that follow from the 16 findings reported above, let me place them in proper perspective. The first two concern the alarmingly low levels of educational attainment and nutrition among sugarcane workers. Although the findings reported earlier would not of themselves justify the generalizations contained in these conclusions, we relied on additional evidence as well, namely, census reports, the observations of Fr. McPhelin (Appendix D), and the consensus of resident Negrenses. Certainly no hacendero consulted on these questions has proposed alternative views. All agree on the gravity of the situation.

The third and fourth conclusions, however, rely exclusively on the survey findings, in turn derived from a 1.4 per cent sample of farms—too small and too questionably representative a base for conclusions that would state the distribution or intensity characteristic of reported problems. Thus the third conclusion admits, in effect, that we are not yet in a position to make any legitimate district- or province-wide generalizations about the planters' compliance with the minimum wage law; we can't even generalize for our own sample. The fourth statement can be more definitive than this, because it follows as the night the day from a statistical analysis made by one who knows, the Ateneo's Dr. Orense (see Appendix C, too).

The fifth and last conclusion is right out of *Alice in Wonderland*—until the evidence begins to pile up. Then things come right side up, if that's the way you see it. If after five conclusions you still want more, read Fr. McPhelin's broader view of what's right and wrong and puzzling (Appendix D). But we start with the five conclusions we spoke about.

1. *As a group, workers residing on the sugarcane farms of Negros Occidental are among the most poorly educated people in the Philippines; temporary workers living nearby are only slightly better off.* The percentage of elementary-school graduates among permanent workers (17 per cent) is as low as that of Sulu's population as of 1960; further, while Sulu was at that time, ten years ago, the "least educated" and "least literate" province in the nation, the expansion of her educational facilities, public and private, in the intervening years has almost certainly raised the standing of her population in terms of average educational attainment and literacy. Although there have been highly commendable efforts on a number of Negros haciendas (see Appendix D), there is unfortunately no evidence that the average worker of Negros Occidental has been given the same educational opportunities as the average Suluano. Indeed, when these workers are compared with their own provincemates of the same age, of whom 34 per cent have finished grade school (1960 figures), or with the nation at large (42 per cent), their neglect is even more striking (see Finding 3 and the earlier discussion).

2. *As a group, Negros sugarcane workers report diets that are seriously deficient, particularly in milk, protein-rich foods, and leafy and yellow*

vegetables. Their diets generally show an adequate intake of energy-rich foods such as rice and cereals, however, owing partly perhaps to the reportedly widespread availability of hacienda-subsidized rice.

Workers' diets are bad both absolutely and relative to other parts of the Philippines, but for different foods. Thus milk, a pet aversion of most adult Filipinos, is as rarely drunk by sugarcane workers as it is by the average grown man and woman elsewhere in the Philippines. In protein-rich foods like fish, meat, and poultry, on the other hand, the diets of Negros workers fall notably below those reported from other provinces (Table 5). Even more striking is the contrast in protein intake between sugarcane workers and the planters who employ them, for when compared to hacenderos and their families, permanent and temporary workers come off as badly undernourished indeed (Finding 4 and the earlier discussion).

3. *It is not clear from this exploratory survey what the average total daily earnings of sugarcane workers are.* This is so because the figures reported by worker-respondents (Table 6), though in answer to a question about "earnings" (see Appendix C), almost certainly represent cash received for a full day's work and nothing else. A statement of cash received takes no account of earnings received in kind, such as free housing, rations of rice at a subsidized price, and similar benefits, nor does it say anything about deductions that had been made for subsistence loans received during the preceding idle season.⁶

A similar problem arises from our having recorded what workers said they usually received for a *full day's work*. Since most workers other than cabos are paid on a piece-rate basis, the so-called *pakyaw* system, it is clear that there are at least three factors that determine what a worker usually receives: the planter's rate, the worker's productivity, and the number of hours he usually works (his idea of a "full day"). Until these questions and those concerning payment in kind are answered, we cannot say more on current compliance with the minimum wage law.⁷

4. *Nonetheless, the evidence at hand refutes the often-heard claim that operators of small or unproductive sugarcane farms must pay less than their more fortunate fellow planters.* This statement, commonly made to explain why some planters pay less than the minimum wage, is refuted by an analysis of the data we have on cash wages usually received. For it is clear (Finding 6

⁶ In this connection I recall speaking with an ex-planter who was bewailing the injustice of those hacenderos who paid their workers less than the minimum wage of four pesos per day. On inquiry, he admitted that he himself used to pay an average of two pesos cash per day during the milling season, but justified it as his way of collecting the loans he had made (without interest) during the idle months.

⁷ Planters themselves say many of their fellows do not pay the minimum wage. But this survey's evidence is simply not conclusive. If this disappoints the socially conscious reader, he has my sympathy—but only up to a point. For I'll be damned (quite literally, I fear) if I'll seek social justice for some at the unjust expense of others.

and Appendix C) that small farms often pay better than large ones, and that workers on highly productive spreads not infrequently receive less than those on poor ones. In other words, low wages cannot be blamed on soil or farm size.

Some of our advisors feel that, while this refutation is undoubtedly valid when "small" and "large" farms are defined as we (and they, normally) define them, it would probably not hold up if we compared *very* small farms with other farms. If one operates a very small farm (one with about 10-15 hectares planted to sugarcane) and its productivity is low (below the district average), he simply cannot, according to these advisors, pay the minimum wage and survive. We hope to examine this refinement of the question in the second phase of the study.

A fifth statement pulls together into one short sentence the cumulative meaning of a number of the survey's most significant findings. Indeed, lest additional statements detract from the impact of this inductively derived conclusion, no others will be presented.

