

URBANIZATION AND SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION IN A PHILIPPINE VILLAGE

JOHN P. McANDREW
Institute of Philippine Culture
Ateneo de Manila University

The social relations of wetland rice production in the Cavite village of Buenavista are historically linked to the rise of Manila as a primate city. The establishment of Manila as an entrepôt, the opening of Manila to world trade and the eventual dissolution of the friar estate economy have all had profound effects on land tenure relations in the village. More recently, the capitalization of wetland rice cultivation amid population increase and land reform legislation has brought about a stratification of village subclasses and a shift in dependence from landlords to commercial dealers. The persistence of peasant subclasses in the village leads to a consideration of capitalist expansion not only as a factor in the transformation of the peasantry but also as a factor in its simultaneous reproduction. The importance of human agency in the mediation of political economic processes is recognized.

In the Philippine province of Cavite, about 80 kilometers south of the city of Manila, lies the wetland rice cultivating village of Buenavista. Inextricably linked to the rise of Manila as an urban center, the village has undergone a period of rapid social change in the last 15 to 20 years. Using historical/empirical analysis, this article attempts to explore the nature of that change within village land tenure and social relations and its structural links to global capitalist expansion and accumulation.

Departing from conventional spatio-demographic analysis that tends to view urbanization apart from the social environment in which it takes place, this study adopts, in part, a global political-economic perspective and argues that structural social change must be understood in its totality and hence on a world scale. Rather than examining the development of classes, regions and urban centers within the boundaries of their immediate locality, this approach calls for an understanding of the expanding world economy as a totality; and further inquires how global economic changes influence the internal development of centers, regions and classes within any affected area. The study of social change in the village of Buenavista must then proceed historically and recognize the critical impact that integration into the world economy exerts on the formation of the region of which it is part (see Lubeck and Walton 1979).

By emphasizing the inherent tendencies — or logic — of capital, of class structures and modes of production and their articulation with different social formations, the structuralist focus of political economy has done much to enhance our understanding of urbanization in peripheral societies (Armstrong and McGee 1985: 17-40).

But interpretations of structural processes that rely on political-economic variables need to be balanced by an equal emphasis on social-cultural variables and a concern with human agency. The rationale of this imperative is eloquently captured by Michael Smith (1989: 335).

In the current poststructuralist period it is becoming recognized that political and economic logics alone are insufficient to explain adequately the dynamic processes of urban change in which political economy and culture, power and the sign, macrolevel constraints and microlevel choices are dialectically interwoven. . . . Although impersonal conditions constitute the historical context within which people act, people are not merely passive recipients of these structural economic and political conditions. They are creators of meaning, which is also a wellspring of human action and historic change.

The theoretical considerations outlined above have had important consequences for the methodological approach used in this study. The method takes as its starting point individual motivations and behavior and seeks to understand how these are interrelated with structural constraints and opportunities found in the larger system. In the present research, I sought to assess in the village of Buenavista the dynamics of structural social change associated with urbanization in patterns of land use, land tenure and employment. To accomplish this, I took up residence in the village and set about to identify patterns of change within families of long established presence. In the course of interviewing several informants of diverse land tenure and subsistence conditions, it became apparent that a number shared a common ancestor, a grandfather who had been the village headman at the

end of the Spanish era. By reconstructing the direct descent lineage of the grandfather through four generations, a framework for data collection emerged that allowed me to view a wider process of change through the experience of a single family. The social history of the family and by affinity the village was later made more relevant and intelligible from a reading of the broader social history of the region published in secondary sources.

In retrospect, the circumstances under which Manila became incorporated into the world economy and the successive roles it has played in capital accumulation have had profound effects on land tenure and rural class structure in Cavite. A review of these historical class formations thus provides an important starting point for the study of more recent social change.

The Historical Background

The Emergence of Friar Estates

The Hispanic conquest of Manila in 1571 coincided with direct colonial trade relations with China. On the basis of that commerce, the Spaniards developed a trans-Pacific galleon trade between Manila and Acapulco exchanging Chinese and Asian luxuries for the silver of Mexico. With the institutionalization of the galleon trade in the late 16th century, Manila assumed a dominant position in the system of Philippine settlements (Schurz 1985; Reed 1978).

The entrepôt economy of Manila initially supported by the *comienda* or tribute system was sustained in the first centuries of Spanish rule by the food surpluses produced on commercial rice and cattle estates in nearby provinces like Cavite. These lands were part of the large land grants awarded by the Crown to Spanish colonizers and native elite in the late 16th and early 17th centuries (Roth 1977: 39-40). With the construction of colonial-built irrigation systems, wetland rice cultivation on the estates took prominence as a land use pattern. To regulate water flow, the land was diked into small fields or paddies. The nature of paddy rice cultivation thus necessitated that water control on individualized plots be managed by small farmers. Direct cultivation by a single large landowner was not possible (Roth 1977: 10). To obtain a labor force of small farmers to cultivate the diked rice

fields, the Spaniards enticed Filipino peasants to lease delineated parcels for direct cultivation. The allocation of rice land to lessees thus helped to foster settlement patterns and to institutionalize a two-tiered tenure structure of estate owners and subsistence tenants (Roth 1982: 137). In the late 17th and 18th centuries the religious orders, though legally prohibited, acquired through donation, sale and auction the great majority of these estates.

