



Social Science INFORMATION

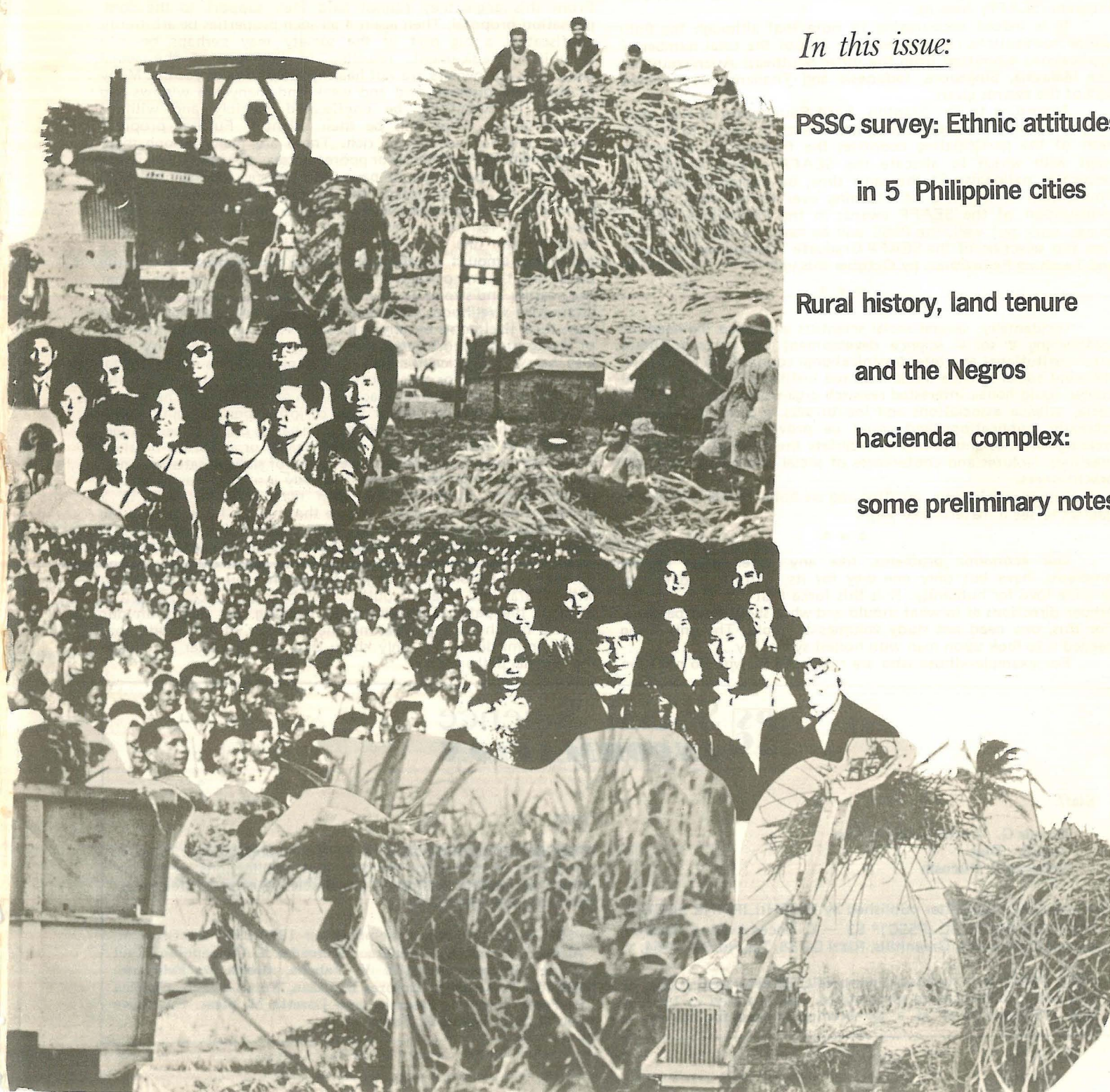
Vol. 1 No. 3
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January 1974

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in 5 Philippine cities**

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Editor's notes

We hope you like this issue of the newsletter. As we have a very small staff, we depend on our readers to keep sending us the news via the attached newsgathering sheet. Again, thanks to all those who have contributed in one way or another to the contents of this newsletter. Special thanks to Dr. Leslie E. Bauzon and Dr. Rodolfo A. Bulatao of the University of the Philippines for their feature articles.

The next issue will feature more initial findings of some of the PSSC-supported projects.

* * *

Dr. David L. Szanton of Ford Foundation Bangkok recently informed us of the successful Filipino applicants for the October 1973 competition for the Southeast Asia Fellowship Program (SEAFP) Awards.

It is indeed encouraging to note that although the Philippine nominations represented only 26% of the total number of applications submitted from the other Southeast Asian countries like Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia and Thailand, we garnered 46% of the awards given.

According to Dr. Szanton, Ford Foundation is also planning to devolve the present program in such a way as to provide each of the participating countries the freedom to determine ways with which to allocate the SEAFP awards among the respective nationals. At the same time, he disclosed that Ford Foundation is thinking of turning over to the PSSC the administration of the SEAFP awards in the Philippines. Should things work out well, the PSSC will be handling the administration and selection of the SEAFP Graduate Training and Research and Teaching Fellowships by October this year.

* * *

Incidentally, several social scientists expressed the need for establishing a social science development center to facilitate inter-institutional and inter-organizational cooperation among the different social science disciplines and institutions. The proposed center could house interested research organizations, professional social science associations and institutions, a printing press for scholarly publications and could be provided with complete training facilities and rooms to facilitate the holding of seminars, meetings, lectures and conferences of social science students and practitioners.

The idea is indeed exciting and we hope enough momentum gathers to see it materialized soon.

* * *

Our economic problems, like any other small or big problems, have but only one way for its solution, and this is, genuine love for humanity. It is this force that will give man the proper directions as to what should and what should not be done. For this, one need not study volumes of books. The only thing needed is to look upon man with honest sympathy.

For example—those who are rightists i.e., who do not have

any particular faith in violence, may, with regards to the abolition of the landlord-tenant system or the nationalization of the big industries, say that adequate value or compensation should be paid for such acquisitions. Those who believe in violence but do not believe in changing the human heart through spiritual practices and spiritual education, on the other hand, will say that the capitalists have plundered the nation's wealth long enough and so the question of any compensation cannot arise at all. But those who have genuine love for humanity cannot accept any of the two.

Compensation for acquisition of such big concerns would mean long-range repayment of dues by installments to the owners. Hence, during that protracted period the general mass will not be at any particular ease from their present situation. From this angle they cannot lend their support to the compensation proposal. Then again if all such properties be arbitrarily confiscated, a big part of the society may perhaps be in a pecuniary predicament, resulting in the loss of the social equipoise. All owners are not healthy, able-bodied youths. Many of them are diseased, old and weak and many are widows and minors. If everything be confiscated forcibly and without compensation, what will be their plights? Further, property owners are not necessarily rich. There are many among them belonging to the bourgeoisie or poorer classes as well. Even if the policy of compensation or payment of prices for the properties acquired be not accepted, the people who cherish love for humanity, will sympathetically consider those that find themselves in a fix as a consequence of this nationalisation, and regulate their line of action accordingly. Monthly pension or a lump sum amount should certainly be allocated to the old, the paralysed, the minors and the destitute women. In the event that the healthy and strong youngmen and elderly people, will have no alternative livelihood, opportunities must be given to them to earn their livelihood by physical and mental labour. At the time of giving such opportunities their ability as well as necessity must also be sympathetically taken into account. If the entire capital of the proprietor or the industrial magnate were invested in the business, then at the time of acquisition of his interests, he should be employed in some similar type of job as per his ability. With the power in hand, if any individual or party, out of sheer grudge, engages that industrialist as a street cleaner or as a stone-breaker, in that case he may perhaps have a sort of sadistic satisfaction at his cost. But under the weight of grossly insulting indignities and unaccustomed livelihood the man may meet his end in a comparatively short time. The one that had so far been sucking men white and trying to deprive them of their legitimate rights is also a man... this must never be lost sight of even for a moment. Human family is a conglomeration of different elements of the human race. Reforming, and guarding against human frailties and with liberal and tolerant outlook we have to proceed together towards the path of benevolence. Racking our minds on our onward march with grudge and the memory of somebody's past deeds or misdeeds will only show that we have after all chosen the suicidal path.



Social Science INFORMATION

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*The PSSC is a nonstock nonprofit, private association of Philippine social-science associations. Incorporated in 1968, it was NSDB-certified as a tax-exempt science foundation in

1973.

The Council has since January 1972 been engaged in 12 special programs of research, training, and publications assistance aimed at making Philippine social science more professional, relevant, and rewarding.

PSSC Executive Board members for 1973-1974 are Oscar M. Alfonso, Rodolfo A. Bulatao, Mercedes B. Concepcion, Raul P. de Guzman, Armand V. Fabella, Gloria D. Feliciano, Alfredo V. Lagnay, Dolores B. Lasan, Frank Lynch, Cristina P. Parel, Emy M. Pascasio, and Loretta M. Sicat. Executive Secretary is Dennis G. Teves.

Readers' corner

P. R. Sarkar's article "Education: a common concern" is both timely and relevant.

If teachers are molders of the mind of our young people, then we must see to it that these molders are people of high intelligence. As it is now, students who can become good teachers because of their intellectual capability make teaching profession as the last choice, if ever they have a choice for it, because of its low financial reward. Those who are already in the teaching profession start looking for greener pasture in non-teaching employment. Something has to be started — incentive has to be provided, i.e. a good pay which will provide the teacher with a decent living. Otherwise, time will come when only the misfits and less capable people will go into this vocation because the better ones have chosen the degree that promises satisfying economic turnover. Public and private school administrators should do something right now. This should be done if we intend to build a strong society. An underpaid physician may not save the life of his patient but a discontented teacher may destroy the whole society.

More power to P. R. Sarkar.

Rowe V. Cadelina
University of San Carlos
Cebu City

Your periodical bridges our isolation from the rest of the professionally active social science world. Thank you for our copy. If possible, please give advance notices of lectures and seminars. Our mail here is exceptionally slow.

Fr. Sergio Utleg
St. Paul College of Tuguegarao
Cagayan

The position paper entitled "Education: A Common Concern" by P.R. Sarkar is challenging the reactions of the old and the young in living a full life in the New Society. Excelsior unto PSSC Information Service for more power and enduring life.

Victor V. Lepiten, Sr.
President
Cebu Roosevelt
Memorial College

The PSSC Social Science Information fills a long-felt need for teachers and workers in the various disciplines to communicate with each other along professional lines. We expect to use the information contained in it regularly.

Col. Bienvenido V. Baquirin
Baguio Colleges Foundation
Baguio City

May we request that community development be included as one of the fields of specialization for PSSC.

Prof. Jose Agbayani, Jr.
U.P. Diliman
Quezon City

In the over-all, your publication is a rich source of information useful especially to scholars and research workers throughout the country, Asia and other countries in general. We hope that through your efforts these scholars and researchers will be able to know and benefit from each other's efforts and findings, and that rapport shall be established among all non-commercial, social and humanities research centers throughout the country.

Constancio Cater
Director
Research & Service Center
Ateneo de Naga

The September 1973 issue of the PSSC is full of valuable and varied social science information.

The article "Education: A Common Concern" is a reality. Congratulations.

Prof. Nieves Tality
National Teachers College
Tandunay, Manila

Correspondence

Send in your comments, queries and suggestions to:

Social Science Information
Greenhills, P.O. Box 655
Rizal, Philippines D-738

UP fellowships in demography

The University of the Philippines Population Institute announces the availability of graduate fellowships for study in demography for the schoolyear 1974-1975.

Supported by an endowment fund set up with matching funds from the Ford Foundation, stipends up to P4200 per annum will be awarded to successful applicants.

Applicants should possess the following qualifications:

1. Must have completed a four-year undergraduate program at a recognized university or college with an average of 2.2 or better, and preferably with a good background in statistics and the social sciences;
2. Must have serious intention to work as demographers, whether in research or teaching posts, at the completion of their training.

Attention:

All social scientists

The Philippine Social Science Council is currently making the first of its periodic inventories of social scientists. It expects to repeat this inquiry at least annually. But it will need the help of all social science research institutions, associations and college departments to get things started.

Eligible for inclusion in this first social-scientists' inventory are those who consider one or more of the following 13 disciplines, their field(s) of specialization: history, social statistics, social work, economics, anthropology, (social/cultural, including archaeology) sociology, psychology, demography, linguistics, mass communications, public administration, political science, and geography. Additionally, respondents should either be Filipino citizens or Philipinists (regardless of citizenship) — that is, they should regularly teach, do research, study, or write about Philippine society or culture.

The purpose of the periodic inventory is twofold: first, to provide up-to-date names and addresses which may lead to information exchange and discussion among social scientists in the Philippines and abroad; second, to make it easier for these social scientists to learn of placement and funding opportunities in the Philippines and abroad. One vehicle for this interchange and information service will be the PSSC's *Newsletter*, copies of which will be sent to all participants. There is also a plan to computerize the information, the resulting tapes to be available at the University of Hawaii and the PSSC. Specific inquiries will then be entertained at both these sites.

The periodic inventory is designed to be as "painless" as possible. Form A ("Initial Listing") was pretested before being printed: it takes an average of five minutes to complete. Form B (on current social-science interests), takes less than 10 minutes to fill out. Further information can be gotten by direct correspondence with the individual social scientist.

The PSSC earnestly requests the cooperation of the heads of social science research institution, associations and college departments. If there is even one Filipino social-science student or faculty member at his/her institution, he/she is requested to drop a note to:

Mr. Dennis G. Teves, Executive Secretary, Philippine Social Science Council, 53-C Rocas Avenue Quezon City. Tel 99-97-64. Tell Mr. Teves how many copies of Form A are needed (one per respondent) and he will forward them at once. They can then be mailed to the PSSC P.O. Box 655 Greenhills, Rizal D-738.

Rural history, land tenure and the Negros hacienda complex: some preliminary notes

By: DR. LESLIE E. BAUZON

The following are the preliminary notes of Dr. Bauzon on his research project under PSSC's Modern Philippine History Program.



Rural history is virtually a *terra incognita* in Philippine historical scholarship. This is unfortunate since contemporary problems of Philippine peasant society can be better understood when looked at with a broad historical perspective. There is surely a need to study the basic origins and the evolution of land tenure and its various types like (a) the peasant proprietary system, (b) the rent or *inquilinato* system, (c) the proprietary or plantation system, and (d) the pervasive tenancy or *kasama* arrangement.