5. *Today's hacendero, particularly if he owns a large or medium-sized farm, seems to be enjoying the good life; in reality, his position is considerably more dangerous than he himself realizes, and is certainly not to be envied.* Consider these facts: (a) the workers living on his farm greatly outnumber him and his household—in cases there are as many as 50-100 times more workers than hacendero-tied people such as the planter and his family and the encargado; (b) average workers are in the prime of life, a full generation younger than hacenderos and encargados (Finding 2); (c) workers have genuine grievances against the hacenderos, complaints that are salient in their own thinking and in that of the community at large, including the planters themselves (Findings 3-6 and 11); (d) instead of acting in the deferential, cautious manner expected of them, average workers interviewed in this survey reject planters openly and in conversation with a stranger by giving hacenderos their lowest ladder scores; this I judge to be a fairly clear indication that workers are fighting unsuccessfully to control a powerful resentment that has built up within them against the planters' discourtesy and injustice (Finding 11 and the earlier discussion of the same point); (e) where they all work on the same farm, workers and cabos form a large, close-knit, solidary group of a single social class—a social unit capable of generating very effective positive or negative group action (Finding 7a); (f) hacenderos, on the other hand, even when they live on the farm (unless it be a small one) tend to be alone, isolated from the mass of workers (Finding 7b); (g) prestigious off-farm respondents, with the exception of sugar officials who are themselves planters, hold the average hacendero in relatively low esteem and want him to change his ways (Finding 11); (h) priests of Negroes, formerly considered the bulwark of the status quo, now think of themselves, and will increasingly be expected to behave, as community leaders who actively espouse the cause of social justice (Finding 8). In view of these eight

covergent facts, and in consideration of the uncertain future of Philippine sugar in the world market, the hacendero is in trouble. Finally, given the increasing agitation for reform or revolution by legitimate and subversive agencies based within and outside Negros Occidental, the role of hacendero is not very enviable, except for the man who likes an uneven fight against foolish odds.

Suggestions

To reduce the odds to less frightening proportions, there are a number of obvious steps that might be taken. The IPC suggests that planters and other Negrenses of good will might start *now* with the following:

1. *As soon as possible, certainly before the second semester of the incoming school year (November 1970), set up schools for the grade-school education of as many children of permanent workers as possible.*

For this purpose, four small committees, all working on a crash-program basis, seem called for: (a) a committee on *curriculum and materials*, to work out a curriculum appropriate for the hacienda context and acceptable to the Department of Education, and to select and reproduce suitable educational materials for students; (b) a committee on *teacher recruitment and training*, to devise ways of finding and training grade-school teachers in the large numbers likely to be needed (How about a call for Negrenses newly graduated from college to give a year to their people?); (c) a *finance* committee, to raise the private and public funds to pay for the construction and maintenance of new schoolhouses, provide school supplies and teachers' salaries, and perhaps even subsidies for children whose labor was essential for the support of their families; and (d) a committee on *construction*, to design and oversee construction of the necessary schoolhouses (from local materials?) and other facilities.

2. *As soon as possible, certainly before November 1970, introduce where it is not already in practice an applied nutrition program.*

The most urgent and immediate need is for *protein*. To make it more readily available to all, a threefold attack on the problem is suggested: (a) an immediate program whereby the retail price of meat, fish, and poultry will be subsidized as is that of rice at present on many farms; (b) measures to assure an unailing local and inexpensive supply of protein by the systematic encouragement, throughout the province, of the raising of animal and vegetable protein sources; (c) an educational program to introduce needed changes in traditional, nutritionally deficient dietary patterns.

In this threefold program there are a number of national and international organizations whose help could be solicited. Names

that come easily to mind in this connection are the World Health Organization (WHO), the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), the Catholic Relief Services (CRS), and the Church World Service (CWS).

3. *By July 1970, provide worthwhile and profitable off-season work opportunities for workers at least in those districts that have an eight-month milling season.*

Here another crash program is called for. One possibility that will occur to many who consider the problem is this: let the *initial* off-season work program be aimed primarily at the construction of schools (Suggestion 1) and the propagation of animal and vegetable protein sources (Suggestion 2). This work program would certainly be worthwhile and of lasting benefit for the workers and their families.

4. *Continue to demand, by every available means within the law, universal compliance with the minimum wage law and the distribution of the workers' three-pesos-per-picul share in the recently increased profit from the sale of domestic sugar.*

For the reader not familiar with the latter, a brief explanation is in order. In December 1968, President Marcos agreed to a rise in the controlled price of domestic sugar, from 25 to 31 pesos per picul—but on condition that half of the increase be returned to workers in cash bonuses. This bonus has been called the social amelioration fund.

While many planters and millers have already distributed the three-pesos-per-picul bonus to their workers, there are more than a few holdouts, against whom the NFSP is bringing increasing pressure. Meanwhile the price of domestic sugar has risen to about P36 per picul (February 12, 1970).

5. *Investigate more deeply in the second phase of this study:*
 - a. The working and living conditions, attitudes and opinions of farm workers, sacadas, and planters;
 - b. Farms as production units; and
 - c. The possibilities and modes of greater cooperation between the public and private sectors in Negros Occidental.

Other suggestions might be made, of course. For some of them, the reader is referred to Fr. McPhelin's report (Appendix D). Like Fr. McPhelin, I am convinced that the ultimate solution for the workers' many problems will be *assured full-time year-round employment*, on or off the farm, at a living wage, but we must start from where we are, in February 1970. The name of the game is ACTION. The time is NOW.