The emergence of subtenancy on the friar estates

By the middle of the 18th century the galleon trade had begun to decline. Following the British occupation of Manila (1762-1764), Spanish official policy began slowly and haltingly to open the colony to world trade. With the opening of the port of Manila to free trade in 1834, the Philippines entered fully into the world-trade system (Roth 1977: 32-33, and Schurz 1985: 49-54).

The rise of export agriculture in the 19th century led to the increased cultivation of cash crops, particularly sugar, on several of the friar estates, the greater valuation of all estate land, fluctuating rice prices and higher interest rates on loans. Tenants cultivating plots on a subsistence basis found it more and more difficult to retain their leaseholds as a smaller but wealthier class of non-cultivating tenants sought to gain control of land on the estates. The latter group, mostly Filipino *principales* or elites and Chinese mestizos, were able to finance agricultural production because of their previous accumulation of commercial capital. An increased population limited access to cultivated land and competition for its occupancy provided this emerging elite class with a peasantry given to sublease and work land as sharecroppers. By the end of 19th century, non-cultivating tenants were able to acquire and consolidate most of the leaseholds on the friar estates and the two-tiered tenure structure of estate owners and subsistence tenants gave way to a three-tiered structure of estate owners, non-cultivating tenants and sharecroppers (Roth 1977: 118-132).

Buenavista village and the Madlangbayan family in the late 19th century

Situated in the extensive hacienda of San Francisco de Malabon, one of the five friar estates in the province of Cavite, the village of Buenavista in the

late 19th century was an outpost of Spanish colonial interest. As a rice cultivating village of some prominence, Buenavista supplied the urban-based colonizers with a rich source of food and wealth.

In Buenavista Macario Madlangbayan collected leasehold rents for the Augustinian friars. Macario was not a man of great physical structure but as the *cabeza de barangay* or village headman, he was a man of some means and was known to own several carabaos. No doubt, Macario, like other better-off villagers, tenanted some land on the estate and subleased it to sharecroppers. But in no respect did he belong to the educated elite of the town. Macario was a man of the village and it was in Buenavista where he collected rents, overlooked the work of his tenanted land and lived with his wife Matilde Zarte and their two young children; Rafael born in 1890 and Epifania born two years later in 1892.

The Dissolution of the friar estate economy and the second marriage of Macario Madlangbayan

As the 19th century ended, economic and social forces at work within the friar estates came to have far-reaching consequences for the continued existence of the estate economy. Rent increases brought about by higher land values and declines in crop yields diminished actual palay shares retained by tenants and sharecroppers. Agrarian unrest on the estates came to be a powerful force uniting all Tagalog social classes. Despite their differences, local tenure groups desired the end of friar landownership and actively participated in the national revolt of 1896 (Roth 1982: 148-149).

When armed revolt broke out against Spain, the Malabon estate was a principal locale of the struggle. In Buenavista, the attack against the Spanish was led by Macario Madlangbayan and other village leaders.

In the early days of the revolution, attempts were made by the revolutionary government to obtain lists of estate tenants and landholdings and to require the tenants to pay rentals to finance the revolution and to feed the rebel army. But the fate of the friar estates was not to be resolved by the newly established Republic because the revolutionary government was suppressed by the American colonial army that arrived in 1898 to seize the colony from Spain.

The period of war that followed between the American forces and the Filipino revolutionaries

was also a period of disturbance in Macario Madlangbayan's own personal life. Macario's first wife, Matilde Zarte, had died and left him a widower to care for two small children. For a period, Macario, maintained a relationship with a young woman from a nearby town who bore him a son. But it was not until the turn of the century, with his marriage to Apolinario Bautista, that Macario was to father another legitimate family. Macario and Apolinaria Madlangbayan had four children; Dionisia born in 1903, Gelacio in 1911, Gregorio in 1912, and Purita in 1914.

Estate redistribution and its implications for the Madlangbayan family

To reconcile Filipinos to the newly established colonial regime, the Americans were forced to address the problem of agrarian unrest on the friar estates. Under the authority of an act of Congress, the Philippine Commission in 1903 enacted a law providing for the lease and ultimate sale of the friar lands. The goal envisioned was to redistribute the ownership of the lands to the farmers occupants who tilled it. But as many of the actual occupants were non-cultivating tenants with large holdings, it is not surprising that much of the land was ultimately acquired by big buyers and lessees. By 1920 when San Francisco de Malabon was renamed General Trias, large tracts of Buenavista land were owned by elite families residing in the town proper and smaller parcels by better-off villagers like Macario Madlangbayan, and worked mostly by tenants for a one-half share of the net harvest (Endriga 1970).