The agrarian background of the Philippines, and the role of the *tao*, Juan de la Cruz, in Philippine history, should be exhaustively studied, considering the predominantly agricultural nature of the national economy. This is to suggest that scholars today and in the future should break away from the traditional Manila-oriented historical studies, and devote more time to extra-Manila and ultimately extra-Luzon regional studies. Once this is done, a synthesis of all findings based on local history should be made in order to create a genuinely national picture. Studies on rural history, as a matter of compelling scholarly necessity, should be undertaken in an interdisciplinary manner. It is imperative to cut across departmental lines inasmuch as the traditional historical approach is inadequate in gathering data about, as well as in gaining valuable insights into, such concerns of rural history as the relationship between man and his environment, rural migration and population shifts, land tenure patterns, client-patron relations, the development of a market economy, and the effect of credit and price stability or price fluctuations on the rural population in historical time. If a historian is not trained sufficiently to use socio-scientific methods, he should enlist the assistance and collaboration of scholars belonging to the other disciplines of social science.

Primary sources for research in rural history include archival materials like notarial registers (*protocolos*), land deeds and litigations (*terrenos*), statistical reports (*estadísticas*), royal decrees (*cedulas*), provincial reports (*memorias*), and ecclesiastical documents. In addition to the national repository of colonial treasures, the parish records and the papers found in hacienda archives, if they exist, should yield important data on rural prices, wages, labor, credit, profits, and investments.

It is obvious that the task facing the rural historian is big. The task of such magnitude, of course, cannot be accomplished by just one scholar, nor can it be done all at once. Scholars concerned with the well-being of contemporary Filipino society should join in the effort to uncover the agrarian history of the Philippines in general, and to answer the most basic questions regarding the origin of the country's landholding system in particular.

Land Tenure: The Negros Hacienda Complex

Our research project on the beginnings and development of the Negros hacienda complex focuses simply on one type of land tenure — the proprietorship of sugar haciendas or plantations, as opposed to rice haciendas. The words plantation and hacienda, though, are not always interchangeable but for practical purposes, we shall use them interchangeably. That the proprietary or plantation system (*hacienda*) is merely a form of land tenure presupposes the existence and acceptance of private landholding as a concept. Distinction must be made between the concept of private land ownership and the haciendas as a manifestation of private ownership. Having recognized this distinction, we can further state that the great haciendas were established or acquired by people consciously applying the principle of private property holding, regardless of whether or not this principle was introduced by the Spaniards after the Spanish conquest in 1565.

In this brief essay, we will deal exclusively with the prob-

lem of tracing the origin and growth of the sugar haciendas of Negros Island. A hypothesis will be presented regarding their beginnings as well as their manner of acquisition and formation. Due to space and time limitations, we will not deal here with the hacienda as an economic enterprise or as a business system. To do so would require numerous tables and charts showing the role of capital, prices and credit in hacienda management. We will also not deal here with the hacienda as a social unit showing its institutional structure involving a network of relationship between the hacendero or hacendado and his laborers, their properties, and their connection with the outside world. Theoretical or ideological consideration of the hacienda system will also be avoided; that is, we will not go into a discussion of the hacienda, at least at this time, either as a "Feudal" institution or as a "capitalistic" institution. The reader is assured though that these aspects of hacienda history will be thoroughly treated and given the importance that they deserve in a manuscript which we expect to finish by June 1974.

Preconquest Landownership. It has been a common belief in academic circles that the concept of private landownership was non-existent prior to the Spanish colonial enterprise in the Philippine archipelago. It is stated that the Spaniards introduced one far-reaching innovation in land tenure. A typical statement is made by John Leddy Phelan, who identified this innovation as "the notion of land ownership as opposed to land use, the concept that individuals and not merely groups could own land, that land itself was a source of wealth."¹ This statement is premised on the assumption that prehispanic landownership was completely communal in character. This, however, is a confusion, because in another paragraph, Phelan makes this remark:

... Under Spanish law preconquest usufruct of land became titles held in fee simple. Their owners could alienate such property. All lands not owned either communally or individually at the time of the conquest belonged to the royal domain, the *realengas*. Some of this land was assigned by the Crown's representatives to those Filipinos who settled in or adjacent to the multitude of newly-founded communities. These lands were held not in fee simple but in fee tail. Although such real estate could be transmitted to legitimate heirs, it could not be sold without the consent of the fiscal Crown attorney of the Audiencia. Title ostensibly reverted to the Crown after failure to cultivate this land for a period of two years.³

This quotation reveals Phelan's inconsistency. In one place he says that Spain introduced the notion of private landownership. In another, he states that Spanish legislation at the time of conquest allowed alienation of lands owned "either communally or individually," thereby insinuating that there was private landownership before the advent of Spanish rule. Free alienation of lands presumes private ownership. One cannot dispose that which he does not possess or own. To do so would be to commit an act that is both illegal and immoral.

Actually, there are bits of evidence showing that landownership before Spanish rule was both communal and private in character. For example, Fray Juan de Plasencia, in his valuable ethnographic material entitled "Customs of the Tagalog" observed:

... The lands which they the natives inhabited were divided among the whole *barangay*, especially the irrigated portion, and thus each knew his own. No one belonging to another *barangay* would cultivate, them unless after purchase or inheritance. The lands on the *-tingues*, or mountain-ridges, are not divided, but owned in common by the *barangay*. Consequently, at the time of the rice harvest, any individual of any particular *barangay*, although he may have come from some other village, if he commends to clean any land may sow it, and no one can compel him to abandon it.⁴

It is clear from the above that while no actual documentary

titles were held to show absolute ownership of land among the prehispanic Filipinos, landed property could be possessed and owned in practice by merely clearing, tilling, and occupying a parcel of land. Considering the sparsity of population then, it can be said that vacant lands were plentiful. The possessor, simply by prior occupation, and by making the occupied land agriculturally productive for his own subsistence and that of his family, could become a land owner. If today, mere possession could lead to outright ownership, it was even more so then precisely because of the availability of lands for anybody who wished to possess and own landed property.

That there was a notion of private landownership prior to the arrival of the Spaniards can be attested further by documentary evidence, admittedly fragmentary, but showing nonetheless that lands were bartered or sold with gold or shells used as payment.⁵ Even the *aliping namamahay*, who occupied a low rung in the social ladder, "could own their own lands while working in the cultivated lands owned by their masters, whether *datu* or not."⁶ The offspring of the *aliping namamahay* could acquire these lands by legacy, and once they owned them, they were there for them to alienate by sale, barter or bestowal. Dr. Felipe Landa Jocano of the Department of Anthropology, University of the Philippines, while expressing the opinion that landownership in the pre-Hispanic barangay was largely communal in nature, reinforces the belief that the notion of private landownership existed in the prehispanic barangay by hinting that communal ownership frequently led to, and involved an, "assignment to the right of access to a portion of the property"⁷ by an individual. In practice, this meant that once a person occupied, possessed, and tilled a piece of real estate, it was nearly impossible to expel him from it, much less deprive him from enjoying the fruits of his labor. He earned access to that portion of communal property by clearing and cultivating it as though he owned it outright. Time and custom converted mere possession to absolute ownership.

The Rise of Rural Estates Under Spain. Considering the widespread absence of a monetized market economy in the Philippines before the Spanish period, we can safely assume that *latifundism*, or proprietorship of *hacienda* plantations, as a type of land tenure, did not emerge until after the Spaniards provided the basis for the appearance of a money economy as a way of mobilizing the native population. Under the prehispanic system of landholding, land was not valued a great deal, partly because it was plentiful and partly because there was no need to cultivate it beyond the normal requirements for daily existence and for meeting social obligations to assure the well-being of the barangay or kinship-oriented group. Again, it must be borne in mind that a market economy was virtually non-existent. Under these circumstances, agricultural production for commercial or trading purposes, both here and abroad, was unnecessary and unrewarding.

When the Spaniards came, the situation changed. The Spaniards regarded land, more so than the prehispanic Filipinos, as a source of wealth, and ownership of a sizeable landed property was seen as a basis for social prestige although they did not manifest this fully until after 1780. For decades before the late eighteenth century, land in the Philippines was viewed as of little economic benefit by the Spaniards themselves. The reason for this is simple enough. For centuries, the Philippines was a "closed" colony. One royal decree was responsible for this situation. A Madrid proclamation in 1593, which was reiterated in 1637, ruled that "no part of the Indies is allowed to deal with the Philippines except [through] new Spain." — *Que de ninguna parte de las Indias se puede tratar en Filipinas si no fuere de Nueva Espana*. This royal cedula explicitly prohibited direct intercolonial contacts between the Philippines and the Spanish provinces in the New World. Everybody coming to the Philippines went through the fine mesh Spain installed in the vice-royalty of Mexico and in the Philippines. Non-Catholics and non-Castilians were strictly forbidden to come. The fabled galleon trade itself was the epitome of this monopolistic and restrictive high colonial policy.

The chief impulse to Spanish colonization was undoubtedly economic — the acquisition of easy and spectacular wealth, to take gold out of the country while supposedly bringing God in. Agricultural production was deemed unprofitable because agricultural products that did not command good prices and which ate up a lot of valuable cargo space were not accepted for

loading in the small and frail galleons that plied the Pacific Ocean. Moreover, agriculture was considered degrading, because it involved manual labor; it also required capital and an adequate and cheap labor supply. Thus agriculture was neglected. The Castilians inevitably turned to the galleon trade as a way for making quick peso. In accordance with colonial policy, every member of the Spanish community was given the right to take part in the lading and freighting of the galleon. Actually, what the Spaniards who gravitated to Manila did was to act as middlemen between the Chinese who brought in the silken manufactures for shipment to Mexico, and the Mexicans who provided the silver in exchange for the Chinese silk products, which they insatiably bought to the chagrin of the Cadiz-Andalusian merchants. The Mexicans were banned from making a return shipment in this durable trading enterprise. Had they been allowed to do so, agriculture in the Philippines would have been stimulated and land tenure would have evolved faster, for ill or good.

Thus, since Mexican-Philippine intercolonial commerce was largely restricted to the exportation from the Philippines of Chinese silk, with silk assuring a 100 per cent profit, Spaniards in the Philippines felt that participation in the galleon trade was preferable to carving out an estate in the province whose products could not be marketed anyway due to the absence of ties with countries desirous of importing whatever agricultural cash crops the Philippines was capable of producing.

For this reason, individually-owned rural *haciendas*, particularly sugar *haciendas*, did not become significant until well after 1780 and into the 1800's. This is not to say that Spaniards did not acquire and own private landed property here in the Philippines before 1780. A portrait of Governor Luis Perez Dasmariñas which appears in the monumental Blair and Robertson work includes a deed of title showing his ownership of what is now Binondo, Manila. It is stated in the deed that Dasmariñas acquired his Binondo property in 1594 by purchase, paying P200.00 to Don Antonio Velada for that piece of real estate. But while this is true by and large, there was not much incentive for the acquisition of big parcels of land, especially in places away from centers of Spanish population, because of benighted, monopolistic, and stifling colonial commercial policies pursued by their own royal government. If there were rural estates established before 1780, these were mostly held by the friars of the Dominican and the Augustinian Orders, and to a much lesser extent, by priests of the Jesuit Order. These missionaries owned some of the most fertile lands in Central and Southern Luzon, which were devoted almost exclusively to rice production. The rural estates acquired and owned by the religious orders were used to support both their this-worldly and other-worldly enterprises in the Philippines. To be sure, they did not produce cash crops for export to foreign countries. Besides, these *haciendas* did not fulfill one basic characteristic of a *hacienda*, namely, the establishment of close ties with an expanding outside economy. The royal *cedulas* of 1593 and 1637 assured this.

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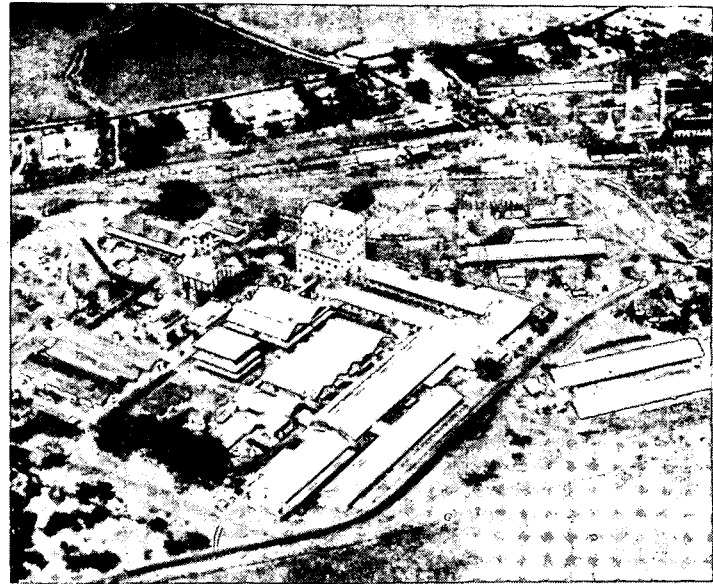
The Emergence of the Negros Haciendas. By the second half of the eighteenth century, the native economy faced its most serious challenge: Spain decided to adopt what might be called national economic planning. Economic reforms and other measures at that time called primarily for the development and transformation of the Philippines into a country whose agricultural production was geared towards export trade. The decision to develop an export-oriented agricultural production in the insular colony was intended to alleviate an economic condition characterized at best by stagnation, backwardness and misery. There was even perennial bankruptcy. The fiscal situation was chaotic and yet the Spaniards continued to feel that their stay in the Philippines must be made profitable for them. The deplorable state of the colonial economy can be attributed, not to mention Hapsburg decadencia in no small measure to the monopolistic galleon trade, where only a few Spaniards, mostly religious personnel, in the long run, reaped handsome dividends.

To arrest further economic deterioration, and avert complete economic ruin, the enlightened Bourbons decided to bring about a fundamental shift in Spanish economic thinking. They reversed more than 200 years of monopolistic policies, (a) by establishing direct trade relations between the Philippines and Spain via the continental tip of Africa which for a long time was not accessible to them on account of the doctrine of *mare clausum*, [or closed sea] (b) by allowing non-Spanish nationals to come into the insular colony for purposes of trade and commerce, (c) by abolishing the galleon trade in 1815, and (d) by opening the port of Manila to foreign trading vessels, followed later in the mid-nineteenth century by the opening of two additional ports (Cebu and Iloilo) to accommodate the growing foreign commerce of the archipelago. The opening of Cebu and Iloilo, of course, further enhanced sugar as an agricultural cash crop in Negros.

But all these could not have happened without first determining that what was urgently needed in order to make the Philippine colonial enterprise truly profitable, while at the same time avoiding economic chaos, was to directly encourage the commercialized production of agricultural cash crops for purposes of exportation. The establishment of the tobacco monopoly in the early 1780's was a step in this direction. For the first time in two centuries, the Spaniards realized that agricultural development would mean material prosperity for them in the colony. The galleon trade no longer provided sufficient income. Alternative sources had to be tapped. Also, the Spaniards began to grasp the economic reality that if metallic wealth (gold and silver) could not be found in the islands — probably because of unsuccessful conquest of the minorities (the mining industry did not flourish until the twentieth century) — then the next best thing was to produce agricultural crops the value of which equalled or at least approximated the value of gold and silver. Producing such crops like tobacco and sugar in plantations, especially if one owned these plantations, was just as good a way of acquiring huge wealth spectacularly. Tobacco and sugar production proved profitable in the New World. Their large-scale production in the Philippines could prove profitable too.