Appendix A

STAFF OF THE IPC/NFSP EXPLORATORY SURVEY

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Appendix B

WHAT A UNIVERSITY RESEARCH ORGANIZATION
UNDERSTANDS BY ITS FREEDOM TO PUBLISH (DECEMBER 1969)

Frank Lynch, S.J.
Program Coordinator
Institute of Philippine Culture

General conditions for undertaking research. As for most university research organizations, the decision to undertake a particular research task is for the Institute of Philippine Culture not primarily an economic question. The IPC Policy Committee, which governs the Institute, pays less attention to costs than it does to the fulfilment of these conditions:

1. The capacity of the IPC to do the job;
2. The worthwhileness of the research for humanity, the Filipino people, and social science;
3. The freedom of the IPC:
 - a. To investigate what it wishes,
 - b. To publish what it finds, and
 - c. To announce the source of its funds.

Most people find no difficulty in understanding the first and second conditions. They feel that academic groups, above all, should make responsible use of their time and energies, never promising more than they can deliver. But there are many people who do not easily perceive the necessary connection between worthwhileness—indeed, the very *integrity* of research as open-ended inquiry—and freedom to investigate and publish. Yet unless the entire research process be in the hands of those who understand and promote it for its own sake, it will be, not a receiver sensitive to emanations of truth, but a transmitter of preconceived bias. One is either free to investigate and publish, or incapable of seeking new truth: it's as simple as that.

Freedom to publish. But there is a simpler argument for these freedoms, particularly the right to tell the world what you have discovered. The IPC's right to publish springs from its being an integral part of a university. For the purpose of a university is to serve the common good, and it is in recognition of this public trust that universities enjoy certain privileges before the law. For this reason the university cannot, like a commercial organization, allow the fruit of its labors to become the exclusive property of

those who sponsor those labors. The university can be supported, to be sure, but it can never be bought.

This does not mean, however, that a university-connected research organization will publish everything it finds, or publish at once whatever it decides to publish. To begin with, there are many research findings that are really not worth printing. They are commonplaces of no significance to science, the Philippines, or mankind. More important, there are many findings which would, if published, represent a breach of confidence, particularly where the information was given, or discovered, under conditions of trust. In cases of this nature, if one cannot publish his findings without revealing the identity of the individual or individuals involved, he simply must not publish them.

Beyond this, however, publication is guided by other moral principles and practical wisdom. When a research director has completed his data gathering and compiled his findings, he will be wise, before writing any final interpretations of those findings, to seek the advice of people closer to the situation and more familiar with it than he is. He will search out these resource people with great care and energy, getting as many opinions as possible, sorting them out to see what they can contribute to the preliminary conclusions he has already formed.

This done, he will then submit his study first to his sponsor, if he has one, or to some respected arbiter, reserving the right, however, to publish the study within an agreed-on period of time. If the sponsor requests it, the researcher may permit him to do the first publishing, *if* it is done within an agreed-upon period and if the researcher has the final word on what is to be published. This is done to make sure that the publication which bears the name of the investigator (and his research organization perhaps) will in fact present a balanced view of the findings and conclusions of the study. At the end of the set time period, and earlier if no such period was agreed upon, the researcher or research organization may publish its own report, allowing its sponsor to offer suggestions for revisions, but itself remaining final judge of what the report should say. It cannot do otherwise and be faithful to its public trust.

Even where the sponsor does not intend to publish, and therefore requests no period wherein it can publish first, there are circumstances in which the research organization would reasonably be expected to delay publication of a study. If, for instance, the research had uncovered the existence of an immoral or illegal or otherwise undesirable situation, Christian charity would seem to demand that the researcher inform the responsible parties about it and give them a period of grace before exposing the problem to public view. This procedure should be routine, I believe, as long as there is a probability that action will be taken at once by the parties at fault. When the time comes for the research organization to publish, it can mention in its report the problems exposed by its study (never mentioning the names of individuals, however) and also the extent to which the conditions found by

the study had been bettered in the interval between study and publication. If nothing effective had been done, this would be mentioned as well.

Summary. In brief, the IPC is a university-connected research organization. As such it reserves the right to publish freely the findings of its studies. However, it routinely first submits these findings to those most likely to contribute to their valid interpretation. These consultants may include its sponsors, along with others familiar with the phenomena under study.

Once it has found sufficiently reasonable explanations for the findings it has made, the IPC will publish. If its research has discovered a situation which is immoral or illegal, the publication of which would result in unfavorable judgments regarding those involved, it will not reveal their names. It will eventually publish what it has found, however—it cannot otherwise be true to its trust—but only after informing those who seem responsible for the difficulty, allowing them reasonable time to adopt prompt and effective remedial measures.

Appendix C

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF THE WAGES REPORTED BY CABOS AND PERMANENT WORKERS INTERVIEWED FOR THE IPC/NFSP SURVEY (JULY 1969)

Marcelo M. Orense, Ph. D.
 Chairman, Department of Mathematics
 Ateneo de Manila University

In the course of the IPC/NFSP exploratory survey of sugarcane farms in Negros Occidental, a total of 50 cabos and 171 permanent workers (*dumaan*) were interviewed on a number of topics, including the wages they received. To the question, "What do you usually earn per day?" (Ilongo, "*Pila ang masami mo nga ginaganan sa kada adlaw?*") 48 cabos and 168 permanent workers replied as follows:

Daily earnings (cash)*	Cabo	PW	Total	
			N	%
Under ₱1.50	0	3	3	1
₱1.50-2.24	4	23	27	13
₱2.25-2.99	5	14	19	9
₱3.00-3.74	16	74	90	42
₱3.75-4.49	18	41	59	27
₱4.50-and over	5	13	18	8
<i>Total</i>	48	168	216	100
<i>No data</i>	2	3	5	

*Figure does not include payments in kind.

The problem presented to me as a statistical consultant of the IPC was this: Given the distribution of average wages by farm size and farm productivity, do the data support the statement that smaller farms pay lower wages, or that less productive farms pay lower wages? In other words, can one say—as many people do—that you cannot expect the planter with a small or infertile farm to pay as much as the planter with a large or fertile farm?