Under the American-sponsored land reform program, Macario Madlangbayan acquired 15 hectares of irrigated rice land in the village of Buenavista. At his death in 1924, Macario could look back upon a life that provided some measure of wealth through privileged access to village rice lands. The death of Macario, nevertheless, occasioned a fragmentation of his landholdings and a differential allocation of property rights among his children. At the death of their father, Rafael and Epifania Madlangbayan, the grown-up children of Macario's first marriage each inherited six hectares of their father's irrigated rice lands while Dionisia, Gelacio, Gregorio and Purita Madlangbayan, the younger children of his second marriage each inherited only .75 hectares.

While the two elder children lived out their lives in Buenavista as landlords overseeing the work of their tenants, the four younger children were for the most part to become tenant farmers them-

selves. Access and control over the resource of land did much to condition the life chances and opportunities of the succeeding lines of the Madlangbayan family.

The Descendant Lines of Macario Madlangbayan

The Line of Rafael Madlangbayan

Rafael Madlangbayan spent his entire life in Buenavista and lived to see his two children settle and raise their families in Metro Manila. Today, the children rarely visit Buenavista, only to come to mourn a death in the family or to collect rentals in cavans of palay from the tenants holding the use rights to the rice land of their late father. Although long separated from the village of their birth, the irrigated rice land that makes up their inheritance has bound the children to Buenavista and provided a supplementary source of income for their families.

Over and above the share of wealth afforded Rafael's children through rights of ownership, the bounty of the family rice land constitutes a real and immediate source of income and subsistence for numerous village households.

Servillano Magdiwang acquired tenure rights to a three-hectare parcel of Rafael Madlangbayan family land as a sharecropper splitting production expenses and the harvest 50-50 with the landowner. In the mid-1970s, Servillano was able to obtain a written leasehold contract on the parcel under the government land reform program and now pays the Madlangbayan family a fixed rental of 30 cavans of palay each year. With the introduction of early maturing dwarf varieties and modern techniques of rice farming, crop yields per hectare increased on Servillano's farm as did crop areas planted per year owing to the double cropping.

Although he once worked the parcel of rice land himself, Servillano began, in the late 1960s to hire a landless worker or *katulong* over the entire crop season to do the land and seedbed preparation as well as the fertilizing, spraying and water control. With other workers hired at daily wages to transplant, harvest and thresh the crop, Servillano became more of a farm manager contracting the actual cultivation to landless agricultural workers.

Servillano and his wife have 8 children, 5 of whom have gone on to become payroll wage earners. The family's increased share of the harvest from double cropping and lower rent from leaseholding has enabled the Magdiwang children to pursue educational opportunities while the availability of landless labor has freed them from the necessity of working the family farms as unpaid workers.

Another villager, Anastacia Esconde, inherited at the death of her husband, the tenure rights to a smaller 1.5 hectare parcel of Rafael Madlangbayan family rice land. Anastacia's married son, Venancio, works the land as a subtenant and turns over to her half of the lessee's share of the net harvest.

In the event that Venancio works off the farm, he hires landless workers at daily wages to plow or harrow in his stead. To transplant seedlings, Venancio also hires rice planters at daily wages through a *cabisilla* or contractor for rice planting. To harvest the crop, Venancio hires any available group of workers at share-harvesting. To thresh the palay, Venancio hires the portable thresher and threshing crew of a farm-work contractor at share-threshing. Venancio, himself, works as part of the threshing crew.

In the dry season, Venancio allows landless workers to plant vegetables on a few paddies of the leased land at 50-50 sharecropping.

The line of Epifania Madlangbayan

Epifania Madlangbayan and her husband augmented their land inheritance through the purchase of irrigated rice land and upland in Buenavista. The couple raised a large family and survived the Japanese occupation to cultivate their crops and raise their livestock. They further increased their wealth as millers and merchandisers of rice and processors of their own sugar cane. In this way, the couple lived out their lives in Buenavista overlooking their farms and businesses.

The seven children of Epifania enjoyed the benefits of a landed family. Although the outbreak of the war with Japan forced two sons to discontinue their schooling, three other, more fortunate sons, completed their education to become professionals. One travelled to Mindanao as a teacher, another settled in the town proper of General Trias as a rural health doctor, and a third raised a family in Manila as a journalist. A daughter immigrated to the United States with her husband, a Filipino U.S. navy serviceman. The four children that survive today retain landholdings in Buenavista.

The line of Dionisia Madlangbayan

Dionisia Madlangbayan sold her small .75 hectares parcel of inherited rice land to her sister, Purita. As a consequence, Dionisia's husband, a carpenter by trade, relied principally on contracted wage work within the village to support his family. The couple raised a family of five children and lived out their lives in Buenavista.