The decision to stimulate the production of export crops like tobacco and sugar, and for a while, indigo, was therefore crucial for the emergence of the great rural estates in the Philippines, specifically in Negros Island. There was expanding foreign market for these agricultural cash crops. The prospect for lucrative production and processing was bright. With Spanish economic planning definitely geared toward the commercialized cultivation of specialized products, the colonizers became aware that the Philippines could be financially remunerative after dismissing it as economically barren. Everybody suddenly realized that land could produce wealth; owning it was not only a source of social prestige. It was, more importantly, a source of economic advancement and the satisfaction of one's aspirations.

Greater economic value was henceforth attached to land, and premium was placed at landownership. People — Spaniards, *mestizos*, and upper class Filipinos — became more actively interested in the acquisition of land not only for speculative purposes but also for obvious economic objectives. *Latifundism* gained impetus from this basic economic policy change in the late eighteenth century. The sugar *hacienda* complex of Negros Island definitely originated and grew from this shift to liberalized Spanish economic outlook. Liberalization in this case meant fostering specialized agricultural production for foreign trade.



Once this was achieved, the other developments merely followed as a matter of course. These developments, like the establishment of direct trade with Spain, the opening of Philippine ports to the merchant marine of other countries, and the influx of progressive foreign entrepreneurs, greatly accelerated the collapse of the native economy based on simple barter and hand-to-mouth subsistence. The development of a market economy, which arose considerably from the shift in economic policy in the 1730's, paved the way for the rapid emergence and growth of the sugar *hacienda* system in the Visayan island of Negros.

There are basically three discernible features of the Negros sugar *hacienda* system: (a) like the rice and sugar *haciendas* of Central Luzon, the sugar *haciendas* of Negros were based on the concept of absolute private land ownership, (b) the Negros sugar *haciendas* constituted an autonomous social and economic unit, free from the customary social and economic units found indigenously; i.e., the *hacienda* was in itself a community, and (c) the Negros *haciendas* were directly related to, and dependent upon, the growing market economies of the outside world, notably Europe, America, and Australia.

The concept of private landownership, of course, existed since the time of the Spanish conquest, and on the basis of scant evidence, even before that turning point in Philippine history in 1565. The desire or interest to practice the principle of private landownership, i.e., to acquire and own land, did not intensify though until after 1780 when it became clear that land prices were rising as a result of the stimulus given to commercialized agricultural development. However, of the three *hacienda* features mentioned above, the last two were specific indications that the sugar *haciendas* could come about and flourish only under economic circumstances totally at variance from those which permit only a primitive level of economic activity, e.g., barter and hand-to-mouth subsistence, to operate. The last two features were themselves the consequences of the increasing economic mobilization of the Philippine population attributed to fundamental changes after 1780, and to increasing economic sophistication and exposure to world commercial trends. The latter was particularly facilitated by the access to the Philippines given to foreign ships and traders. Foreign traders, notably the British and the Swiss set up credit facilities, distribution networks, shipping lines, and marketing outlets. An outstanding example is the company called Russell and Sturgis, based in Iloilo City. The money lending activity of this company and other foreigners provided much needed capital for land purchases, for labor recruitment, and for the acquisition of expensive farm equipment needed for sugar production. Their distribution, shipping, and marketing schemes, on the other hand, enabled sugar *haciendas* to establish close links with foreign economies: that were able to absorb rapidly the increasing sugar shipments from the Philippines. Their rates were often crushingly usurious, but they nevertheless made available services that sugar *hacenderos* could not have obtained otherwise. Without these converging factors and variables, the economic empires set up

throughout the nineteenth century by pioneer sugar hacenderos like the Frenchman Yves Germain Gaston, the Carlist exile Col. Eusebio R. Luzurriaga and the Spaniard Agustin Montilla, could not have grown and developed.

We remarked earlier that the words *hacienda* and plantation are not necessarily interchangeable. Actually, the main difference between the two can be found in their level of exposure to capital and to an outside market economy. The *hacienda* is said to be less capital intensive and less exposed to a market economy. However, the *hacienda* could evolve into a plantation if the above criteria — access to capital and access to a market economy — are met. Thus it can be said that the *hacienda* is an "underdeveloped" plantation "due to the absence of sufficiently large markets and to the scarcity of capital in the regions where they exist."¹¹ The sugar haciendas of Negros in the nineteenth century were plantations in this sense because they had access to capital provided by the Iloilo foreign commercial houses and by Chinese *mestizo*, (and Chinese nationals, too) creditors. Links with Europe, America, and Australia were facilitated by the foreign merchants who had business contacts in those places.

Manner of Land Acquisition in Negros. When Spanish economic thinking shifted from the galleon trade monopoly to commercialized agricultural production, *haciendas* were formed, and assumed a great deal of significance in the colonial economy of the late eighteenth century. It is clear that the establishment of *haciendas* like those owned by Gastons, Luzurriagas and Montillas (and much later by the Benedictos, Montelibanos, Yulos and Lopezes, to name only a few), was spurred by the decision to develop an export economy. An export economy could be based only on large-scale agricultural production, or to be more precise, on the formation of plantation devoted to the cultivation and growing of specialized crops like *caña dulce*, or sugarcane. Many people thus took to commercialized agriculture because they realized that great profits would accrue to them. Land was now deemed valuable, especially if such land could be exploited for the production of cash crops. It is obvious then that no big estates could be formed and developed until after 1780. The decision to promote the production of export crops was consequently crucial in the case of Negros. Such a decision raised the value of land and accelerated land acquisition for investment, export crop production, and land settlement.

How was land acquired in Negros during the time the great *haciendas* were in the process of formation? John A. Larkin and Marshall S. McLennan, in their respective works on Central Luzon, emphasized four ways of land acquisition that led to the establishment of rice *haciendas* which later on dominated the agricultural scene of the Central Luzon Plains area.¹² One was through outright purchase (*venta real*). You pay a mutually agreed fixed sum for a piece of land, and you acquire absolute ownership over that land by virtue of the sale which you just transacted. Another was through the allocation of public lands (*realengas*). If you were in the good graces of the colonial authorities, you could become a recipient of generous land grants (not to be confused with the *encomiendas*, which were landless). Land grants (*cavallerias*) were generally given to soldiers of fortune and to private citizens in order to induce them to settle in the country and to reward them for their services to the Crown. The third way of acquiring landownership was through *pacto de retrovendi* (sometimes referred to as *pacto de retroventa*; *pacto de retro* for short). Today, this is known as *sanglang-bili*. The *pacto de retro* was a widespread practice in rice-producing centers of population. It basically involved two parties. One was the creditor-buyer; the other, the seller. For example, Fulano de Tal needed, but did not have, twenty pesos for the baptism of his child. He would go to a moneylender, usually *mestizo sangley*, to borrow that amount. But before he could loan, he would be required to put up a collateral, preferably a piece of land, *un terreno*. The value of the land used as collateral was frequently greater than the value of the loan. Anyway, Fulano de Tal wanted the cash badly, so he would put up his piece of land property as security. He would then agree, either verbally or in writing, to repay his loan of twenty pesos from the *mestizo* creditor, say, in six month's time. Any extension of the time period would mean the payment of anywhere from twelve to twenty-five per cent interest per month. If Fulano de Tal could not liquidate his loan in that period of time, his arrangement with the creditor would automatically become a case of absolute sale. Ownership of the land used as collateral in the loan of twenty pesos would be transferred from Fulano de Tal to the Chinese *mestizo* moneylender-business. This is a typical *pacto*

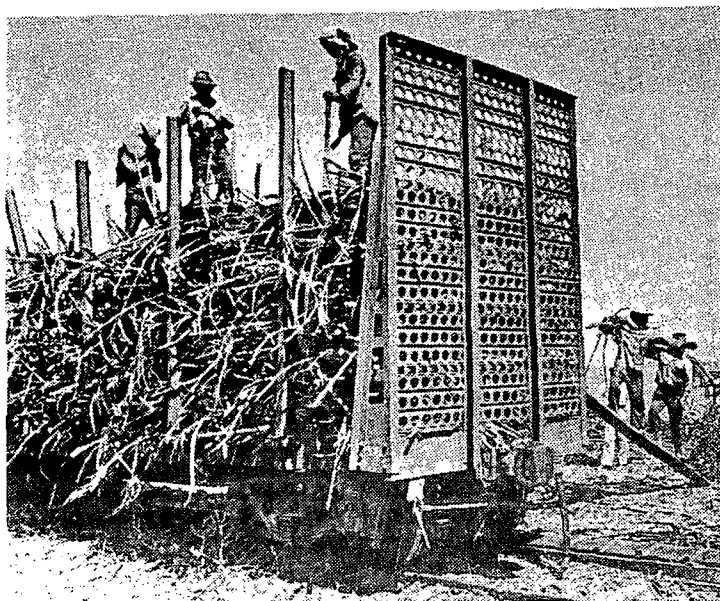
de *retro* transaction, and landed property changed hands through this device. Fourthly and finally, there was the method of land acquisition known as landgrabbing (*usurpacion*) through *Interdicto de Despojo*. By this method, an unscrupulous person connived with underpaid and mercenary *alcaldes mayores* and *gobernadorescillos* in fraudulent land surveys and land documentation. Victims of such manipulations would find themselves either dispossessed completely of the lands they owned, or as owners of greatly reduced landholdings. Larkin though cannot document landgrabbing in Pampanga and McLennan mentions this in passing only. It is evident that Larkin and McLennan regard the first three — land sale, allotment of Crown lands and *pacto de retro* — as the most common ways of land acquisition in Central Luzon.

For Negros, all the four ways of land acquisition described above were not unusual. To these, inheritance, *embargo*, and *denuncia* also through marriage can be added. There are few significant things to remember though. One, there is hitherto a widespread belief among scholars that the *pacto de retro* was practiced only in rice-producing areas, particularly in Central Luzon, and not in areas devoted to the production of other crops, especially sugar. In fact one historian said that the *pacto de retro* was not practiced in Negros "because it is a sugar-producing area, not a rice-producing area." Another scholar also remarked that the *pacto de retro* can be documented only in rice-growing regions. So far, the examination of the *protocolos* or notarial registers of Negros and Iloilo has revealed the utter falsity of this popular notion. The *pacto de retro* was regularly practiced in Negros, a predominantly sugar-producing island. There was a variation of the *pacto de retro* which was regularly observed in Negros though. In our description of the *pacto de retro* above, we emphasized the debtor-creditor relationship.

In Negros, in addition to being a debtor-creditor affair, the *pacto de retro* was also a buyer-seller transaction normally involving two persons. The arrangement between the two persons was essentially a case of land sale except that the seller exercised the option to repurchase the sold land after a certain period of time, say two or three years, ordinarily for the same amount. Meanwhile, during the stipulated period, the seller could remain in the land as *lessee*, paying a fixed yearly rental. The buyer enjoyed the privilege of absolute ownership of the property for the duration of the contract. If the seller allowed the *pacto de retro* to lapse, he forfeited ownership completely with no hope of ever redeeming that property for the same price that he sold it. In such a situation, the only alternative for him was to remain as a *tenant-lessee* in that same land which he once owned. This was a risk one had to take when entering into *pacto de retro* deals of this nature. Failure to redeem frequently left a person landless, and a share-cropper for life.

Somewhat related to the *pacto de retro* was the outright seizure or *embargo* of a mortgaged landed property for failure to liquidate a debt. The arrangement in this case was a straight loan

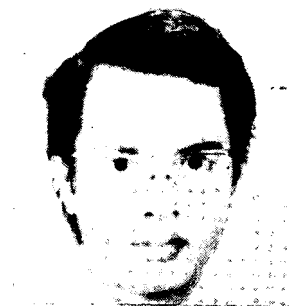
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PSSC National Survey 1973

Ethnic attitudes in five Philippine cities

Excerpted from a report on
Ethnic Attitudes in Five Philippine Cities
by Rodolfo A. Bulatao



An ethnic group is any collection of people distinguishable by having a common race, religion, nationality, language or cultural tradition or any combination of these characteristics. Ethnic attitudes are attitudes toward members of some ethnic group based on or influenced by knowledge of membership in that group.

Many ethnic cleavages are considered of less urgency in modern and modernizing societies. And yet, the nonrational elements in ethnic identities have such a capacity for creating trouble and dissension and for upsetting the stability of societies that it would appear shortsighted to assign them to a residual category of transitional phenomena.

Ethnicity upsets some of the neat classification of social realities that sociologists make. An ethnic group most often has the size of a secondary group. However, it also has important characteristics of a primary group having its impact on the individual early in the life cycle and being important in the formation of basic identities and social values.

Ethnicity creates loyalty that may be diluted as one matures, but which remain latent and capable of being mobilized inadvertently or by design. The less aware the society is of these underlying cleavages, the more explosive their potential. And it may be argued further, the less adequately ethnic tensions are handled, the more difficult it will be to create a national identity out of separate ethnic identities.

This survey was conducted to determine the images different ethnic groups in the Philippines have of each other, how they perceive and react toward each other. The objective of the study was not to test specific hypotheses but to develop models for the explanation of intergroup attitudes.

The ethnic groups studied fall into three divisions: lowland Christian groups, the Muslim minorities and the Chinese in the Philippines. About 2,000 residents of five major cities were interviewed.

Method and Procedure

Regarding the sample areas, it may be argued that the urban milieu is a solvent of ethnic differences as it is a solvent for many traditional loyalties, so that any ethnic attitudes revealed should be less pronounced than in the rural population. Moreover, the city environment promotes contact between various ethnic groups, and replaces the biases of ignorance with more realistic or conceivably with other biases.

Each area was assigned a quota of 300 interviews except Greater Manila which was assigned 500. Each city was divided into areal units where the 300 interviews were allocated in proportion to the number of households each unit held. The interviews were conducted on a systematic random sampling of households within each areal unit. One adult, 18 years or over, was chosen from each sampled household. The field work was conducted by the Sociology Department of the University of the Philippines and by survey research centers affiliated with the PSSC at Ateneo de Naga, University of San Carlos in Cebu City, Divine Word University in Tacloban and Ateneo de Davao. Interviews were also conducted by Notre Dame University in Cotabato City, but are not included in this report.

The interviewing period was January to March 1973. Interviews took between 40 minutes and one hour and a half. The questionnaire was drafted in English and Tagalog, translated in each city into the appropriate dialect and back-translated into English. It included indices of ethnic images and ethnic attitudes, variables useful in predicting prejudice such as social status and mobility, religion and religiosity, authoritarianism and status concern. In addition, the questionnaire contained items to assess the usage of different dialects and ethnic identification and the degree of contact with different ethnic groups.