Before attempting to answer this question, let us first see the range of wages paid to cabos and permanent workers within the various farm categories.

Worker category and farm productivity*	Farm size*		
	Large	Medium	Small
<i>Permanent worker</i>			
High productivity	P3.00 - 4.50	P1.75 - 6.00	P1.70 - 4.00
Low productivity	2.00 - 6.00	1.50 - 5.00	1.20 - 6.00
<i>Cabo</i>			
High productivity	P3.00 - 7.50	P2.80 - 6.60	P2.00 - 4.61
Low productivity	2.40 - 4.00	4.00 - 5.38	2.00 - 4.34

*For the definitions of high and low productivity and of the three farm sizes, see footnotes to Table 1, p. 8.

If we look at the lower limits of the wage ranges reported, we see that there is a tendency for this lower limit to decrease as we move down the scale of farm size and productivity. We find among permanent workers, for example, that the lowest wages are paid on small-sized, low-productivity farms (P1.20), and that the highest lower limit is found on large-sized, high-productivity farms. This is what we would expect. However, this trend is broken by cabos on medium-sized, low-productivity farms, the most poorly paid of whom (P4.00) receives higher wages than the most poorly paid cabo on any other type of farm—including the large-sized, high-productivity farms.

Now, if we examine the upper limits of the wage ranges reported, we do not find the same pattern that we noted among the lower limits; in fact, there seems to be no pattern at all—except, perhaps, for cabos on high-productivity farms. If we consider the wages of permanent workers, we see; for example, that the highest-paid worker on large-sized, high-productivity farms receives less (P4.50) than the highest-paid worker on small-sized, low-productivity farms (P6.00). This type of "illogic" is apparent throughout the whole series of wage ranges reported, and suggests that factors other than farm size and productivity affect wages paid to workers.

Let us tackle the problem from another angle. The *average* daily wages for cabos and permanent workers from the various kinds of farms are the following:

Worker category and farm productivity	Farm size			Average
	Large	Medium	Small	
<i>Permanent worker</i>				
High productivity	P4.01	P3.51	P3.06	P3.43
Low productivity	3.50	3.37	2.92	3.19
Average	3.75	3.44	2.99	
<i>Cabo</i>				
High productivity	P4.84	P3.87	P3.54	P4.07
Low productivity	3.50	4.48	3.15	3.68
Average	4.22	4.16	3.26	

From this table it appears that wages vary as expected, that is, with farm size and productivity. The average wages on high-productivity farms are greater than those on low-productivity farms; as you go down the scale of farm size, average wages decrease. Average wages of cabo workers appear generally higher than permanent workers on both productivity levels and three farm sizes.

But an analysis of the variations among these averages is necessary before we can make a conclusive statement about this pattern. The following tables present the computations in outline.

Analysis of variance (permanent workers)

<i>Sources</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>
Production, unadjusted	1	2.29018	2.29018		
Sizes, adjusted	2	17.16391	8.58200	14.941	NS
Interaction	2	1.14882	0.57440		
Sizes, unadjusted	2	17.11074	8.55537		
Production, adjusted	1	2.34335	2.34335	4.080	NS
Interaction	2	1.14882	0.57440		
Interaction	2	1.14882	0.57440	0.784	NS
Residual	162	118.64749	0.73239		
<i>Total</i>	167	139.2504			

Analysis of variance (cabo)

<i>Sources</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>
Production, unadjusted	1	1.51216	1.51216		
Sizes, adjusted	2	7.69311	3.84656	1.094	NS
Interaction	2	7.03143	3.51570		
Sizes, unadjusted	2	7.54298	3.77149		
Production, adjusted	1	1.66229	1.66229	0.473	NS
Interaction	2	7.03143	3.51570	3.10	NS
Residual	42	47.60260	1.13340		
<i>Total</i>	47	63.8393			

The main point to take note of here is that the variations in wages are *not significant* with respect to farm size, farm productivity, or the interaction of both. The basic conclusion we can draw, therefore, is this: *While farm size and productivity may affect wages paid on farms, they are not the only factors that do so. In fact, they may not even be the basic factors determining wage levels paid.*

Appendix D

OBSERVATIONS ON NEGROS OCCIDENTAL (JULY 1969)

Michael F. McPhelin, S.J.
Professor, Department of Economics
Ateneo de Manila University

The Province in General

Scarcity and unemployed resources. The principal economic problem appears to be the existence of want despite the fact that unemployed resources are many: unused labor, underutilized land, mills which operate only part of the year. The chief shortages appear to be entrepreneurial leadership, capital, a network of savings institutions to pool even small savings, and an organization to explore job-creating investment opportunities.

Efficiency vs. welfare. More thought should be given to the more efficient production and milling of sugar and to joint-product activities than to ways of providing direct welfare benefits to the workers. To put it in a misleading slogan: less welfare, more work: misleading because increased work and pay will not lessen welfare. The well-being of all depends upon the efficient production of more sugar and of products which can be turned out jointly with sugar. In 1966-68, \$101 million were lost in unfilled exports of sugar to the United States. The domestic market can absorb more sugar at prices profitable to producers, as seems clear from the present prices paid for domestic sugar. Demand for sugar in both markets can be expected to increase.

When sugar planters accuse themselves of a lack of social conscience, the examination of conscience should include modes of production as well as modes of distribution of the fruits of production. Really, not nearly enough experimentation is undertaken on seeds, modes of cultivation, appropriate mechanization, and ancillary products.

Technical problems and recommendations. Surveys already undertaken—for the districts of Victorias and La Carlota—have made recommendations about deep tillage, fertilizer, improved seeds, water control, the aging of the cane, modest mechanization, and the pooling of equipment.

In connection with water control and the praiseworthy survey of water-control possibilities now being undertaken, it is worth noting that the costs of water control are somewhat offset by the more efficient use of the other factors of production: labor, land, and mills used more fully year-round.