The children of Dionisia Madlangbayan, without the benefit of land inheritance, were to become tenant farmers and wage earners. Raul and Edu-

ardo, the two elders, acquires tenure rights to small parcels of irrigated rice land in the village and contracted landless workers to cultivate the farms; freeing them to drive public utility vehicles. In 1982, the brothers died within two weeks of each other and left their widows to operate passenger jeeps and manage the cultivation of the leased parcels.

While Raul and Eduardo acquired tenure rights to Buenavista rice land, their younger siblings Rodrigo, Elena and Godofredo did not. Rodrigo drove passenger buses before contracting work in Jordan as a crane operator. Rodrigo's wife resides in Buenavista and commutes to work daily as a cashier in the provincial capital five kilometers away in Trece Martires City.

Elena left Buenavista to settle in Biclatan, the nearby upland village of her husband's birth. Cultivating crops of upland rice, corn, and banana, the couple raised their family on a 4.5 hectare tenanted upland farm until the early 1980s when the farm, as part of the larger 80 hectare tract, was purchased from the landlord and converted into a residential subdivision by the Cityland Development Corporation. With the compensation payment received for the abrogation of their tenure rights the family bought a second-hand passenger jeep and later the mortgaged leasehold rights to a 1/2 hectare irrigated rice farm.

Godofredo, though father to a family in Buenavista, began to live with a Filipina, also married with children, when working abroad in the Middle East. Upon their return to the Philippines, the couple built a house in Biclatan near to that of Godofredo's sister, Elena, and continued to live together as husband and wife. Godofredo's first wife still lives in Buenavista with her five children. To support her family, she went to work at the Durafil garter factory that opened nearby in the village of Manggahan on a parcel of upland converted into an industrial estate by the State Land Investment Corporation.

The Line of Gelacio Madlangbayan

Gelacio Madlangbayan died young and the .75 hectare irrigated parcel of his inheritance became the legacy of his only child, Ignacio. Ignacio supported his own family from rice farming until rustlers stole two of his carabaos in the mid-1960s. Ignacio then worked as a security guard in Manila for eight years, returning home each week to his family in Buenavista. More recently, Ignacio has suffered from high blood pressure and strokes and today walks and talks with some difficulty. The parcel of family land is presently planted to grass for animal consumption and Ignacio's unmarried son overlooks the work of the cutters.

Ignacio's two oldest sons live in Manila with their own families and drive passenger jeepneys. Ignacio's eldest daughter completed two years of college in Manila before she took an opportunity to work abroad in Hongkong as a housemaid. She writes her mother that she is in no hurry to return home only to marry someone from the village. Photographs show her in the company of large groups of Filipina housemaids, some said to be college graduates with teaching experience.

The Line of Gregorio Madlangbayan

Gregorio Madlangbayan continued to live on in the Madlangbayan family house after his marriage in 1933. From the time of his marriage, Gregorio cultivated a 1.5 hectare parcel of irrigated rice land; partly his inheritance and partly that of his late brother, Gelacio. From the late 1930s, Gregorio also worked under sharecropping a three-hectare parcel of irrigated rice land owned by a cousin from the town proper of General Trias. On this parcel, Gregorio split half of the farm expenses and half of the net harvest with the owner.

The relative importance of land over capital in traditional cultivation was clearly seen in the distribution of earnings on Gregorio Madlangbayan's 4.5 hectare traditional rice farm. Out of a yearly gross harvest of 209 cavans, Gregorio paid out 81.5 cavans or 39 percent for land rent, 38.5 cavans or 18.4 percent for hired labor, 7.5 cavans or 3.6 percent for capital inputs and retained 81.5 cavans or 39 percent as his own share.

At Gregorio's death in 1958, his eldest son, Dionisio, took on the responsibility of farming the family rice lands. Some years later, Dionisio acquired a 1.25 hectare parcel of the tenanted portion as his inheritance. Through the 1960s, Dionisio, like his father, Gregorio, worked the land as a share tenant. In the mid-1970s, Dionisio came to an arrangement with his landlord whereby he would pay one yearly fixed rental of 25 cavans on the 1.25 hectare parcel.

The fact that Dionisio must support his family on only a fragmented portion of his father's original farmland has induced him to rely on modern seed varieties that produce higher yields but require substantial chemical inputs and more intensive cultivation. Perpetually dependent on expertise controlled by outsiders, the new seed-water-fertilizer technology also served to further the interest of commercial dealers and corporate agribusiness. Dionisio's use of a portable mechanical thresher (other village farmers use power tillers) also points to an increased dependence on imported petroleum and foreign built or franchised machines.

In comparison to traditional cultivation modern cultivation on Dionisio Madlangbayan's 1.25 hec-

tare rice farm indicates an increased important of capital over land as a factor of production. Out of a combined yearly two season gross harvest of 170 cavans, Dionisio paid out 25 cavans or 14.7 percent for land rent, 30.5 cavans or 17.9 percent for hired labor, 42.6 cavans or 25.1 percent for capital inputs and retained 71.9 cavans or 42.3 percent as his own share.