The combined sample is composed of 50 percent male and 50 percent female respondents. However, while all the other samples have more females, the Cebu sample has more males since in Cebu, the Bureau of Census and Statistics household sample was used. The combined sample is also young, almost 50 percent below 35 years of age. Thirty-five percent are married. Thirty-eight percent of the total sampling population have at least some college education and 93 percent are Catholics. Median household income for the combined sample was just below P400 a month.

Ethnolinguistic Structures and Ethnic Communities

Most Philippine ethnic groups are distinguished from each other by language or dialect. The Chinese, though distinct primarily in terms of national origins, are also linguistically distinct in the same manner as the Muslim groups are distinct not only in terms of religion but also for their separate dialects.

Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Languages and Dialects Spoken

Languages	Per Cent Speaking Each Dialect	Dialect First Learned	At Home	At Work	With Friends	Dialect Used Most When Shopping	When Arguing
Tagalog	85.9	26.7	33.4	14.7	37.2	39.6	33.4
Cebuano	49.4	31.4	32.6	5.5	29.6	29.6	29.5
Ilonggo	10.7	5.1	2.4	0.4	1.1	0.6	0.9
Waray	21.5	14.3	14.2	4.8	13.9	14.8	13.7
Bicol	19.9	12.8	12.3	4.6	12.6	13.3	12.1
Ilocano	9.6	4.6	2.5	0.0	0.8	0.1	0.8
Pampango	4.6	1.3	0.6	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.2
Pangasinan	2.4	1.2	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1
English	71.9	0.8	0.6	8.7	3.5	1.0	7.5
Spanish	5.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Chinese	1.9	0.7	0.4	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.4
Muslim	0.9	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Others	2.5	0.8	0.5	0.2	0.4	0.1	0.2
INAP				50.0			
NR		0.2	0.0	0.8	0.2	0.5	1.0

The dialect that a person learns first is often considered one's "mother tongue". For all respondents combined, more give Cebuano as the first dialect they learned than Tagalog (31 percent against 27 percent). The most common dialect first learned in each city are what one would expect from the sampling procedure. Tagalog and Ilocano are most prominent in Manila though a large group (29 percent) first learned some other dialect: Bicol and Tagalog in Naga; Waray and Cebuano in Tacloban; Cebuano in Cebu; and Cebuano, Ilongo and Tagalog in Davao. Only eight percent of the respondents spoke only one dialect and while 60 percent of the Manila respondents learned Tagalog first, all 100 percent spoke the dialect. The percentages of the respondents speaking Tagalog are also high in the other sample areas. English is spoken by a relatively constant percentage, between 68 and 73 percent in each city. Dialect does not draw distinct differences between groups since most of the respondents speak more than one dialect. Tagalog and English both furnish media for interethnic communication, with Tagalog having an edge except in Cebu. Despite the commonalities, there is in each city a dominant dialect that practically everybody knows. It should be noted that hardly any respondent speaks Chinese or any of the Muslim dialects. Ninety-five percent of the respondents considered themselves as belonging to the ethnic group corresponding to the language they first learned.

As to the use of the national language, respondents are divided about equally between those who advocate and those

Agreement with Exclusive Use of National Language

Place	Agree	Disagree	NR	Total
In School	45.4	51.8	2.7	99.9
In Government Office	46.5	50.8	3.3	100.6
In the Constitution	53.7	41.6	4.7	100.0

who oppose its exclusive use in schools, in government offices, and in the Constitution. Nationalism and the need to understand each other better are the main reasons for agreement. That not everyone understands it is the main reason for disagreement.

Psychological Structure of Ethnic Attitudes

A set of 26 attitude items were chosen to represent attitudes thought to be salient and significant in intergroup relations. The respondents indicated agreement or disagreement with each item on a scale from 1 to 5 where 1 stood for strong agreement and 5 for strong disagreement.

All five city samples agree most strongly that the Philippines should be proud of its Catholicism thereby indicating a religious component in the sense of national identity that would indeed make it difficult to accept Muslims as equals. At the same time, there is also considerable consensus that "Christian settlers in Mindanao should be given government assistance". The respondents also agreed that the Chinese could (if they wanted to) be loyal Filipinos and that they should be less clannish while there is highest disagreement on the statement that Chinese businessmen are honest. Second highest disagreement is on the statement that Muslims contribute to national development.

There is a rather clear consensus about how to view Muslims and Chinese but much less consensus and less sharp attitudes regarding other ethnic groups. The responses clearly indicate a rather strong rejection of Chinese separateness and a tendency to ignore or downgrade the importance of Muslims. The linguistic or regional community is taken as one's in-group and anyone outside particularly foreigners makes one uneasy and distrustful. From this ethnocentric point of view, responses indicate that the national minorities should be kept in their place as mere curiosities and tourist attractions. Responses to three items in the set relating to the Chinese, to Muslims and to the use of Tagalog state an underlying belief in inherent and irreconcilable differences between ethnic groups: that Chinese will never become loyal Filipinos; that Muslims and Christians will never trust each other; and that Tagalog will never be truly accepted by speakers of other dialects. These attitudes may be labelled the fatalistic acceptance of separateness, or because of its connotations of inherent differences, simply racism, although the items refer not to races as strictly defined but to different types of ethnic specifiers. Another combination of items referring to Muslims, Chinese and other ethnic groups illustrate the feeling that other ethnic groups are taking advantage of oneself. Fear of subjugation, of physical threat, of loss of status and of being cheated in a business deal are all combined. Collectively, these will be labelled sense of threat or of oppression. The disagreement that the Philippines should be proud of its Catholicism, rejection of separate Chinese schools, approval of mixing linguistic groups in one community, insistence that Chinese should be less clannish and approval of government aid to Muslims may be viewed as involving the rejection of ethnic exclusiveness based on religion or nationality, the breaking down of barriers of religioncentrism, of separate schools, of clannishness. This may be labelled as approval of integration, pluralistic tendencies or approval of the intermixing of ethnic groups.

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Mean Disagreement with Attitude Items

1) The Chinese businessmen in the Philippines are honest.	3.46
2) One can only really trust someone who speaks the same dialect.	2.66
3) It is better to vote for someone who comes from your own region.	2.23
4) The false dominance of Tagalog over other dialects should be discarded.	3.04
5) The Philippines should be proud of being a Catholic country.	1.48
6) It is difficult to feel at home with people who speak a different dialect.	2.30
7) Foreigners have a peculiar and annoying smell.	2.51
8) The Chinese should not be allowed to have their own schools.	2.51
9) We should use Tagalog as the national language to get rid of all regionalism.	2.10
10) The national minorities and tribal groups should never change their customs because they are tourist attractions.	2.45
11) Children should be taught at an early age not to trust foreigners.	
12) It is normal for those who speak different dialects to want to live separately in their own areas.	2.64
13) Muslims and Christians will never be able to completely trust each other.	2.87
14) The government pays too much attention to national minorities.	2.48
15) Government aid to Muslims should be considerably increased.	2.75
16) People who live in a Muslim area are in greater physical danger.	2.62
17) Christian settlers in Mindanao should be given government assistance.	2.22
18) Some ethnic groups in this city are very conceited.	1.67
19) It is possible to have Chinese blood and still be a loyal Filipino.	1.67
20) The only real difference between Cebuanos, Tagalogs, Ilocanos, and other ethnic groups is that they speak different dialects.	2.05
21) I would prefer to have my children marry someone who comes from our region.	2.10
22) The Muslims are making an important contribution to national development.	2.13
23) Most of the time you can rely only on your own relatives.	3.12
24) The Chinese should be less clannish.	2.80
25) Tribal peoples and other national minorities should be placed in separate settlements.	2.10
26) A community in which many linguistic groups are mixed is more progressive.	2.82
	2.35

* on a scale from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree).

Mean Semantic Differential Ratings of Different Ethnic Groups								
	Chinese	Muslim	Tagalog	Ilocano	Bicolano	Waray	Cebuano	Ilonggo
1. intelligent — stupid	2.01	2.78	2.04	1.93	1.99	2.03	2.10	2.40
2. extravagant — thrifty	2.72	3.01	2.55	4.26	2.30	2.31	3.05	2.17
3. strong — weak	3.11	2.18	2.34	2.11	2.19	2.00	2.23	2.46
4. lazy — industrious	4.13	3.06	3.63	4.39	3.71	2.67	3.64	3.35
5. dirty — clean	3.85	2.34	4.01	3.68	3.63	3.65	3.59	3.50
6. traditional — progressive	2.79	2.60	3.69	2.66	3.37	3.23	3.33	3.22
7. easygoing — serious	3.01	3.08	3.51	4.05	3.24	2.55	3.42	2.85
8. stingy — generous	2.60	2.88	3.54	2.22	3.83	3.67	3.41	3.43
9. hostile — friendly	3.30	2.57	3.81	3.48	4.38	3.41	3.96	3.24
10. bad — good	3.55	2.87	3.78	3.76	4.21	3.67	3.88	3.53
11. humble — proud	2.94	3.22	2.99	2.73	2.35	2.98	2.45	3.65
12. troublesome — peaceful	3.60	2.44	3.47	3.53	3.86	3.03	3.71	3.21
13. warm — cold	3.12	3.97	2.45	2.52	1.92	1.98	2.26	2.58
14. rich — poor	1.85	3.02	2.63	2.60	2.97	2.86	2.77	2.67

* on a scale from 1 (left adjective) to 5 (right adjective).

While the four basic ethnic attitudes — ethnocentrism, racism, threat and integration — may be considered basically dimensions of feeling or emotion, the ethnic images derived from the semantic differential scale are primarily matters of belief. The respondents rated the largest ethnic group in the city, the second largest group, the Chinese in the Philippines and the Muslims. Ratings were more often positive than negative. To recount these images very briefly: Ilocano and Chinese were seen as most potent, most industrious, serious, thrifty and other similar appellatives. Muslims came out the worst, being seen as hostile, stupid lazy and almost every other negative adjective. Tagalogs were progressive, Bicolanos and Cebuanos humble, friendly, warm and peaceful, Waray lazy but strong and Ilongos proud and extravagant. Two main factors, an evaluation and a dynamism-thrift factor were extracted from the semantic differential.

Behavioral intentions toward different groups, ascertained thru social distance ratings, tended to be similar whatever relationship was being considered. Muslims were the most rejected, followed closely by Chinese. In addition, behavioral intentions insofar as national policy is concerned were ascertained in regard to the Muslim and the Chinese problems. The majority of the respondents did not regard these problems as important and some assigned them only low priority.

Indices of perception, affect and conation in regard to Chinese and Muslims separately all tended to agree. Those who were prejudiced against Chinese tended to have unfavorable images of them, to desire greater degrees of social distance from them, and more often, to advocate neglect of the Chinese problem. The same was true for attitudes toward Muslims.

Social Structure and Ethnic Attitudes

Various forms of intergroup contact in each city give rise to different patterns of ethnic attitudes. Since the mix of ethnic groups differs in each city, the roles typically assigned each group also differ. Consequently attitudes of acceptance and rejection, positive and negative feeling, degrees of social distance preferred, vary when different cities are considered.

On ethnocentrism, Cebu-Cebuanos are the most prejudiced and Manila-Ilocanos the least. On racism, Cebu-Cebuanos again

are the highest and Davao-Ilongos the lowest. On threat, Cebu-Cebuanos still again come out the most prejudiced and Davao-Ilongos the least. On intermixing, Cebu-Cebuanos are second to Cebu — minorities and Manila — Tagalogs are the least prejudiced.

The high rating of Cebu — Cebuanos might conceivably be due to the different composition of the Cebu sub-sample. However, Cebuanos in two other areas are second and third in prejudice, indicating that ethnolinguistic status may be a factor apart from city of residence. The two Tagalog communities similarly come out in the middle one after the other. Within these two ethnic groups, migrants in Tacloban and Davao and in Naga respectively are somewhat less prejudiced than non-migrants.

It should be noted that the least prejudiced groups, the Manila-Ilocanos and the Davao — Ilongos, have migrated some distance (or are the children or grandchildren of migrants). These two groups are also the second largest in two multi-ethnic urban centers. The influence of different urban milieu appears less important than the influence of one's ethnolinguistic background and the factor of living in one's home region or having migrated out of it.

Prejudice against the Chinese is partly but not entirely determined by the components of prejudice. Levels of anti-Chinese prejudice were calculated for each ethnic community and the pattern that emerged was quite negative. On social distance, for instance, no other group except Muslims gets a rating as high as any of the ratings Chinese received. If the negativism and neglect indices are left aside for the moment, the three Manila communities, the Cebu — Cebuanos and the Naga — Tagalogs have more negative attitudes toward Chinese than the other groups.

Attitudes toward Muslims show a different attitude toward Chinese. All the indices are quite consistent across communities and show uniformly strong rejection of Muslims. Three sets of communities can be distinguished in terms of rejection of Muslims. Those strongly anti-Muslim are in order: Cebu — minorities; Tacloban — Cebuanos; Cebu — Cebuanos; Tacloban — Waray; less strongly anti-Muslim are: Davao — Ilongos; Davao — Cebuanos and Davao — minorities; and the least anti-Muslim are: Manila — Ilocanos, Manila — Tagalogs, Manila — minorities; Naga —

Social Distance Rating by Ethnic Community						
Ethnic Community	Tagalog	Ilocano	Bicolano	Waray	Cebu	Ilonggo
Manila-Tagalog	2.86	4.56	4.66	5.41	4.52	4.88
Manila-Ilocano	3.70	2.43	4.62	4.89	4.54	4.68
Manila-minorities	3.52	4.46	4.60	4.97	4.11	4.44
Naga-Bicolano	4.19	4.78	2.59	4.82	4.48	4.68
Naga-Tagalog	3.15	4.09	3.37	4.16	3.95	3.91
Tacloban-Waray	4.45	5.57	5.47	3.60	3.83	6.09
Tacloban-Cebuano	4.52	5.68	5.60	3.98	2.89	6.20
Cebu-Cebuano	5.01	5.76	5.86	6.60	2.43	6.16
Cebu-minorities	4.31	5.06	5.31	6.06	2.77	5.57
Davao-Cebuano	4.33	4.93	5.32	6.08	3.40	5.40
Davao-Ilonggo	4.29	4.61	4.92	5.86	4.58	3.65
Davao-minorities	4.14	4.46	5.05	5.44	4.49	5.13
Combined	4.01	4.87	4.77	5.19	3.80	5.20

The scale of acceptance values are: 1 - very favourable 3 - quite favourable and 5 - unfavourable.