A growing problem in some districts is the inadequacy of facilities for the transportation and the milling of cane, especially given the present practice of not harvesting and not milling year-round.

Another suggestion is to reintegrate fragmented farms for better management.

Other problems. Other province-wide problems include health: everyone speaks of the disproportionately large amounts spent on medicines to cure ills which were better prevented; the quality of schooling: is it possible to persuade the La Salle Brothers to undertake the supervision of all non-technical private schools and the setting up of birth-control clinics with the blessing of the bishop.

Much serious thought needs to be given to reforestation for the common good of all who live in the province.

Sugar agencies sidetracked. It is regrettable that institutions intended to be of service to the entire sugar industry have been turned away from their pristine purposes. The Philsugin, for instance, no longer justifies its costs in terms of benefits provided; and the Sugar Producers' Cooperative Marketing Association (SPCMA), a useful and indeed necessary cooperative marketing association, was distracted from its primary purpose when its income began to be put to political and other uses. Disagreement over these uses has led to splintering and the multiplication of competing organizations.

Planters and education. It is almost an axiom that sugar planters have not been taught, they have just learned. There is need of an agricultural school oriented towards sugar and the products which can be turned out jointly with sugar. The example of Australia—which has such a school—has been commonly cited. One suggestion is to try to win the interest of the Xavier University College of Agriculture and its current head, William Masterson, S.J. A school is needed for the service not only of younger students but also of planters and encargados. It would be expected to do its share of research.

Sectoral organization and labor. The sugar-producing sector of the economy is comparatively well organized. There are some who say that the comparison favors sugar chiefly because of the lack of organization in other sectors. Nonetheless, the power of the existing degree of organization is not to be underrated.

One leading question is this: Wherein are the problems of sugar workers different from those of workers in the country as a whole? And whether special resources, including organization, are at hand for solving the problems.

In fairness it should be said that, compared with other workers in Philippine rural areas, sugar workers are not wretched. Though the conditions under which they work differ from farm to farm and from mill to mill, they are not unusually restive.

Diversification. Sugar alone cannot be counted upon to provide all the jobs needed by a growing labor force and by the workers who ought to get displaced by rational mechanization. Nor need it be the only source of income for planters and millers. At present, perhaps the most clamorous demands made on the leading class are in the area of ingenious entrepreneurship: more job-creating activities need to be undertaken; capital must be accumulated, say, in a provincial development bank. There is need for a committee of good men to make this their preoccupation—how to make joint-production profitable: for example, of cattle, pigs, poultry, fish, fruits, other agricultural products; what uses to make of bagasse, molasses, and such; whether the province can support a fertilizer plant; what other lines of job-creating investment suggest themselves. In this matter, the help of the Board of Investments, the Private Development Corporation of the Philippines, and of the National Cottage Industries Development Authority (NACIDA) might be solicited. Apparently, the possibilities of developing tourism in the province are not to be overlooked.

Consolidation of efforts. Previous surveys, though costly, have not been used to effect notable changes. Perhaps some thought should be given to a permanent committee, under the wing of Bishop Fortich, which would concern itself with the implementation of recommendations worth following up. In general, maximum use should be made of the bishop as a catalyst and peacemaker.

Earnings from sugar and men who have grown up in the province have made an outstanding contribution to the economic and business advance of the Philippines. These men now operate out of Manila rather than out of Bacolod or Iloilo. Perhaps the time has come to turn these talents and these resources to the problem of the economic development of Negros Occidental.

Individual Farms

Problems. The fundamental problems are those of year-round income, of diet, health, sanitation, potable water, schooling of the young, better training of the elders, good housekeeping, better homes and gardens, feminine hygiene and birth control, promotion of the promising workers, the encouragement of self-reliance (for example, closely tying rewards to efforts undertaken by the worker himself, weaning him away from paternalism), the formation of credit unions and cooperatives, elimination of the profiteering cantina wherever it continues to exist, the payment of the bonus so that it is clearly part of the regular annual income rather than a kind of windfall impatient to be squandered: in a word, energetic leadership rather than old-fashioned paternalism. Social conscience is little other than the awareness on the part of the farmer that he manages not only his own interests but those of his dependent workers as well. This goes far toward immunizing workers against the temptations of potential agitators.

The search for solutions. It is notable that exemplary solutions to almost every problem have been discovered and put into practice by at least some farmers. That is to say, no inventiveness is demanded of one who makes a survey of problems met on single farms and what to do about them. All he needs is observation of the rather admirable solutions which have been found and put into practice on the better-managed farms.

For example, there are planters who take the trouble themselves to instruct both their encargados and their laborers in the proper manner of doing their work; there are wives who bother to visit the homes of the work-people and, by their discreet advice, make themselves helpful to the women of the workers' households; there are farms where the families of the workers are visited systematically by a doctor: he makes his rounds, whether the families have reported any sickness or not; he has his eyes open for conditions of sanitation and diet as well as of sickness; and there are farms which manage to provide year-round work and income, thanks to diversification.

There is at least one farm where a nurse is being converted into a nutritionist for the good of the families of the workers. It happens that she is the wife of one of the more responsible employees.

On one farm the provision of a simple water-sealed toilet has markedly improved sanitation. Where the fields are used as the latrine, befouled feet lead to internal parasites; also, the muck is carried home.

The doctor referred to above spends six days a month systematically visiting 52 farm families for the purpose of preventing sickness. His visits have greatly reduced the need for hospitalization; that is, his services more than pay for themselves.

A small plot of land by the workers' house, if well used, can substantially raise income and well-being.

One farmer, with the consent of his workers, used the three-peso bonus for setting up a credit union. It is his intention eventually to start a consumers' cooperative.