Aside from the parcel received by Dionisio as his inheritance, a further fragmentation of family tenanted land allocated parcels to a younger brother and sister. Two other sisters of Dionisio also acquired tenanted parcels through their spouses. Given the limited land resource of the village the spouse of still another sister, unable to acquire land tenure rights of his own, supported his family as a landless agricultural worker.

The children of Gregorio Madlangbayan have, for the most part, become tenant farmers in an era with less land to till but with profound changes taking place within wetland rice technology and land tenure relationship. High-yielding rice varieties are planted on all family farms and land rentals are made either as lease payments or amortization deposits. For the moment, these innovations have allowed several of Gregorio's children to support families primarily as small rice farmers.

The line of Purita Madlangbayan

Purita Madlangbayan and her husband supported their family by cultivating a 1.5 hectare parcel of irrigated rice land that Purita acquired partly through inheritance from her father and partly through purchase from her older sister, Dionisia. This small parcel of irrigated rice land was to become Purita's legacy to her family when she died, still young in her early thirties, after the birth of her fifth child.

Today, the 1.5 hectare rice land has become the family-owned common land of Purita's four living children. Dominga, the eldest, lives in Buenavista with her family. Pointing to the multiplicity and heterogeneity of village income sources, members of Dominga's household earn as owner of family rice land, amortizing owner of rice land under the government land reform program, share tenant, self-employed passenger jeep operator, and salaried employed factory clerk. One unemployed household member, but for lack of cash, would process papers for overseas work.

Dominga's three brothers — Israel, Bernardo and Lamberto — have migrated either permanently or temporarily out of Buenavista. Israel emigrated to the United States as a navy serviceman and now lives with his family in San Diego, California. Bernardo, presently works abroad in Saudi Arabia

although in Buenavista he has hired a driver to ply his passenger jeep and a subtenant to cultivate his tenanted rice farm. Bernardo's families by both a first and second wife lives in Buenavista. Lamberto lives in the town proper of General Trias with his family and manages the family-owned common land in Buenavista. In the upcoming crop season, Lamberto has arranged for a son of his sister, Dominga, to work the land for a one-half share of the net harvest.

With the first rains that announce the new rice crop cycle, the son of Dominga and great grandchild of village headman Macario Madlangbayan, not unlike generations before him, prepares to work a small parcel of irrigated rice land, his family's legacy from the once extensive Malabon estate.

Change in the Social Relations of Buenavista Rice Production

Tenure relations in Buenavista in the first half of the 20th century

With the break up and sale of the Malabon estate, a class of Filipino landlords came to work the rice lands in the village of Buenavista through sharecroppers. Bound together in multistranded patron-client relationships, landlords provided subsistence and security to share tenants and in return were assured of reliable and low cost labor. Share tenancy both recognized the cultivator's right to subsistence and fostered a form of debt peonage.

In contrast to the unequal ties of reciprocity that bound tenants to landlords, more equal open-ended ties bound tenants to one another. Tenant farmers like Gregorio Madlangbayan could expect mutual assistance in farm operations like pulling seedlings and land preparation. Likewise, villagers could expect a sharing of income opportunities in transplanting, harvesting and threshing. The relative abundance of village resources permitted a rather open-ended exchange of work assistance and income opportunities. Such were the social relations of rice production that largely obtained in the village of Buenavista until about the mid-1960s.

Tenure differentiation in Buenavista

By the mid-1960s population increase on Buenavista's limited resource of land greatly prohibited newly formed and immigrant families from acquiring independent farms. Whereas

earlier immigrants were able to acquire land tenure rights in the village, the only way that later immigrants like the *katulong* or landless worker of Servillano Magdiwang were able to share in the bounty of the village rice fields was to hire out their labor to others.

As village land resources became more circumscribed and took on greater value, tenant farmers like those in the Madlangbayan family exercised more control over their tenure rights and came to regard their holdings as fixed assets. Large scale shifts from share tenancy to leasehold took place in Buenavista only after the 1972 proclamation of Presidential Decree (P.D) No. 27 when land reform technicians took an active role in the identification of eligible land reform beneficiaries. Though never fully implemented in Buenavista, P.D. 27 did provide tenants with a measure of tenure security and largely fixed the land rentals paid to landlords.

The effort to achieve greater tenure security paralleled the rapid diffusion of high-yielding seed technology in Buenavista. As seen in the case accounts, the newer varieties, not photo-period sensitive, took a shorter time to grow and thus permitted double cropping. More responsive to nitrogen fertilizer, the newer varieties also had a higher yield potential. Less resistant to weed and pests, they also required spraying with herbicides and insecticides.