Mean Social Distance Ratings* of Different Ethnic Groups					
Ethnic Groups	Undesirability as gov't	Undesirability as boss	Undesirability as neighbor	Undesirability as son-in-law	(Number of Raters)
Chinese	2.64	2.49	2.27	2.43	1705
Muslim	2.58	2.63	2.56	2.68	1705
Tagalog	1.80	1.80	1.72	1.77	1104
Ilocano	1.97	2.05	2.04	2.06	504
Bicol	1.98	2.00	1.92	2.02	300
Cebuano	1.76	1.76	1.71	1.76	300
Ilonggo	2.12	2.17	2.09	2.16	901
Waray	2.12	2.13	2.08	2.18	301

* The scale values were: 1 = very desirable ; 2= quite desirable; 3= undesirable

Bicolanos and Naga — minorities. This overall ranking is generally consistent with rankings on each individual index. City of residence is obviously a more important factor than ethnicity. Acceptance of Muslims does not follow a gradient distance from Muslim areas. The ranking is suggestive of the greater immediacy and perhaps the greater threat of the Muslim problems in Cebu, Tacloban and Davao as opposed to Manila and Naga.

Attitudes toward ethnic groups were more difficult to sort out because of the number of such groups and the fact that different groups are important for different cities.

Not everyone rated his own ethnic group on the semantic differential since only two major groups were rated in each city. The ratings assigned by the respondents to their own groups are consistently high. Manila — Tagalogs and Naga-Bicolanos gave the most favorable ratings of their own groups, while Davao — Ilongos and Davao — Cebuanos gave the least favorable. At the same time considering themselves especially dynamic are Manila — Ilocanos and Tacloban — Cebuanos, while the least dynamic are Tacloban — Waray and Davao — Ilongos. It is also notable that for both Tagalogs and Cebuanos, non-migrants (those in Manila and Cebu respectively) rate their groups as less dynamic than migrants.

When own-group ratings are compared with ratings given by the other major group in each city, agreement on dynamism ratings become evident. There is a consistent tendency not to overrate or underrate their own dynamism so that self-rating and other-ratings of the same group tend to be close.

Conclusion

Attitudes of lowland Christian respondents to groups in each division differ in favorability, in pattern and in causes. One set of figures that helps emphasize this is the percentages of respondents who reject particular ethnic groups as undesirable neighbors. Of the relationships that were investigated to which one could accept others, being neighbors is the most open relationship, with few being excluded. Chinese however are rejected by 35 percent. Muslims are rejected by a shocking 54 percent. Other ethnic groups are rejected by between 6 and 24 percent.

The lowland Christian groups among themselves make distinctions: Ilocanos are the most potent, Tagalog the cleanest, Ilonggos the most proud and extravagant, and so on. However, when it comes to Chinese and Muslims the distinctions are much sharper, the discriminations more emotionally weighty. Chinese clannishness is strongly rejected. Muslims are accused of not contributing to national development. If a businessman is Chinese he must be crooked. Philippine Catholicism, which Muslims naturally do not share, should be major source of national pride. Between attitudes toward Chinese and attitudes toward Muslims there are differences too, partly supporting a two-scapegoat theory of prejudice (e.g., Bettelheim and Janowitz, 1950), according to which some of one's hostilities and such emotions as a sense of inferiority and envy are directed toward a high-status minority, while other hostilities, feeling of superiority, and fears of atavistic leanings are directed toward a low-status minority.

When the underlying dimensions of ethnic intolerance were sought, four components emerged, labelled ethnocentrism, racism, threat and intermixing. Ethnocentrism is the distrust of other ethnic groups, racism the belief that group differences are insurmountable, threat the fear that other groups will do one harm or take advantage of one, and intermixing the approval of interaction between different ethnic groups. Ethnocentrism and racism particularly contribute to unfavorable ratings of most ethnic groups other than one's own.

These components must be distinguished in character from attitudes toward specific groups. These components are at the

ideological level, at the level of core beliefs (Rokeach, 1960) about ethnicity, while beliefs about specific groups are at the operational level. The two levels generally correspond, but changes can take place at one level without necessarily immediately affecting the other level. Thus education affects the ideological level, reducing general prejudice, but levels of interaction and actual experiences with various ethnic groups do not directly affect it. Residential mobility does not reduce scores on the prejudice components, though it generally reduces social distance from other groups. On the other hand migration out of one's home region, which may be considered a more potent experience than simply changing residence, has salutary effects at both the operational and ideological levels. It may be that shifts at one level without corresponding shifts at the other level store up energy for later psychic "earthquakes," but given the present data one can only speculate on this. At the ideological level status concern is an important contributor to general prejudice. Issues of social image and social position lead one to be generally rejecting of other, presumably inferior groups.

What factors contribute to prejudice against specific ethnic groups is dependent on which group is being considered. Education makes attitudes more favorable toward the lowland Christian groups and Muslims, but not toward Chinese. While education reduces ethnocentrism, it may also increase nationalism and ill-feeling toward Chinese. Status concern increases prejudice against Muslims, perceived by respondents as a particularly low-status group that might be expected to "contaminate" oneself if one associated with them. Status concern does not affect attitudes toward lowland Christian groups, possibly because some of the groups are of high and some of low status. Evaluations of Chinese are actually better among those high on status concern, as if those more sensitive about social position better appreciate this high-status but unfairly treated minority group. The most important factor affecting attitudes toward Chinese is actual contact with them, which has positive effects. Contact may also affect attitudes toward lowland Christian groups, since multilingualism and residential mobility both reduce social distance from these groups. This last result however could not be confirmed for each city.

The analysis of sets of causal influences supports the distinction between education and status concern, factors operating at (though not exclusively at) the ideological level, and contact and general interaction, factors operating primarily at the operational level. A parallel distinction can be made between attitude-scale measures of prejudice and semantic-differential evaluation ratings, on one hand, and social distance ratings on the other — the former are closer to the ideological layer the latter more clearly operational. Where causal factors operating at one level are weak or absent (e.g., where there is little contact with Muslims), the other set of factors becomes more prominent.

Perhaps the most important general conclusion to be drawn is that a great gap exists between protestations of national unity, at the level of national or regional leadership, and attitudes of ordinary people across ethnic boundaries, particularly those that set apart Chinese and Muslims. Close to half the present sample refuse even to recognize the status of Chinese and Muslims as problematic and worth dealing with at the national level. If ethnic problems have not impressed themselves on the national consciousness, it is difficult to mount a concerted attack upon them. One can only chip away at bits and pieces in the psychological walls that divide groups, puncturing a stereotype here and opening a communications channel there.

PSSC activities

PSSC EXECUTIVE BOARD ELECTS NEW OFFICERS

The members of the PSSC Executive Board met on October 12, 1973 to elect the officers of the Council for FY 1973-1974.

Nominated and voted unanimously by the Board Members were: Dr. Cristina P. Parel representing the discipline of statistics — chairman; Mr. Armand V. Fabella, economics — vice-chairman; and Dr. Loretta M. Sicat, political science — secretary/treasurer.

At the same time, it was also decided that some of the present chairmen and members of the Special Programs Committees should continue to hold office until the next appointment is made so as to maintain continuity of the different programs' administration.

The Special Programs Committees and the different chairmen and members are as follows: Research Committee — Mercedes B. Concepcion, chairman, with Antonio V. Ulgado, Wilfredo F. Arce, Ledevina V. Cariño, Gloria D. Feliciano, Andrew Gonzales, Loretta M. Sicat, Josefina Pineda, Vicente B. Valdepeñas, Virgilio G. Enriquez, Cristina P. Parel, Bonifacio Salamancaas members; Institutional Development Committee — Dr. Frank Lynch, S.J., chairman; Eric Casio, Dr. Rodolfo Bulatao, Fr. Robert Suchan, Mr. Ernesto Javier, Dr. Alfredo Lagmay, and Dr. Caridad Alfonso — members; Modern Philippine History Program Committee — Dr. Oscar M. Alfonso, chairman; Dr. Marcelino A. Foronda, Jr., Prof. Julieta R. Sta. Romana, Prof. Celedonio O. Resurreccion, Dr. Josefa M. Sanial and Dr. John N. Schumacher, S. J. — members.

Meanwhile, the following were appointed members of PSSC Standing Committees: Finance Committee — Dr. Loretta M. Sicat, chairman; Dr. Alfredo V. Lagmay and Mr. Armand Fabella, members; Membership Committee — Dr. Raul P. de Guzman, chairman; Drs. Emy M. Pascasio, Dolores B. Lasan and Oscar M. Alfonso, members; Publications Committee — Dr. Gloria D. Feliciano, chairman; editors of various PSSC — affiliated journals, members.

IPC COORDINATES PSSC NATIONAL SURVEY 1974

The Institute of Philippine Culture is coordinating thirteen PSSC related research centers and two other Luzon non-center sites in the PSSC's National Survey for 1974, entitled, A Survey on National Development.

The participating institutions are: Social Science Research Unit (Central Philippine University, Iloilo) ICC Research Center (Immaculate Concepcion College, Ozamis), Socio-Economic Research Center (Notre Dame University, Cotabato), Research Center (Philippine Christian College, Manila), Office for Research (St. Paul College, Tuguegarao), Silliman University Social Science Research (Dumaguete), Office for Social Research (University of San Carlos, Cebu), Ateneo de Davao, Ateneo de Naga, Notre Dame of Jolo, Divine Word University, St. Ferdinand College, Negros Occidental Research Bureau (NOREB) and two other centers in Nueva Ecija and Laoag.

Gathering and analysis of data in the Survey on National Development 1974 are focused on the present state of the populace along the key areas of family and education, neighborhood and community life and aspirations.



PAREL



FABELLA



SICAT

FF SOUTHEAST ASIA SCHOLARS 1974

Eleven Filipinos were granted fellowship by the Ford Foundation Southeast Asia for Fiscal Year 1974.

The successful grantees recommended for immediate funding are: Graduate Training: Maria Lourdes S. Bautista, Virginia Maglangit, Resil B. Mojares, Aurora T. Payad, Nestor N. Pilar and Research and Teaching: David B. Baradas, Helen A. Cruz, Oscar L. Evangelista, Amelia L. Lapeña-Bonifacio, Mamitua D. Saber, Rosa C. P. Tenazas.

The applications from the Philippines were first evaluated by the Executive Board of the PSSC and then forwarded to the Bangkok Regional Evaluation Committee of Ford Foundation's Southeast Asia Fellowship Program through PSSC's representatives, Mrs. Mary R. Hollnsteiner and Dr. Patricia Licuanan.

MORE GRANTEES

Five more scholars were added to the list of grantees of the Philippine Social Science Council. Four of the research grants are supported by the Discretionary Research Awards and one by the Research Integration Program.

The new grantees are:

Research Integration Program

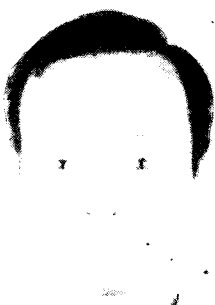
1. Leven S. Puno: "An Assessment and Evaluation of Local Government Researches in the Philippines".

Discretionary Research Awards

1. Macrina K. Abenoja "Thesis Research -- On Urbanization in Central and Eastern Visayas".
2. Angeles Buenaventura: "An Analysis of the Philippine Economy Using Input-Output Techniques".
3. Mariano E. Garcia: "A Study of the Application of Bayesian Methods of Statistical Estimation in Social Science Research".
4. Frank Lynch: Preparation of maps for the "Bicol River Basin Development Program".



GARCIA



PUNO

PSSC OFFERS RESEARCH GRANTS

The Philippine Social Science Council (PSSC) is offering several grant programs for researches in the social science disciplines. These grants are intended to help scholars undertake studies that will not only contribute significantly to national development but will also be instrumental in filling recognized

gaps in existing social science knowledge.

PSSC specifically offers research grants under the following programs:

a) the **Research Integration Program** which aims to support scholars interested in compiling annotated bibliographies of empirical studies made on major development problem areas and writing up a major integrative essay built upon such bibliographies;

b) **Development Research Program** which is intended to support major research projects considered most likely to contribute significantly to the development needs of the country; and

c) the **Discretionary Research Awards** which are primarily meant to enable scholars to complete ongoing research projects by providing them immediate supplementary funds not exceeding ₱2,000 upon their request.

For further information on any of the grants offered, interested parties may write to:

The Executive Secretary
Philippine Social Science Council
53-C Roces Avenue, Q.C.
or P.O. Box 655, Greenhills
San Juan, Rizal
or may call up telephone 99-97-64.

Ethnic attitudes...

From page 11

The influence of status concern on ethnic attitudes indicates the continuing importance of hierarchical principles in interpersonal relations within the society. Everyone and every group is assigned a place in the hierarchy, and differences in the command of facilities and rewards inevitably produce strain between ethnic groups. In a sense the rewards are more important than the facilities. It does not seem to be direct competition that generates social distance between groups, but rather a sense ascribed status, of inherited superiority to other groups with strange customs or unmanageable dialects or heathen beliefs.

ethnic attitudes is a creeping increase in tolerance, although Chinese and Muslims may remain largely outside the pale.

To return to the question of accepting people of different ethnicities as neighbors, respondents were also asked whether they favored mixed communities in which different ethnic groups lived side by side. Though a majority of 54 percent said yes, a substantial minority of 30 percent said no (the other 13 percent said it depends). While ethnic tolerance is supported by the majority, the large opposition makes it doubtful that it can be considered an established principle in these five cities. While some

Opinions About Ethnic Groups Living in Same Neighborhood			
Reasons for being in favor	Percentage	Reasons for being against	Percentage
1. To know each other better	22.8	1. They won't understand each others dialect/custom	14.6
2. To promote brotherhood, peace and harmony /get rid of regionalism	6.7	2. They won't get along well with each other because of differences	4.8
3. For better understanding of human nature	5.7	3. There will always be misunderstanding and disagreements	3.9
4. To get along well/living together is inevitable	5.5	4. People think differently; there will be discrimination	1.9
5. To help each other	3.0	5. There will be conflict/rivalry	1.9
6. For better communication and free exchange of ideas	5.2	6. Disagree (no reason given)	0.4
7. For more progressive/stable society	2.2	7. Other	1.1
8. Other	2.9	Total against	28.6
Total in favor	54.0	Total conditional	12.6

The influence of education and interpersonal contact on the other hand indicates that forces for change are present and some ethnic intolerance can be broken down. These two factors have been very frequently associated with the reduction of prejudice in other studies, and it is not surprising to find them important also with the current sample. Education is considered in general terms, not in terms of education about specific groups, which was not evaluated here. It differs in impact from interpersonal contact since education operates to change core beliefs and only indirectly behavioral patterns and behavioral intentions, on which personal experience with a particular group has more influence. If education continues to rise and improvements in communications and transportation persist, the likely course for

respondents were arguing that it would be good to live together in order to learn from each other, to "remove stereotyping", to foster brotherhood and get rid of regionalism and jealousy, others were arguing that people can't or won't understand each other, that misunderstanding and disagreements would be inevitable, that people just think differently and won't get along. A successfully pluralistic society must confront its diversities and make full use of their possibilities. What is notable here is a substantial minority refusing to accept, even in principle, the effort necessary to break down ethnolinguistic separateness. If barriers between lowland Christian ethnic groups are still at this height, it will take massive changes in ethnic attitudes to break down barriers for Chinese, Muslims, and the clutch of tribal minorities.