Vocational schools for the young have been set up on the grounds of at least two sugar mills—a most praiseworthy move. In at least one case, the local private grade school is supervised by the La Salle Brothers, who see to the selection of teachers and textbooks and to the standards to be applied.

The active presence of both the farmer and his wife can be very effective in the case of small farms—and most farms are relatively small.

Both formal and informal discussion groups of planters are a way of making successful practices better known and of encouraging their wider adoption.

Appendix E

BRIEF ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Victor M. Taylor
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Institute of Philippine Culture

I. The province of Negros Occidental

Mamaril, Simeon D.

- 1968 Fieldwork report: second phase: potential industries for Negros Occidental. Quezon City, University of the Philippines. (Mimeo.)

A report prepared as a requirement for the completion of the Second Consultancy Course of the Institute for Small-Scale Industries, U.P. Heavy reliance on secondary sources. Superficial recommendations, perhaps because of the broad area covered.

Orpilla, Federico O.

- 1968 Fieldwork report: second phase: economic survey of Negros Occidental. Quezon City, University of the Philippines. (Mimeo.)

A general economic survey of the province prepared for the Second Consultancy Course of the Institute for Small-Scale Industries, U.P. Based mostly on secondary sources.

II. The sugar industry in general

Abes, Bernardino R.

- 1962a Sugar, labor and the president. Philippine Labor 1(1): inside front cover. May.

In praise of President Macapagal's efforts to expose "the machinations of the Sugar Bloc." By his Undersecretary of Labor.

- 1962b The vested interests. Philippine Labor 1(6): inside front cover. October.

Again, in praise of President Macapagal's crusade against power blocs in general, sugar in particular.

Maintains that the domestic market is ignored by the sugar industry in favor of the foreign market, from which larger profits are drawn. Zeroes in on the Fernando Lopez clique.

Abrera, Josefa B.

- 1963 An annotated bibliography of the history of the sugar industry in Panay and Negros. Quezon City, Ateneo de Manila.

A compilation of 833 titles of books, periodical articles, and government publications, including biographical data on persons closely connected with the sugar industry, a few entries on the history of the industry in general and on legislation affecting the industry—all covering the period from 1849 to 1962. Arranged chronologically.

Business Day

- 1970 Sugar: sweet taste of power. *Business Day*. P. 4, January 20.

Focuses on the power play of the sugar bloc and justifies it through the need of the bloc to protect its extensive interests—estimated at ₱14 billion.

De la Costa, Horacio

- 1965 Economic progress. *In Readings in Philippine history*. Manila, Bookmark. Pp. 143–64.

Primary texts on the Philippine economy during the Spanish period with commentaries by the author. A large section devoted to the growth of the sugar industry in Iloilo and Negros.

Delfin, David

- 1969 The state of the sugar industry. *The Chronicle Magazine*: 38–39, March 29.

A rambling discussion of the industry. Attempts to discredit some stereotypes about planters and touches on efforts to increase production.

Espina, Rolando L.

- 1969 "Revolution" in sugarlandia. *The Chronicle Magazine*: 10–12, 16, March 29.

A loosely organized defense of the sugar industry and an attempt to present its positive social aspects. Some points developed: (1) average size of sugarcane farm

that of a homestead; (2) sugar barons a thing of the past; (3) sacada problem; (4) various plans proposed to solve this problem; (5) the sugar industry a forerunner of wage increases; and (6) the social amelioration program.

Gomez, Jose Mapa

1964 Wanted: a sound image for a sound industry. *Sugar* '64: 56-59.

A speech delivered by the president of the NFSP in an effort to correct the public image of the sugar industry. Tackles the following five facets of this image: (1) the industry as a pampered, government-supported and subsidized industry; (2) the industry as a vested interest composed of and controlled by sugar barons; (3) planters as exploiters of labor; (4) producers as hoarders and manipulators of domestic sugar prices to the prejudice of consumers; and (5) the sugar bloc as a potent force in national politics.

Lamborn, Ody H.

1965 1964: sugar year of decision. *Sugar* '65: 83-89.

A speech delivered in the United States and reprinted in *Sugar* '65. While focusing primarily on developments in sugar in the United States during the early 1960s, it contains a lot of useful information regarding the world sugar situation and helps the reader to understand conditions in the Philippines.

McHale, Thomas

1970 The Philippine sugar industry in the 1970s. Paper prepared for the "Public Lecture Series on Prospects and Problems of Development in the 1970s," read January 20 at the San Miguel Auditorium, Makati, Rizal.

An important analysis of the sugar industry today and the future it faces.

National Federation of Sugarcane Planters (NFSP)

1964a The history of the sugar industry. *Sugar* '64: 50-53.

Describes the development of the sugar industry in the Philippines in terms of three tragedies: (1) the depression of the 1930s and the resulting quota restriction on American importation of sugar; (2) World War II; and

(3) exchange controls of the 1950s. Concludes with warnings of an impending fourth tragedy: the proposed shift in U.S. sugar-buying policy from the preferential to the global quota system and the cessation of the Laurel-Langley agreement.

1964b Fetters of the quota system. *Sugar '64*: 54.

Attempts to show that sugarcane planters are not the privileged lot the public believes them to be; by interpreting the quota system as more of an obligation—with adverse consequences if not fulfilled—rather than a privilege.

1964c Not all is sweetness in the sugar world. *Sugar '64*: 85–86.

Arguing the need to look for markets other than the United States, this essay briefly surveys the development of international sugar conditions and agreements.

n.d. A serious look at the Philippine sugar situation: an appeal by the 21,291 sugarcane farmers of the Philippines represented by the National Federation of Sugarcane Planters. Manila, NFSP.

A plea for increased sugar quotas for the Philippines from the United States and the maintenance of U.S. domestic prices. Probably prompted by events on the international sugar scene of the early 1960s. Reveals the dependence of the Philippine sugar industry on the American market.