While the new technology accompanied labor saving innovations like the power thresher, the power tiller and the use of herbicide, double cropping nonetheless brought about *in toto* an increased demand for labor. In part, labor demand under the new rice technology contributed to the upkeep of an increased population of landless worker households in the village. It also helped to effect a shift in labor allocation with operations once performed by family labor now contracted to hired labor and tasks once undertaken by other rice farmers now consigned to landless workers. Such was the strategy adopted by Servillano Magdiwang.

The inclusion of landless agricultural workers into the village's rice production cycle demonstrated the labor absorptive capacity of wetland cultivation (Geertz 1963) and recognized the workers' moral right to subsistence (Scott 1976). It also signified the increased return to land captured by tenants over landlords under leasehold and double cropping. While technological

innovations increased rice yields, agrarian legislation fixed the rent paid to landlords. The gain of the tenant over the landlord provided an economic basis for the emergence of subtenancy arrangements and so allowed tenants like Servillano Magdiwang an opportunity to transform themselves into intermediate landlords (see Hayami and Kikuchi 1981: 108-116).

Scholars in the tradition of radical political economy have long argued that the capitalization of agriculture leads to the polarization of peasant communities into large commercial farmers and a landless proletariat. Clearly this has not been the case in Buenavista. Alternatively, tenure differentiation has occurred along a tiered hierarchy from small landlords to lessees to share tenants to landless workers.

To appreciate the differentiation taking place within tenure relationships in Buenavista, one only has to refer to the case of the Esconde family on the Rafael Madlangbayan land. Anastacia Esconde holds the tenure rights and pays a fixed rental to the landlord. Anastacia's son cultivates the land as a subtenant and contracts a rice planting group leader to subcontract transplanters. In this instance, a five-level stratification is evident — landlord to lessee to subtenant to landless worker subcontractor to landless worker rice planter.

Hayami and Kikuchi (1981: 219) argue that if a scarcity of non-labor resources to labor persists over a long period of time, patron-client relationships and stratification are likely to emerge within a tightly structured village community. Stratification may thus be seen as the allocation of limited resources along traditional, though to be sure unequal, ties of reciprocity.

In Buenavista, tenure differentiation took place amid a realignment of patron-client power relations. To the extent that tenants contacted landless workers as tenured labor under conditions much like those of share tenancy, new and varying levels of patron-client relationships began to emerge. Traditional principles of work and income sharing persisted but under limited and usually carefully defined terms set by the patrons (see Hayami and Kikuchi 1981: 215). Under these emerging relations of inequality, tenants assumed the dominant position of patron and set client conditions similar to those of their landlords of the past. Venancio Esconde, for example, exacts as land rent a one-half share

of the net vegetable harvest produced by landless cultivators on his subtenanted land in dry seasons.

The emergence of commercial dealers

To the extent that the adoption of a high-yielding rice technology in the village encouraged a growing dependence on chemical inputs and power machinery, it promoted the rise of commercial dealers. Umehara (1983) refers to this emerging business-minded group of dealers-contractors-moneylenders and banks in modern rice farming as the commercial elite. In Buenavista, this class has yet to be well-defined. Some suppliers of farm inputs and lenders of cash like the owner of the thresher operated by Venacio Esconde are primarily middlemen residing outside the village. Others are resident holders of property rights who contract farm work with power machinery like tractor plowing and mechanical threshing. Still others, like a rice mill owner in a neighboring subvillage, provide production loans payable in palay that in lean months is sold back to villagers as milled rice at marked-up prices (Suñer and Cabacungan 1985). In all cases their business interests center on the capital requirements of modern rice farming and interlock in such a way as to ensure multiple use of services, e.g. lending farm inputs or cash payable in palay threshed by the lender's thresher.

The capitalization of wetland rice cultivation amid efforts to fix land rentals under agrarian reform legislation has thus effected change in the social relations of rice production relative to land and capital. In traditional rice farming, the tenant's relationship with the landlord structured the whole production process. Perennial indebtedness not only bound the tenant to the landlord but ensured the owner of the largest share of the harvest from land rent, loan repayment, and interest fees. In modern rice farming, high capital requirements and fixed land rentals have, by and large, undermined the supremacy of the tenant-landlord relationship to foster tenant dependence on commercial dealers who in turn have come to exact increasing shares of harvest. A comparison of the condition on the modern rice farm of Dionisio Madlangbayan with those on the traditional rice farm of his father, Gregorio, clearly illustrates this pattern.

Opportunity for Off-farm Work and Occupational Multiplicity

Off-farm work and occupational multiplicity

The rapid increase of Buenavista's household population from 372 in 1970 to 609 in 1983 gave rise to a large village labor force relative to productive resources. While the absorptive capacity of wetland rice cultivation provided subsistence to greater numbers of village households, limits to absorption increasingly turned village households as a whole to other activities (see Whiter 1976: 281). At the same time, while the commercialization of the village economy provided more village households with a means of livelihood off the farm, limits to such work kept village households as a whole dependent on agriculture.