News briefs

PPSA ADMITTED TO PSSC

The Philippine Political Science Association (PPSA) was admitted as a regular member of the PSSC by the Executive Board in their meeting at the UP Alumni Center on November 16, 1973.

The PPSA was reactivated in a reorganizational meeting in September 1973 after being inactive since 1966. It was organized in 1962.

The reorganization meeting voted to have ad hoc officers until an official set could be elected in a general election in 1974. They are Remigio E. Agpalo, president; Wilfrido V. Villacorta, vice president; Emerenciana Y. Arcellana, executive secretary; Estrella D. Solidum, treasurer; Shirley C. Advincula, auditor and Quirino D. Carpio, legal officer.

PHILIPPINE ECONOMIC SOCIETY CELEBRATES 11TH ANNUAL MEETING

The Philippine Economic Society (PES) observed its 11th Annual Meeting last Oct. 3, 1973 with discussions on economic development planning. The meeting was held at the Ramon Magsaysay Center Memorial Hall on Roxas Blvd., Manila.

The speakers, headed by Director General Gerardo Sicat of the National Economic and Development Authority, were: Fr. George Piron of the Department of Economics, De La Salle College who talked on "Human Resources Utilization Planning"; Jesus P. Estanislao, Executive Director of the Center for Research and Communication — "Long Term Considerations for Regional Development in the Philippines"; Jose E. Romero, Jr., President, Research and Management Associates — "Notes on Participatory Planning in the Philippines"; Vicente B. Valdepenas Jr., Chairman, Dept. of Economics, Ateneo de Manila University — "Hindsight to the Industrial Latecomer"; and Agustin Kintanar, Jr., President of the Tax and Tariff Center of the Philippines, Inc. — "Fiscal and Tax Reforms Under the New Society". Director Sicat discussed the "Four-Year Socio-economic Development Plan" of the government.

PSA HOLDS ANNUAL CONFERENCE

The Philippine Statistical Association (PSA) held its annual conference with the theme "Towards a More Equitable Income Distribution" on October 26, 1973 at the Philippine Columbian Clubhouse.

Gerardo P. Sicat, director-general of the National Economic Development Authority headed the list of speakers which included Tito A. Mijares, Isagani Belarmino, Ruben Trinidad and Eustaquio Ordonez.

The PSA sponsored the In-Service Training for Government Statisticians on October 15-23 and the 11th In-Service Training Session in Statistics.

It also co-sponsored With the UP Statistical Center the Seminar on Statistical Techniques in Marketing Research on October 15 to November 9. This was designed for members of the planning and advertising staff, management analysts, marketing research managers and researchers, statistical researchers, consumer research analysts and other officials concerned with marketing.

PASW SPONSORS CONFERENCE

The Philippine Association of Social Workers (PASW) sponsored the 8th Biennial Conference on Social Welfare on the occasion of Social Welfare Week which was celebrated from November 25 to December 1.

Held at the Philamlife Auditorium in Manila from Nov. 28-30, the conference was participated in by representatives of the different government and private social welfare institutions as well as professionals from other allied institutions in the

country. The theme of the conference was "Social Development is nation building."

The speakers headed by Secretary Estefania Aldaba-Lim of the Department of Social Welfare discussed topics of social developmental concern for the social worker. The other speakers included Atty. Bienvenido Tan, Jr. of the Philippine Business for Social Progress; Hon. Ramon Cardenas, Assistant Executive Secretary for Developmental Affairs, Office of the President; Miss Eugenia Jamias; Mrs. Thelma Lee Mendozaj, Mrs. Dulce Sagisagi, Mrs. Milagros P. Manlongat; and Mr. P.D. Kulkarni.

NEW AUTONOMOUS UNIT AT UP

A new institute for advanced studies has been created as an autonomous unit at the University of the Philippines.

The educational body was named the Philippine Center for Advanced Studies. The body will address itself exclusively to examining issues of central concern to the government. Creation of the Center was embodied in Presidential Decree No. 342 signed by President Marcos last Nov. 25, 1973.

Under the decree, the PCAS will absorb the Asian Center, its personnel, building and facilities and will embrace the following institutes and divisions: Institute of Islamic Studies; Institute of Philippine Studies; Institute of Asian Studies; Institute of Strategic Studies; Division of Basic Research; Division of Advanced Projects and Division of Academic Instruction.

A seven-man Board of Trustees will administer the institute and will formulate and review its objectives and policies. The PCAS will take over all funds currently appropriated to the Asian Center plus a P1.5 million annual outlay in the UP budget beginning June 1974. In addition, the national treasury will provide a P20 million endowment fund, the earnings of which shall be spent for non-recurring expenditures.

The objectives of PCAS are as follows:

1. Bring together specialists from various disciplines to conduct a systematic research at fundamental levels;
2. Assist the central government in the formulation of policies and programs;
3. Address itself to the examination of issues of central concern to the government such as problems on national integration, social, technological and cultural change, social effects of national policy, international developments and their impact on national life as well as security and strategic problems.
4. Establish degree programs and participate in existing instructional programs in order to produce Filipino experts or specialists for the nation.

ADM TO HOLD SEMINAR ON BILINGUAL EDUCATION

The Department of Language and Linguistics, Ateneo de Manila University is planning to hold the first national seminar on bilingual education for educators and administrators of private and public schools. It has been tentatively scheduled for March 20-30, 1974. This is in response to the latest directive of the National Board of Education regarding the implementation of the language policy on the use of the two languages as mediums of instruction in the Philippines.

The general objective of this seminar are: (1) to have a better understanding of the theory of bilingual education and its relationship with the curriculum, learners, teachers. Instructional materials, methods and techniques in the teaching-learning process; (2) to identify the areas in the curriculum that need changes to effect bilingual education and correspondingly guidelines for in-service education to teachers who are going to employ bilingual education; (3) to design a bilingual program that is applicable to their particular context (school); (4) to review the recent recommendations of the National Board of Education and the Institute of National Language on the media of instruction in all schools at all levels (primary, secondary, college).

The over-all chairman is Dr. Emy M. Pascasio and the details are now being worked out. For further information please inquire at the Ateneo Language Center, P.O. Box 154, Manila.

BICOL RIVER BASIN PROJECT IN PROGRESS

The Institute of Philippine Culture (Ateneo de Manila) and the Research Service Center (Ateneo de Naga) have joined efforts in the Bicol River Basin Development Program.

Frank Lynch, resident consultant at IPC is the current director of the Social Survey Unit which serves the Plans and Program Division of the program.

This six-year omnibus government program, funded by the Philippine and American governments, aims at regional human and socio-economic development.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY PAPERS OUT

Four papers in the series of Survey Research Methodology for use of universities in Asia have been published.

Papers published so far are:

Research Designs and Strategies. Vilmal Shah. Gujarat University Ahmedabad, India.

Reporting Research. Vilmal Shah. Gujarat University.

Research and the Action Program. Gelia Castillo, University of the Philippines, Los Baños; and

Guidelines for Preparing Research Proposals. Haider Ali Chaudhari. West Pakistan Agricultural University, Lyallpur, Pakistan.

Any educator who wants to use it in the classroom may request copies from the:

A/D/C Asia Office
Tanglin P.O. Box
84 Singapore 10

DISSERTATIONS OF IPC VISITING RESEARCH ASSOCIATES AVAILABLE AT THE IPC LIBRARY

Bennett, Susan Moore (1973) — Prediction of cognitive and divergent-productive intellectual abilities of Filipino sixth grade students from characteristics of their home environments. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Hawaii.

Doeppers, Daniel F. (1971) — Ethnicity and class in the structure of Philippine cities. Ph.D. dissertation, Syracuse University.

Gary, Joseph Ralph (1973) — A Rorschach Study of the personality structure of selected contemporary Filipino Manila college students. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Santo Tomas.

Himes, Ronald S. (1972) — Kinship, disease, property, and time in the Tagalog area, Philippines: A study in ethnoscience. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Hawaii.

Jacobson, Helga Eileen (1969) — Tradition and change in Cebu City: A study in a Philippine provincial city. Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University.

McCarthy, Florence E. (1972) — Third cultural networks of Philippine physical, life and social scientists. Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University.

Pettit, Marya K. (1967) — Determination of phraseology of questions to be included in a short family planning questionnaire. M.A. thesis, School of Public Health, University of Hawaii.

Ulack, Richard (1972) — The impact of industrialization upon the migration and demographic characteristics of Iligan City, Mindanao. Ph.D. dissertation, Pennsylvania State University.

Youngblood, Robert L. (1972) — The political socialization of high school students and their parents in the City of Manila. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan.

TAUSUG MATERIALS AT IPC LIBRARY

Fr. Gerard Rixhon, director of the Coordinated Investigation of Sulu Culture, donated to the Institute of

Philippine Culture Library 122 Tausug articles, 23 of which have been translated into English.

Interested scholars are welcome to use them.

Seminars, workshops, conferences

The UP Population Institute and the United States Bureau of the Census will co-sponsor the seminar "Computer Programs for Demographic Data Evaluation and Analysis" on February 5 to 14 at the Seminar Room of the Institute of Applied Geodesy and Photogrammetry, College of Engineering, UP Diliman.

The University of the Philippines at Los Baños and the Southeast Asian Center for Graduate Study and Research in Agriculture (SEARCA) with the financial support of the International Development Research Center (IDRC) of Canada sponsored a seminar workshop on the institutionalization of research management in Asia at the UP Los Baños on December 10 to 19.

It was participated in by research directors and managers in the region.

The Fund for Assistance to Private Education and the Philippine Women's University conducted a follow-up seminar on development education on December 5-7 aimed at developing professional competence.

The speakers were Dr. Jose Socrates (FAPE) Bro. Paul Herbert, FSC; Santiago de la Cruz (UE); Dr. Angelina Ramirez (UST); Dr. Dolores Lasan (PASW); Oscar Mapua (MIT); and Victor Lim (GASCOR).

The University of Negros Occidental and the Fund for Assistance to Private Education co-sponsored on December 12-13, 1973 a seminar on development education relative to teacher, curriculum and administration.

The UP Asian Center and the UP School of Economics jointly sponsored lectures by two visiting Japanese economists on Dec-

ember 4, 1973. The lecturers were Prof. Akira Ohnoichi of the Development Center of Japan who talked on "The Development of Southeast Asia and the Role of Japan" and Prof. Kyoichi Hirono of Seiki University who discussed "Japan's Economy and Direct Investment in Southeast Asia."

The University of Negros Occidental — Recoletos conducted a seminar on Institutional Self-Analysis on December 13, 1973.

The Philippine Guidance and Personnel Association, Inc., Cebu Chapter, sponsored the seminar "The Involvement of Guidance Counselors and Teachers in the NCEE Program and Vocational Guidance" on November 30 to December 2 in that city.

The Fourth Population Workshop of the Organization of Demographic Association was held at the Ambassador Hotel in Manila from January 21-25, 1974.

The University of San Carlos conducted a seminar with the theme "The Study and Teaching of History in the New Society" on September 21 to 23.

Among the speakers were O.D. Corpuz (Scholarship in the New Society); Fr. James Skerry (Philosophy of History); Samson Lucero (History as a Social Science) and Dr. Concesa Baduel (Relation of History to other Academic Disciplines).

A special lecture series in "Myths to be Destroyed in Philippine History" was held at the Ateneo de Naga on September 10 to 11 and at Santa Isabel Naga on September 12 and 24.

Information section

Selected non-commercial social and / or humanities

research centers in the Philippines December 1973

(continued from last issue)

Acronyms	Full Name	Current Head	Address/Sponsor
BCSER	Bicol Center for Socio-Economic Research	Rev. Fr. Ramon Salinas, O.P.	Aquinas University
IESA	Institute for Ethnic Studies in Asia	Mr. Rufino G. Tima	Cathedral Heights, Q. C.
IFLC	Institute for Filipino Language and Culture	Mrs. Yolanda Veloso	PWU, Taft Ave., Manila
IHR	Institute of Human Relations	Dr. Julia Calixto	PWU, Taft Ave., Manila
NOREB	Negros Occidental Research Bureau	Mrs. Betty Abregana	University of Negros Occidental La Salle College Bacolod City
RCSHC	Research Center for Sciences, Humanities and Culture	Col. Antonio Buenaventura	University of the East Aurora Blvd., O. C.
UNO-RIR	University of Negros Occidental — Recoletos Institute of Research	Dr. Bi Chin Uy	P.O. Box 214 Bacolod City

Fellowship grantees

GRANTOR	GRANTEE	FOR	PLACE AND PERIOD
Agricultural Development Council, Inc.	Victoria M. Arcega, UP	Ph. D in Sociology	Michigan State University Aug. 25, 1972 — Aug. 24, 1974
Barbour Fellowship	Milagros C. Guerrero, UP	Ph. D. in History	University of Michigan Aug. 31, 1973 — Aug. 31, 1974
Central Bank	Modesto M. Abenojar	2nd SEACEN Course (Financing of Small Sector)	Kuala Lumpur Nov. 5 — 30, 1973
	Gregorio R. Suarez	Program in Development Economics	Princeton University 1973 — 1974
Colombo Plan	Arsenio A. Cosico, UP	Masters in Social Planning	University of Swansen United Kingdom Sept. 24, 1973 — Sept. 23, 1974
	Patrocinio Escobar, UP	Diploma course in Social Planning	London School of Economics Oct. 1, 1973 — Sept. 30, 1974
	Bernadette Recidoro, UP	Post Graduate Diploma course Development Administration	University of Leeds United Kingdom Sept. 24, 1973 — Sept. 23, 1974
	Clarissa Rubio	Diploma in Social Planning	London School of Economics Aug. 1, 1973 — Sept. 30, 1974
East — West	Monina M. Escalada, UP	M. A. in Communication	University of Hawaii Aug. 18, 1973 — Feb. 18, 1974
Ford Foundation	Nestor Pilar, UP	Ph. D in Public Administration	University of Southern California
	Jose Endriga, UP	M.A. in Public Administration	Cornell University Aug. 15, 1973 — Aug. 14, 1974
	Jasmin Gavino, UP	Ph. D in Psychology of Teaching—Learning	University of Chicago Dec. 20, 1971 — Dec. 19, 1973