National Federation of Sugarcane Planters (NFSP) and Philippine Sugar Association (PSA)

n.d. The story of sugar in the Philippines: 1521-1960. Manila, NFSP and PSA.

A pictorial essay on the many benefits the sugar industry has brought the country, ending with a plea for government aid to avert the "point of liquidation" for the industry.

III. *Individual milling districts of Negros Occidental*

Asian Social Institute (ASI)

1968 Survey findings and potentials for development in the Escalante-Toboso district. Manila, ASI. (Mimeo.)

A survey conducted in preparation for a Social Rural Congress involving the towns of Escalante and Toboso. Describes production, institutions, general conditions in these towns, and makes recommendations for further development.

- Chaves, Edmundo, Jr., Ismael Getubig, Jr., and Anselmo B. Mercado
1968 Socio-economic survey of Ma-ao district, Negros Occidental. A survey conducted by faculty members of the Xavier University College of Agriculture, May 14-20, 1968. Cagayan de Oro, Xavier University. Typescript.

A brief report on a small-scale survey of the Ma-ao district, focusing on problems of people in the barrios, the haciendas, and the sugar central. Makes some practical suggestions based on findings.

Corrales, Ramon G.

- 1968 Traditional family norms on Victorias milling district haciendas, Negros Occidental, and their relation to modernization and industrialization. Master's thesis submitted to the department of sociology, Xavier University, Cagayan de Oro. (Mimeo.)

Using a sample of 60 household heads from 22 haciendas, this dissertation examines family values and structure in the Victorias milling district to see how they fit sociological requirements implicit in industrialization and modernization.

Cui, Jorge Ma.

- n.d. Victorias image study. Makati, Rizal, Consultants for Public Relations. Typescript.

A description of attitudes of farmers and workers in the Victorias milling district with regard to the sugar industry, themselves, their working and living conditions, and labor leaders and unions. Expressed primarily in terms of percentages of respondents interviewed.

Jalandoni, Luis

- 1969 The "miracle" of Dacungogon. *The Chronicle Magazine*: 18-19. March 29.

Background and objectives of the Dacungogon experiment, cooperative ownership of a sugar mill by small farmers.

Operation Brotherhood International (OBI)

- n.d. Joint SCPA-OBI project—San Carlos milling district, Negros Occidental: final survey results. Manila, OBI. (Mimeo.)

A second survey conducted by OBI of families on four haciendas. Data includes population, place of birth of family heads, recreational activities, educational attainment, income distribution, source of credit. Also opinions on fiestas, need for change in the community, leaders and influentials in the community.

Robot Statistics and Consultants for Public Relations

- 1962 Image study: La Carlota/Pontevedra milling district. Manila and Makati, Rizal, Robot Statistics and Consultants for Public Relations. Typescript.

A survey conducted among farmers and farm laborers of the district. Describes in terms of percentages their attitudes regarding the sugar industry, farmers, working conditions, and labor unions.

- n.d. Summary of recommendations: job-wage evaluation project for the Asociacion de Agricultores de La Carlota y Pontevedra, Inc. Manila and Makati, Rizal, Robot Statistics and Consultants for Public Relations. (Mimeo.)

An evaluation, with recommendations for changes where necessary, of wage and production standards accepted in the district for each step in the planting, cultivating, and milling cycle.

Task Force on Urban Development

- 1968 Profile report on Bacolod City. Manila, National Economic Council and the U.S. Agency for International Development.

A thorough and fact-filled description of Bacolod (data drawn mostly from secondary sources) covering such areas as the city's physical features, its human and natural resources, industry and commerce, public utilities, housing, health services and facilities.

Tolentino, Florence P. and Jose S. Daproza

- 1966 Final report on preliminary survey of the San Carlos milling district, Negros Occidental. Manila, OBI. (mimeo.)

A survey conducted by Operation Brotherhood International at the request of the San Carlos Planters' Association (SCPA) in order to find a basis for income-raising projects in the district. Data include population, skills, housing, educational attainment, income distribution, health.

IV. Labor

Alonzo, Perpetuo L. B.

1962 Our approaches to the labor problem in our sugarcane plantations. *Philippine Labor* 1(1): 11-12. May.

Focuses on the interplay between governmental intervention in labor—through minimum-wage legislation and wage board rate-fixing—and collective bargaining through trade unions. Contains the following tables: (1) sugar exports (centrifugal) of the Philippines, 1949-60; (2) price trends of centrifugal sugar exports of the Philippines, 1949-61; and (3) money and real wage rates index of laborers in industrial establishments in Manila and suburbs, 1949-60.

Calalang, Liwayway M.

1962 A survey of selected conditions of employment in the sugar industry in mainland Luzon. *Philippine Labor* 1(2): 17-24. June.

A survey conducted from December 1961 to January 1962 by the Department of Labor. Focuses on duration of work, working hours, wages, and housing facilities of hacienda workers; wages, wage supplements, housing and light facilities of workers in sugar centrals. Useful comparative data.

De la Cruz, Jr., Zoilo

1968 For the sake of the "sacada." *Philippines Free Press* 61(42): 7, 63-65. October 19.

Background on the first Collective Bargaining Agreements affecting sacadas. Entered into by the Associated Labor Union, Elizalde & Co., Inc. and contratas of the four haciendas affected. Brief but informative description of the interrelations between planter, contratista, and sacada.

Guerrero, Amado

- 1969 Letter to the editor, *The Manila Times*, on landlords and peasant uprisings in Negros Occidental. *The Manila Times*. P. 4-A. September 22.

A letter from the chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines, protesting "gross misinformation" on the part of the *Sunday Times Magazine* editor regarding the land situation in Negros Occidental. Has two detailed tables: (1) a list of the number of landlords and size of landholdings in 26 municipalities of the province; and (2) a list of individual landlords in the Victorias municipality, together with the number of hectares owned and assessed value of these landholdings. Source of data not cited.