Today, household labor is engaged in such a proliferation of earning activities that a clear differentiation between farm and non-farm households is no longer possible. As the case accounts narrate, it is not uncommon for members particularly of rice farmer households in Buenavista to set up small business enterprises, to become salaried wage earners, or even to earn abroad as contract workers. On the one hand, these developments suggest an abundance of off-farm employment opportunities open to those with the resources to take advantage of them. On the other, they belie a lack of productive opportunities in rice cultivation that, by consequence, direct household labor to other earning activities.

Labor migration

Labor migration into Buenavista is often brought about by marriage ties or visits to relatives and usually results in a sharing of family resources and work opportunities. Temporary labor migration out of Buenavista involves workers who leave the village for a time to take up jobs elsewhere, e.g. in Manila like Ignacio Madlangbayan or abroad like the sons of Dionisia Madlangbayan. In Buenavista 94 or 15 percent of all village households in 1983 earned at least part of their total income from members working temporarily overseas. Given the constraints of the economy at home, overseas migration allowed a large number of Buenavista villagers to take advantage of a structure of eco-

conomic opportunities distributed unequally in space (see Portes and Walton 1981: 64-65).

The benefit of migrant labor to importing countries is based on its competitive cost. While the domestic labor force is maintained and reproduced locally, the migrant labor force is maintained by the country of employment but renewed by the country of origin. For the country of employment, the costs of migrant labor force renewal are thus externalized to another economy (Sassen-Koob 1978: 515). This subsidy to the country of employment includes not only the costs of the worker's prior subsistence but also the continued subsistence of his dependents at home and ultimately his own old age.

In the world economy, labor power that is produced and reproduced outside of the capitalist sector entails no direct expense to capital and avoids high-cost formal systems of old-age, illness and employment compensation. Workers recruited from the subsistence sector at a salary may be returned there when they are no longer needed. However, the use of non-capitalist sectors as sources of wage labor involves a constant tension between the need to monetize them and partially imbalance their internal structure to promote migration and the need to preserve their capacity for food production to enable them to absorb unneeded workers (Portes and Walton 1981: 33).

In some cases temporary out-migration leads to permanent out-migration. The proximity of the U.S. Naval Base at Sangley Point in Cavite City allowed a daughter of Epifania Madlangbayan and a son of Purita Madlangbayan to take up permanent residence in the United States as U.S. navy dependent and servicemen. Likewise, single household members temporarily working out of the village like the sons of Gelacio Madlangbayan in Manila have married and taken up permanent residence in the place of their work.

The Preservation of Informal Work in Buenavista

The articulation of capitalist and non-capitalist modes of production

The persistence of peasant subclasses in the village leads to a consideration of capitalist expansion not only as a factor in the transformation of the peasantry but also as a factor in its

simultaneous reproduction. As such, the preservation of the traditional subsistence sector under capitalist expansion points to the articulation of different modes of production within a single world economy.

In Buenavista, a close articulation of non-capitalist (informal) sector activities with the capitalist (formal) sector economy is evident. The very wetland rice production of the village is dependent on seeds, water, fertilizer and insecticides supplied by the formal sector. To produce palay, a farmer like Dionisio Madlangbayan must sell a portion of his crop to purchase inputs or, like Venancio Esconde, earn cash from other work. In like manner, backyard piggery and poultry raisers sell part of their produce to purchase commercial feeds from formal sector suppliers.

Other informal endeavors within the village not associated with traditional subsistence activities also reveal close links with the formal sector. Operators of jeeps and tricycles like the widows of Raul and Eduardo Madlangbayan rely upon equipment and gasoline manufactured in the formal sector as do operators of power tillers and threshers. Builders of local dwellings also depend upon wood, nails, galvanized iron and cement produced for formal establishments.

Barbers buy shears, tailors sewing machines, and eatery operators kitchen utensils all from formal sector manufacturers. Repair shops use factory-made machines, tools and materials. *Sari-sari* or general store operators also rely upon goods produced in the formal sector for the bulk of their merchandise. To the extent that the informal sector depends upon materials produced in the formal sector, it opens up a market whereby capital flows from the informal sector into the formal sector economy (Wellings and Satellite 1984: 539).

The informal sector and the reproduction of the formal sector labor force

The informal sector also benefits capital in that it provides goods and services at prices lower than those that could be offered under formal production arrangements and thus maximizes surplus extraction by reducing labor reproduction costs for firms in the formal sector (Portes and Walton 1981: 86). In Buenavista, village households produce rice, vegetables,

poultry and pigs for home consumption and normally purchase food from small-scale buy and sell traders. Ordinarily, households also build their own homes with unpaid family labor or with the contractual labor of friends and neighbors. By these means, households bypass costs in the formal marketing system and help to subsidize the consumption of family members earning wages in the formal sector. Wages of household members linked to peasant subsistence can thus be kept low because their individual reproduction is not completely dependent on the capitalist sector.