	Angel Fandialan, UP	Ph. D in Economics	Michigan State University Jan. 1, 1974 — Dec. 31, 1974
	Casimiro Miranda, UP	Ph. D in Economics	Wayne State University July 1, 1973 — June 30, 1974
	Gerard Rixhon Notre Dame of Jolo	To study the Tausug Oral Traditions as Communicative Behavior	Sulu, Sulawesi (Indonesia) June 1973 — July 1974
Fulbright—Hays	Edwin B. Almirol, UP	Ph. D in Cultural Anthropology	University of Illinois Sept. 1, 1973 — Aug. 31, 1974
Gowen Fellowship Grant	Lily T. Chua, UP	Grad. studies in Chinese Language and Literature	University of Washington Sept. 12, 1973 — May 31, 1974
International Development Research Center (IDRC)	Manuel A. Caoili, UP	Ph. D in Political Science	Queen's University Kingston, Ontario, Canada Sept. 1, 1973 — Aug. 31, 1974
Italian/Phil. Governments (Bilateral)	Rosalinda Valenzona	Postgraduate course	Institute for Studies on Economic Development and Planning Naples, Italy Dec. 1, 1973 — June 30, 1974
NEC — AID	Adelwisa Agas, UP	Ph. D in Urban Sociology	University of Michigan Jan. 9, 1972 — Jan. 8, 1974
	Felipe V. Oamar, UP	Ph. D in Public Administration	University of Southern California March 6, 1973 — Nov. 30, 1973
Rockefeller Foundation	Fredegusto David, UP	Ph. D in Psychology	Temple University Philadelphia Sept. 1, 1967 — Aug. 17, 1970
	Edwin T. Decenteceo, UP	Ph. D Clinical Psychology	Feb. 1, 1971 — Nov. 30, 1973
	Samuel K. Tan, UP	Ph. D in Social Science	State University of New York Sept. 1, 1971 — Aug. 31, 1974
UNESCO	Paulina F. Bautista, UP	Family Planning Demographic Research	Syracuse University Sept. 24, 1973 — March 23, 1974
	Francisco Llaguno, UP	Training in Communication Research in Radio, TV and Film	Sept. 23, 1973 — March 23, 1974
United Nations	Ernesto Ramos, UP	Ph. D in Statistics	Michigan State University Jan. 2, 1973 — Jan. 1, 1974
	Zelda Zablan, UP	Ph. D in Population Dynamics	Sept. 1, 1971 — Aug. 31, 1973
United Nations Development Program	Corazon Mejia—Raymundo	Studies in Population Sciences	John Hopkins University Baltimore March 26, 1974 — Aug. 31, 1974
University of Denver	Enrico D. David, UP	Ph. D in International Studies	Harvard University
University of the Phils.	Esther S. Madrid, UP	Ph. D in Folklore	University of Denver Sept. 1, 1972 — Sept. 31, 1974
			University of Pennsylvania July 1, 1972 — June 30, 1973

Research projects

Current researches and projects contemplated, ongoing, and completed for the period July to December 1973.

Entry format: Title of research/project, project director, home institution, status of projects, source of funding.

Status of research/project:

Contemplated — formal proposal drawn

Ongoing — from preparatory activities after proposal is approved to the stage before completion of final write-up.

Completed — final write-up accomplished.

ANTHROPOLOGY

An Ethno-Archaeology Study of the Pottery Manufacture in Daro, Dumaguete City, Negros Oriental, Philippines. Lionel T. Chiong. SU. Ongoing. Private funds.

Archaeological Excavation in Bacong, Negros Oriental, Philippines. Lionel T. Chiong. Ongoing. URC-SU and AM-SU.

Museum Education in the National Museum of the Philippines. Rosario B. Tantoco. Contemplated. Proposed to the Ford Foundation.

The Historical Development of Museums in the Philippines. Rosario B. Tantoco. Ongoing. NM.

The National Cultural Treasures of the Philippines: survey and documentation of important cultural properties that may be officially designated as National Cultural Treasures. Rosario B. Tantoco. Ongoing. National Museum.

COMMUNICATIONS

The Role of Mass Media in the New Society. Felicitas Y. Padilla. USC. Ongoing.

DEMOGRAPHY

A Textbook in Demography: A book geared for undergraduate students. M.B. Concepcion, P.C. Smith, C.M. Raymundo, F.J. Philips, L.J. Domingo, D.R. de la Paz, N.M. Castro and E. A. Guzman. Population Institute. Ongoing.

Determinants of Degree of Labor Underutilization. Peter C. Smith. Ongoing.

Estimates of Infant and Child Mortality: 1960-1968. Peter C. Smith. Ongoing.

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Migration Flows and Migration Regions: Further Analyses of the 1960 Census Origin-Destination Matrix. Peter C. Smith. Ongoing.

Systematic Analyses of Age-Sex Data from Philippine Census: 1903-1970. Peter C. Smith. Ongoing.

Central Places of Mindanao. Peter C. Smith. Ongoing.

EDUCATION

A Comparison on Pupil Achievement in a Non-Graded School and Graded School For Boys. Evangeline R. Avila. De la Salle College. Completed.

A Proposed Program for a One-Room, Two-Session Pre-School Using Guidance Principles. Maria Elena A. Tenazas. De La Salle College. Completed.

- A Study of School Leavers in the College Division of UNO-R. Bi Chin Uy.** University of Negros Occidental-Recoletos. Completed.
- Ateneo de Naga College Department Faculty Evaluation.** Jeanne I. Illo and Aniceto B. Oliva. Ongoing. Ateneo de Naga.
- Ateneo de Naga Library Profile.** Constancio T. Cater, Jr. Ateneo de Naga. Ongoing.
- Ateneo de Naga Textbook Profile.** Constancio T. Cater Jr. Contemplated. Ateneo de Naga.
- Comparative Study of CET, OLMAT and HSGA.** Cristita C. Auditor. De La Salle College. Completed.
- People's Attitudes Toward Vocational Training in the City of Naga.** Constancio T. Cater Jr. and Aniceto B. Oliva. Ateneo de Naga. Completed. Research and Service, Center, Ateneo de Naga.

HISTORY

- Contemporary Philippines.** Josefa M. Saniel. Asian Center. ongoing
- Contemporary Philippines-Japan Relations.** Josefa M. Saniel. Asian Center. Ongoing.
- Japan and the Philippines, 1898-1941.** Josefa M. Saniel. Asian Center. Ongoing.
- Japan In Southeast Asia.** Josefa M. Saniel. Asian Center. Ongoing.

LINGUISTICS

- The Language Behavior Profile of the Ateneo College Filipino, Bilinguals.** Emy P. Pascasio and L. Mangulabnan. Ongoing. Faura Research Center, Inc.
- Tausug Oral Traditions as Communicative Behavior.** Gerard Rixhon. Coordinated Investigation of Sulu Culture. Notre Dame of Jolo College. Ongoing. Ford Foundation.
- Tausug Word List (Tausug-English, English-Tausug dictionary in the making).** Seymour Ashley. Summer Institute of Linguistics. Ongoing.
- Topicalization and Related Processes in Philippine Languages.** Ernesto H. Cubar, Ongoing. SSHRC, UP.

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- Philippine-U.S. Constitutionalism — A Comparative Study.** Felicitas Y. Padilla. University of San Carlos. Ongoing.

SOCIOLOGY

- A Proposed Guidance Program for the Home.** Evelyn G. Cui-Unjieng. De la Salle College. Completed.
- Baseline Survey of Barrio Hippodromo, Cebu City.** Dr. Marcelino N. Maceda. University of San Carlos. Ongoing. Social Welfare Administration. University of San Carlos Anthropology Department.
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- Cognitive Symbolism of Folk Religion: A Case Study of the Moriones.** Benjamin Majam. Arellano University. Ongoing. Personal.
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- Reaction to Agricultural Development** A study of agricultural development in a Negrito reservation in Zambales and the socio-cultural changes involved in the process. Rufino G. Tima. Submitted to Agricultural Development Council Inc.
- Social Pressures and Fertility Behavior.** Investigation of pressures exerted on young couples to have children emanating from the couples' parents, relatives, friends (barkada) of the husband and the community. Rowe V. Cadelina, University of San Carlos. Ongoing. Philippine Social Science Council.

- The Social World of the Hostesses: Its Implication to Curriculum Making.** Gonzalo Lachica. Republic Central Colleges. Ongoing.
- Tuguegarao, A City** Opinion Survey of Tuguegarao Residents on Their Town's Likelihood of Being Converted into a City. Lourdes Romero and Sergio Utleg. St. Paul's College of Tuguegarao. Ongoing.

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Entry format:

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Legends

AM-SU — Anthropology Museum — Silliman University
ARI-UP — Agrarian Reform Institute University of the Philippines
BCF — Baguio Colleges Foundation
CEU — Centro Escolar University
CDRC — Community Development Research Council

CPA-UP — College of Public Administration — University of the Philippines
CRC — Center for Research and Communication

DAR — Department of Agrarian Reform
IEDR — Institute of Economic Development Research
IPC — Institute of Philippine Culture
NEDA — National Economic Development Authority
NM — National Museum
NPC — National Power Corporation
PASW — Philippine Association of Social Workers
PDCP — Private Development Corporation of the Philippines
PSSC-CSS — Philippine Social Science

Council — Central Subscription Service
SU — Silliman University
UPAC — University of the Philippines Asian Center
CAS — UP College of Arts and Sciences
UPDOLL — UP Department of Oriental Languages and Linguistics
UPPI — UP Population Institute
URC-SU — University Research Center Silliman University
USC — University of San Carlos

Rural history... *From page 7*

(*prestamo*), or a *deuda con hipoteca* — debt with mortgage. The essential difference from the *pacto de retro* deal lay in the fact that in a *deuda con hipoteca* transaction, the borrower did not have an option to repurchase unless the clause *con pacto de retro* was specifically inserted in the contract. A debtor oftentimes faced the risk of having his collateral seized or embargoed and sold in a public auction (*subasta*). If the time limit for the loan was extended, he was charged from twelve to thirty-four percent interest per 100 pesos borrowed, in addition to the usual interest the loan carried, which also ranged from twelve to thirty-four percent *per annum*.

Second, landgrabbing became rampant. Larkin and McLennan, it will be recalled, treated this cursorily as a way of land acquisitions in Central Luzon. In Negros Island, some of the landgrabbing cases we have come across are simply sensational. One spectacular case of landgrabbing or *usurpacion* involved 7,000 hectares, with "indio" residents of an entire barrio being dispossessed of their ancestral lands, recognized under Spanish law by virtue of the principle of prior occupation (*desmante or denuncia*). A remarkable document in the section of the National Archives called *Terrenos de Negros* speaks vividly of a "judicial" device known as *interdicto de despojo* to usurp land owned and cultivated by "indios." The *modus operandi* of the usurper, when using the device of *interdicto de despojo*, is devastatingly simple: He merely goes to a court of law, presents supporting papers that are forged or falsified, and gets paid or coerced witnesses to testify to the validity of his claim. The presiding judge knows that the documents are fake and that the witnesses were bribed. Yet, invariably, he decides in favor of the ambitious and clever persons employing *interdicto de despojo*. It is because he, the judge, was himself bribed, or that the claimant belonged to an influential family. These facts stand out clearly in this document. The claimants, or those resorting to *interdicto de despojo*, were always Spaniards, Spanish *mestizos*, *mestizo sangleyes*, or *principalia* Filipinos. These elements of the colonial society could "pull strings" in the government. The victims were always "indios," and the subject of *interdicto de despojo* were their traditional lands, already possessed, cleared, cultivated, and occupied by the Filipinos trying to eke out a living for themselves here and now and for the future.

In short, the *interdicto de despojo* is legalized landgrabbing, but landgrabbing no less. One man acquired lands already cultivated by "indios" in the towns of La Carlota, San Enrique, and Canlaon during the nineteenth century through this cunning maneuver. All told, this man usurped more than 7,000 hectares, and displaced hundreds of "indio" families, forcing them to settle in the mountains.

Acquisition of lands through the *interdicto de despojo*, while regarded as a "judicial" process, amounted to *usurpacion* precisely because the lands involved were legitimately owned by virtue of the principle of prior occupation, known in Spanish either as *denuncia* or *desmante*. *Denuncia* or *desmante* was simply the process wherein a person could acquire land by just claiming a piece of real estate provided he could prove that it was not previously claimed, cleared, tilled, and occupied by another person. If he could establish that indeed there was no previous cultivator or occupant of the land, then that land was his for all intents and purposes. In addition, he must establish that he had been tilling and occupying that land for at least two years. By rendering the land productive he complied with Spanish law. After that two-year period, he could start "possessory proceedings" or *composicion* in a Spanish Court of First Instance. The *composicion* was a judicial device introduced by the Spanish Crown to clarify the land through *denuncia* and to help such persons get absolute titles of ownership, in contrast to mere possession.

Third, while land sales were a common way of alienating landed property, many of the transactions involving the sale or purchase of lands were illegal and immoral. Actually, some of these land sales virtually amounted to landgrabbing too. Normally, when land sales occurred between two Spaniards (*espanoles peninsular, españoles europea, espanoles Filipino*), high prices were paid. The buyer in such cases paid the amount which corresponded to the value of the land sold. The same is true when the transaction involved a *mestizo* and another *mestizo*, irrespective of whether he was a *mestizo sangley espanol* or what not. But when the transaction was between an "indio" and a Spaniard or a *mestizo*, the price paid by the buyer (Spaniard or *mestizo*) to the seller ("indio") was exploitatively low. This was invariably the case. The "indio" seller did not get the fair market

value of his land, nor was the cunning buyer willing to give him a sum that corresponded to the actual price of the land sold. Exchanges of this nature cannot in all good conscience be called honest sale. The buyer was plainly taking advantage of the ignorance and wretchedness of the seller.

Frequently, the signature of the seller in this unfair transaction is not affixed in the deed of sale. "Indio" officials like the *cabezas de barangay* often purchased land at incommensurately low prices.

Sometimes, cash was not given, but a few objects like an inexpensive bracelet or a necklace — novel objects to an illiterate Filipino — in exchange for, ten or twenty hectares of cultivated land. This method of illegal and immoral land acquisition was typical in both provinces of Negros, illegal because the Crown recognized the principle of prior occupation and immoral because the exploitation of the seller was deliberate.

Fourth, Larkin and McLennan failed to take note of one more form of land acquisition in their works on Central Luzon. This was the process known as *denuncia* or *desmante* which was referred to earlier. *Denuncia* was in point of time the earliest way to acquire land in Negros and throughout the Philippines. So long as land was plentiful, this was also the most ordinary method of land acquisition. Prior occupation, undisturbed and continuous, became absolute ownership of land through time and custom, and later the Spaniards made provisions for the legalization (*composicion*) of lands acquired in this manner.

Fifth, and finally, acquisition by legacy or inheritance was also a fairly common way of acquiring and owning land. Many of the great *haciendas* established early in the nineteenth century split up into smaller estates by the turn of the century precisely because the heirs of the original *hacenderos* wanted to strike it on their own. Some of the heirs were the common law wives of the *hacenderos*, others were their illegitimate children whom they begot with their *criadas*, still others were their legitimate wives and children, or their sisters and brothers, and a few lucky servants or friends who were rewarded for their loyalty and faithfulness.

Summing up Rural history is a fertile and largely unexplored area of investigation. Researches must be interdisciplinary in approach and orientation. They should seek answers specifically to some of the basic questions regarding the origin of land tenure and *hacienda* agriculture in the Philippines.