Jesena, Arsenio C.

- 1969a The sacadas of sugarland. Quezon City. Loyola House of Studies. (Mimeo.)

In the author's words, "a qualitative personal recounting" of his few weeks' experience as a sacada. Describes the different abuses perpetrated by the contratista, the life of the sacada, and the hacendero's responsibility in all this.

- 1969b The sacadas of sugarland. *Graphic* 36(19): 6-10. October 15.

A published version of 1969a.

Jose, F. Sionil

- 1959a Letter from Bacolod-1: the sugar begins to sour in Negros. *The Sunday Times Magazine* 14(36): 18-21. April 19.

- 1959b Letter from Bacolod-2: labor trouble stalks Negros. *The Sunday Times Magazine* 14(37): 50-53. April 26.

An impressionistic discussion of conditions in Negros Occidental at the time of the labor dispute occasioned by the entrance of Fr. Hector Mauri, S.J., and the Federation of Free Farmers on the scene.

Labor Statistics Division

- 1962 Facts and observations on wages and working conditions in our sugar cane haciendas in Negros Occidental. *Philippine Labor* 1(1): 14-18. May.

A compilation of excerpts from three studies: (1) United States Economic Survey Mission (Bell Mission) to the Philippines, 1950; (2) joint Republic of the Philippines Department of Labor-United States Operations Mission to the Philippines survey on employment of migrant labor (sacadas) in the sugar industry in Negros Occidental, 1956; and (3) Department of Labor study on working conditions of plantation workers in Negros Occidental, 1960. Contains useful data on wages, working hours, and perquisites.

Locsin, Jose C.

- 1969 Christian justice and the sugar industry. *Philippines Free Press* 62(17): 10, 63-67. April 26.

An appeal for justice for workers in the sugar industry, based on Christian and humanitarian precepts. Contains brief itemization of cost of producing 1,000 piculs of sugar on eight hectares of land with profit margin accruing to planter and central.

Locsin, Teodoro M.

- 1959a Labor priest vs. Negros hacenderos. *Philippines Free Press* 52(4): 2-3, 54-55. January 24.
- 1959b The handwriting on the wall. *Philippines Free Press* 52(5): 3, 66-67. January 31.

A two-part series on the struggle to organize labor unions on Negros sugar haciendas. A running commentary on the confrontation between hacenderos and Fr. Hector Mauri, S.J., and the Federation of Free Farmers.

The Manila Times

- 1969 PNS head defends series on Negros Occidental "sacadas." *The Manila Times*. P. 24-A. October 29.

A statement by Philippine News Service president Joaquin P. Roces exposing an anonymous attempt to smear journalist Juan L. Mercado's reputation. Evaluates Mercado's report on Jesena (1969a) as "fair and faithful."

Masulit, Teofilo A.

- 1962 Sampling methods on a survey of workers in the sugar industry. *Philippine Labor* 1(2): 14-16. June.

Explains sampling methods used in two surveys of wage levels and working conditions in the sugar industry: one in Negros Occidental in December 1960, the other in Luzon in December 1961–January 1962.

Mercado, Juan L.

1969a Sacadas of sugarland. *The Manila Times*. Pp. 1-A, 9-A. October 2.

1969b Sacadas of sugarland: exploitation knows no end. *The Manila Times*. Pp. 1-A, 6-A. October 3.

1969c Sacadas of sugarland: only landlords can end misery. *The Manila Times*. Pp. 1-A, 8-A. October 4.

A three-part series reporting on Jesena (1969a).

1969d Letter to the editor, *The Manila Times*, answering IPC statement of clarification. *The Manila Times*. P. 4-A. October 26.

A letter commenting on the IPC clarification that Jesena (1969a) was not part of the Institute's socio-economic survey of Negros Occidental. Suggests an unholy alliance between the IPC and sponsor NFSP.

National Federation of Sugarcane Planters

1969 The social amelioration program. *Sugar '69*: 46–47, 49–50.

Comment on the social amelioration program with some figures on wages paid in the Philippines as compared to sugar farm workers in other countries. Full text of the resolution adopting the profit-sharing program.

Pahilanga, Romana J.

1970 Interaction and expectations among sugarcane planters and workers of Negros Occidental. Master's thesis submitted to the department of sociology and anthropology, Ateneo de Manila University. Typescript.

A discussion of interaction patterns and ideal behavior expected of planters, cabos, and permanent workers. Based on data gathered during the first phase of the IPC/NFSP Survey.

V. *Other sources*

Guthrie, Helen A.

- 1968 Nutrition in a fishing community. In *Modernization: its impact in the Philippines III (IPC Papers, No. 6)*. Walden F. Bello and Alfonso de Guzman II, eds. Quezon City, Ateneo de Manila University Press. Pp. 129-48.

A report on a survey of diets in a Visayan fishing community. Includes a brief but informative introduction to nutrition in the Philippines.

- 1969 Infant and maternal nutrition in four Tagalog communities. In *Modernization: its impact in the Philippines IV (IPC Papers, No. 7)*. Walden F. Bello and Alfonso de Guzman, eds. Quezon City, Ateneo de Manila University Press. Pp. 60-92.

Useful for comparative purposes.

Kahl, Joseph A.

- 1968 The measurement of modernization: a study of values in Brazil and Mexico (*Latin American Monographs, No. 12*). Austin, Texas, University of Texas.

Lynch, Frank, and Perla Q. Makil

- 1968 The BRAC 1967 Filipino family survey. *Saint Louis Quarterly* 6(3-4): 293-330.

A survey of demographic, behavioral, and attitudinal characteristics of rural Filipino families, with emphasis on family planning attitudes.