In Buenavista, villagers also avail themselves of services at costs far below those that would prevail in a fully monetized market economy. For example, villagers working as clerks, technicians and salaried professionals are able to employ others at low wages to perform domestic transportation that employ informal labor to drive and repair vehicles. In both instances, formal sector workers benefit from low cost informal labor and increase the consumption yield of their own wages.

Thus, because of the subsidy to consumption it provides the formal sector, the informal sector has significance "not only as an aggregate of *individual* means for survival, but also as a *structural* feature of the process of peripheral accumulation" (Portes and Walton 1981: 84).

The informal sector and the constraints on the expansion of the formal sector labor force

The reduction of formal sector wages through informal sector subsidies is not the only means of maintaining a cheap labor economy in the world's periphery. Another alternative is to decrease the relative size of the formal labor force by making use of unorganized informal workers.

In Buenavista carpenters often work for formal firms through local informal contractors. The contractor supplies his own men recruited from the village, supervises their work, and pays them at agreed upon wages. Since workers are not hired or paid directly by the firm, they receive lower formal wages and may be dismissed on short notice without unemployment compensation.

In Buenavista, villagers also buy empty bottles for resale to the local bottle dealer. Although seemingly self-employed they may be

seen to work indirectly at low wages for the formal firms that recycle the bottles. In like manner, dealers and agents in Buenavista who sell plastic ware and beauty products on commission bases, although ostensibly self-employed, may be considered to work indirectly for the formal firms they represent.

By hiring workers through informal contractors and by channeling goods through a network of apparently self-employed traders formal firms limit the expansion of the organized work force and reduce costs, thereby increasing their profitability (see Portes and Walton 1981: 103).

The informal sector and the constraints imposed by the formal sector

Although the formal capitalist sector does not necessarily determine the way in which informal sector activities are conducted, it is dominant in the sense that the informal sector functions only in those spaces created by it (Le Brun and Gerry 1975; Wellings and Sutcliffe 1984). Through a process of conservation-dissolution, the internal tendency of the capitalist mode of production to expand operates in an uneven manner in such a way that activities within the informal sector are both dissolved and conserved in ways that generally serve the interests of the formal sector (see McGee 1979). The reproduction of village workers by both capitalist wages and petty commodity and peasant production graphically attests to the contradictions between the tendency to restructure and dissolve non-capitalist systems on the one hand, and the countervailing forces which tend to conserve these sectors on the other.

The process of conservation-dissolution is also evident in land use patterns in and around Buenavista. Despite the fact that Buenavista rice lands are within an 80 kilometer radius of Manila, wetland rice farmers have to date, virtual unassailable security of tenure as cultivators of prime agricultural lands. Not so tenant tillers of nearby, less-productive uplands. In recent years more and more pressure has been exerted on upland farmers in the Buenavista area, like the family of Dionisio Madlangbayan's daughter Elena, to relinquish tenure rights to make way for industrial estates, corporate agribusiness and residential subdivisions. It may not be too long in the future, agrarian reform legislation notwithstanding

ing, that such pressure is also felt by Buenavista's wetland rice farmers.

While the process of conversation-dissolution generally operates in the interests of the dominant capitalist economy, it is mediated by human agency. As such both capitalists and small scale producers act in diverse ways to promote, and protect, their own interests. The conservation of non-capitalist production systems can therefore be explained as a phenomenon that benefits capitalists. It can also be seen as an outcome of the constant struggle by peasants and simple commodity producers to retain control over their means of production and their life situations. In Buenavista, villagers have retained some access to land and other means of production through rights of ownership, tenure or labor and have continued to interact through patron-client and kin relationships. As a result, the conservation of peasant and petty commodity production not only offers some protection against the exigencies of the formal capitalist sector, it provides the material basis for personal, cooperative and flexible social relations. Reproduction of this type, of individuals tied

together in mutually supporting and cooperating units, may not always serve the best interests of capitalists (see Rothstein 1988).

Conclusion

This article has sought to examine structural social change taking place within the rice cultivating village of Buenavista and its relationship to the rise of Manila as an urban center. Starting with the life histories of the Madlangbayan family, over four generations, and a reading of the wider social history of the region, the study proceeded to analyze processes of change within village land tenure and social relations.

Clearly, the analysis indicates that capital accumulation and production systems linked to the incorporation of Manila in the world economy have had far-reaching effects on land tenure and class relations in Buenavista. But it also suggests that these processes have been mediated by the actions of people in history, like those of the Madlangbayan family, and have emerged through the dynamic interplay of social structure and human agency.

Notes

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An earlier version of this paper was presented at the International Symposium of Third World Urbanization organized by the Swedish Council for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences (HSFR), June 7-9 1989. Please note that while the family case histories in the paper are actual accounts, the names of families and their members have been changed.

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