Preconquest Filipinos already entertained notions of private landownership, but land itself was not given much economic value. When the Spaniards came, there was no real incentive to acquire big rural estates because agriculture was viewed as an unprofitable enterprise. Land continued to be seen as of no real economic benefit until the 1780's when Spain decided to promote the production of export crops. This stimulated land acquisition for commercialized production. Land prices went up. Greater value was attached to land *per se*; greater still to land devoted to cash crop production. There was now a good economic motive to own land, especially big parcels of land. Consequently, *haciendas* in Negros, devoted to sugarcane cultivation, sprouted like mushrooms. Commercial firms set up by foreigners, not previously allowed to come to the Philippines, provided capital for the development of the *haciendas*, and provided contacts with buyers of sugar here and abroad.

The acquisition of land in Negros involved about seven methods: (a) absolute sale; (b) *pacto de retro* or *sanglang-bili*; (c) allocation of *realengas*; (d) landgrabbing; (e) seizure or *embargo* for failure to pay debts; (f) inheritance; and finally, (g) *denuncia* or the principle of prior and effective occupation.

Landgrabbing and the *pacto de retro* were unconscionable. Both involved the exploitation of ignorant "indios." In the case of landgrabbing, Spanish officials and legal technicalities were used to deprive a Filipino of his just possession and property. In the case of the *pacto de retro*, the collateral demanded had a higher value than the sum of the loan. Even absolute sale took on the character of a dishonest transaction. When the Spaniards or the *mestizos* purchased land from each other, they paid the exact price. But when they bought from the "indio," they paid a ridiculously low price. This, too, was an exploitation of the ignorance of the natives.

In the final analysis, the Spanish colonial government should take the blame for such a confused land situation. No titles were issued, and whatever innovations they introduced to clarify the situation only served to entrench those in a position to take advantage of these innovations for their selfish ends. To a large extent the volatile agrarian condition in Negros and else-

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Social scientists on the move

Arrivals

Dr. Mercedes B. Concepcion, dean of the U.P. Population Institute arrived recently from Geneva where she served as Chairman of the 17th Session of the UN Population which considered a draft World Population Plan of Action. The 27-nation commission is acting as the inter-government preparatory body for both the conference and the World Population Year. Dr. Concepcion was the first woman representative to preside over the UN Population sessions. The conference was held on Oct. 29 — Nov. 12.



CONCEPCION

MANGAHAS

Mahar Mangahas of the Institute of Economic Development and Research joined the working session at Geneva which was held to write the final draft of the ILO Comprehensive Employment Strategy Mission to the Philippines Report. It was sponsored by ILO on October 21 to November 2.

Earlier (October 9-14), he went to Seoul for a conference which took up macro-policy models, agricultural sector policies and external and domestic sector interactions.

Raymond Apthorpe, Jr., visiting professor at the Institute of Planning attended the Second Working Committee on Regional Development in Southeast Asia in Bangkok on September 3-7, 1973. The five-day seminar was sponsored by the International Development Center of Canada.

Gerardo P. Sicat, director-general of the National Economic and Development Authority, attended the First Midwestern Conference-Seminar on "Investments in the Philippines" sponsored by the Philippine Consulate General at the First National Plaza, Chicago, Illinois, USA.

Rev. Gerard Rixhon, director of the Coordinated Investigation of Sulu Culture, Notre Dame of Jolo College, served as visiting scholar at the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley from September 21 to November 11.

Benjamin V. Lozare of the Institute of Mass Communication joined the first Refresher Course on Mass Communication for Teachers and Researchers sponsored by the Asian Mass Communication Research and Information Center. The twelve-day seminar (December 10-22) was held in Singapore.

Dr. Cesar Mercado of the same institute served as speaker in the regional workshop on "Forward Planning, Programme Development and Evaluation" in Chiangmai, Thailand in September.

He also attended the ECAFE-sponsored Seminar on Research and Evaluation of Informational Materials held in Bangkok from January 5 to 11, 1974.

Dr. Lourdes R. Quisumbing, chairman, Graduate Education, University of San Carlos arrived recently from the United States after attending the 9th International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences held in Chicago, Illinois from August 28 to September 8, 1973. She read her paper entitled Cebuano Social Attitudes which Foster or Hinder Development. She also made a tour of various universities during her month's stay in America. Her travel was sponsored by the US State Department under the Special Visitors Program.

Mrs. Nora R. Agbayani, UP, arrived Nov. 10, 1973. She attended a four-month course on English language teaching, RELC, Singapore, July 15- Nov. 10, 1973, sponsored by SEAMEO.

Rodolfo Bulatao of the UP Sociology Department took part in the symposium on Sociology and Social Development in Asia sponsored by the Japanese National Commission for UNESCO in Tokyo on October 15-22.

Dr. Benjamin V. Carino of the National Development Research Center attended the conference on 'Rural Outmigration and Metropolitan Development' on November 24 to to December 1. The International Development Research Center (IDRC) of Canada sponsored the meeting held in Istanbul, Turkey.

He also participated in the Cooperative Regional Development Project in Bangkok on November 3-7.

Ofelia Angangeo of the UP Sociology Department participated in the Symposium on Sociology Development in Asia on October 15-22. The meeting was sponsored by the Japanese National Commission for UNESCO and Japan Sociological Society.

Dr. Marcelino A. Foronda, Chairman of the History — Political Science Department of De La Salle College arrived recently from Spain after a four-month research stint in the archives at Valladolid, Seville and Madrid on the project "Kailukuan: a Social, Cultural and Political History of the Ilocos, 1890 — 1945" the fellowship grant was awarded by the Spanish government. Incidentally, Dr. Foronda is also undertaking the same study through a Modern Philippine History grant from PSSC.

Social scientists from the UP College of Public Administration were invited to various international meetings for the last quarter of 1973.

Ledivina Cariño arrived from Singapore last September 1 from a three-day development meeting on the subject "Rural Outmigration: A Comparative Study."

Prof. Ramon M. Garcia joined the workshop conference on "Developmental Structures and Human Resources: Southeast Asian's Perception of their Population Problems held in Bali, Indonesia on September 23-26.

The Institute of Social Work and Community Development, UP sent its staff to various meetings on social work.

Professor Josefina Pineda joined the concluding seminar on the Third UN Conference Training Course in Social Planning in New York. The UNDP grant also enabled her to visit schools of social work in New York and adjacent states of Boston, Massachusetts, Washington and Pennsylvania.

Prof. Thelma Lee Mendoza joined the Asian Regional Seminar sponsored by the International Association of Schools of Social Work in Singapore.

Dr. Sylvia H. Guerrero joined the Second Working Meeting for the project on Hawkers and Vendors in Southeast Asia held in Kuala Lumpur.

Prof. Esther Viloria joined the Asian Regional Seminar of the Association of Schools of Social Work held in Singapore on November 2-18.

Manuel F. Bonifacio, dean of the Institute of Social Work and Community Development, UP, stayed in Copenhagen, Denmark on October 6-23, 1973 as a member of the group who went on a study visit to the Danish Institute of Social Research.

As a representative of the Schools of Social Work Association of the Philippines, he also attended the seminar on Social Work Education and Family Planning in Singapore on November 5-15, 1973 which was sponsored by the International Association of Schools of Social Work.



HOLLNSTEINER BONIFACIO

Mrs. Mary Hollnsteiner, director of the Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University, arrived recently from Bangkok where she chaired the Quaker International Seminar in Southeast Asia with its theme: "The Changing Woman in Changing Southeast Asia" from Nov. 24 to Dec. 1, 1973.

Appointments

The UP Board of Regents approved ten appointments to professorial chairs bringing to 45 the number of professorial chair holders in the University. Among the new appointees are:

Dr. Priscila S. Manalang as Francisco Benitez Professor of Education;

Dr. E. Arsenio Manuel as UP Alumni Association Professor of Philippine Studies;

Dr. Alfredo V. Lagmay as UP Alumni Association Research Professor of Psychology.

Dr. Gelia T. Castillo as Professor of Rural Sociology, College of Agriculture;

Dr. Isidoro P. David as Assistant Professor of Statistics, College of Sciences and Humanities.

Rev. Gerard Rixhon, director of the Coordinated Investigation for Sulu Culture, was elected vice-president of the Sulu Cultural-Historical Society for 1972-1973 and 1973-1974.

Aurelio Elevazo holds the post of Assistant Director of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education (SEAMEO).

Dr. Jose Encarnacion, Jr. is now the new dean of the UP School of Economics. He replaced Dean Amado A. Castro whose term expired on Dec. 31, 1973.

Dr. Pedro R. Acierto is the new executive secretary of the Community Development Research Council. He was formerly the official representative and liaison man of the Department of Local Government and Community Development (DLGCD) to the CDRC.

Prof. Roberto A. Rueda who held that post is on study leave.

Meanwhile, **Marcelino P. Cosio**, chief of the Planning Services and training coordinator was given the slot to officially represent the DLGCD in the Council and to serve as liaison officer to coordinate CDRC's activities with DLGCD.

Zenaida Uy was appointed temporary chairman of the Department of Socio-Anthropology of the University of San Carlos during the absence of Wilhelm Flieger who left early December to serve as consultant-coordinator of an Asian Labor Force Survey.

Rowe V. Cadelina was appointed director of the Office for Social Research (OSR) of the University of San Carlos.

Fr. Felix Ortega, OAR, Ph.D., was appointed president of the University of Negros Occidental — Recoletos. He served as Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences prior to his new assignment.

Fr. Blas Montenegro, OAR was appointed Administrative Consultant of the University of Negros Occidental — Recoletos Institute of Research. He is currently Vice-President, UNO-R.

Dr. Leticia M. Azuzano, Ph. D. was promoted from Associate Professor to Associate Professor II and also appointed as Dean of Graduate Studies, De La Salle College, Manila.

Departures

Fr. Wilhelm Flieger, SVD, University of San Carlos Dept. of Anthropology-Sociology, University of San Carlos left in early December for a tour of Southeast Asian countries to act as consultant and coordinator of an Asian Labor Force Survey sponsored by the Committee on Asian Manpower Studies (CAMS). He is expected to be away for three months.

Museum Director Godofredo Alcacid left November 12, 1973 for Tokyo to attend the Round Table Conference on Modernization of Museum Activities in Asia, November 13-17, 1973.

Miss Evelyn Caballero, AM-SU, research assistant left last August 24 1973 to take up Graduate Studies at the University of Hawaii under the Silliman University Southeast Asian Program. She will be away for 2 years.

Rural history....

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where in the Philippines during the American period can be traced to this neglect by the Madrid court. The Americans themselves did nothing to ameliorate the conditions of land tenure in Negros and elsewhere but that is another story altogether.

Footnotes

1. An adequate description of these types of land tenure commonly practiced in the country today can be found in Human Relations Area Files Area Handbook of the Philippines, 4 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Philippine Studies Program, 1956), III, 1385-1391.

2. John Leddy Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses, 1565-1700* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959), 117.

3. *Ibid.*, 118. Underscoring mine.

4. Juan de Plasencia, "Customs of the Tagalogs," Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (eds.), *The Philippine Islands, 1492-1898*, 55 vols. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark company, 1903-1907), VII, 174-175. Hereinafter cited as BR. Underscoring mine.

5. Antonio de Morga, "Report on Filipinas," BR, XIV, 128. Please see also Plasencia's "Customs in Lawsuits," BR, XVI, 329.

6. Plasencia, "Customs of the Tagalogs," BR, XVII, 175.

7. Based on conversation with him on Tuesday, November 20, 1973.

8. Please see the author's views on this matter in his *Deficit Government Mexico and the Philippine Situado (1606-1804)*, Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Duke University, 1970.

9. The Dasmariñas portrait is found in BR, XXX, 229.

10. A parade of the various economic reform proposals, including both those junked and implemented, during the late eighteenth century, can be found in Bauzon, "Deficit Government," Chapter V.

11. Robert G. Keith, "Encomienda, Hacienda and Corregimiento in Spanish America: A Structural Analysis," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, LI (August 1971), 438.

12. Kindly refer to John A. Larkin, *The Evolution of Pampangan Society: A Case Study of Social and Economic Change in the Rural Philippines*, Published Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1960; and Marshall S. McLenna, "Land and Tenancy in the Central Luzon Plain," *Philippine Studies*, XVIII (October 1969), 651-682.

13. The *encomienda* system conferred only the right to collect tribute to *encomenderos*, while basically affirming the right of the native Filipinos to enjoy absolute ownership of lands.

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B-2 Researcher/reporter. Female, single 24 years old. Worked as researcher, reporter, copywriter, interviewer.

D-1 Market researcher/analyst. Female, single, 22 years old. BA marketing graduate, UP. Currently working in a market research organization. Minimum acceptable salary P350.00.

D-2 Economic researcher/statistical clerk. Female, single, 21 years old. AB Economics graduate UST. Presently working as a researcher in a marketing research organization. Minimum acceptable salary P350.00.

D-3 Researcher/office worker. Female, single. B.S. Commerce graduate, majors: economics & management. Working experience: bookkeeper and college instructor.

E-1 Researcher. Position preferred in history. Female, 33 years old, single. Worked as instructor in high school and college levels. M.A. in Educ. St. Paul's Dumaguete. Minimum acceptable salary P500.00.

H-1 Psychometrician. Female, 22 years old. Cum Laude, B. S. Psychology. Saint Louis University, 1972. Worked as

guidance counselor, instructor, executive secretary.

H-2 Researcher. Female, single, 23 years old. AB Psychology, UP 1973. College scholar: 4 semesters. Worked as student assistant in UP.

Positions open

Faculty Members

Ph.D. or M.A. in history to teach Philippine, Asian or European history. Send vitae or contact History Dept., Ateneo de Manila University, P.O. Box 154 Manila.

Social Development Planner

- Ph.D. or doctoral candidacy in social anthropology, sociology or any equivalent.
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- Must have the ability to go beyond the description and analysis of social problems to normative prescription: should have a developed interest in community organization.
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- Interested persons should enclose in their correspondence a resume and short statement of teaching and research in-

terests.

Research Assistant/Secretary

- Coordinated Investigation of Sulu Culture (CISC) Notre Dame of Jolo College, Jolo, Sulu
- From February 1 — June 1, 1974 with possible extension
- Salary P360 — P400
- Preferably good command of English or major in one of the social science disciplines.

Field Researchers

Minimum qualifications: College graduate with social science background, field-work experience can speak Ilocano

Preferred qualifications: MA units in any social science field, a background on the Philippine land reform program to work in a study on land reform under Dr. Richard T. Burcroff, Institute of Philippine Culture, 2nd floor, Bellarmine Hall, Ateneo de Manila University. Tel. 983194 and 982541 loc. 143.

Personable females

20 — 33 years old

Graduates of AB English, Communication Arts, Psychology and Business Administration;

Proficient in oral and written communication;

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Skilled in typing and steno.

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