

ROLE EXPECTATIONS OF SUGARCANE PLANTERS AND WORKERS IN NEGROS OCCIDENTAL

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ABSTRACT. Using a framework derived from findings and beliefs about role analysis, small-group dynamics, and formal education, the author interprets the replies of sugarcane planters and workers to questions about themselves and one another. The study, based on fieldwork done in Negros Occidental in July 1969 and February–March 1970, answers and discusses the question: What does the average worker expect, above all, from the planter for whom he works – a fair wage, or pleasant treatment?

There has been a lot of talk and a lot of writing about what's right and wrong with the sugar industry.¹ But as of 1969, at least, and among those most closely involved with the farming aspects of the industry in Negros Occidental – planters, workers, and labor leaders – there was no consensus as to why there was a vaguely sensed undercurrent of resentment and disaffection on many of the middle-sized and large sugarcane farms of the province. On the contrary, there were two clearly opposed views on the question.

Articulate Negrense planters said that most of the problems on the farm were caused by a lack of communication between planters and workers, and by the unfulfilled paternalistic expectations of these workers. Officials of a local planters' association, for example, frequently said that workers expected the planter to take care of their every need – from house repairs to children's schooling – as he had always done. This is one reason, they said, why younger planters who had inherited their fathers' farms, and wanted to modify some of the personnel practices, found it difficult to make those changes, for the worker insisted on behaving as he had always behaved in the past – dependent on the planter.

Labor officials, on the other hand, maintained that the workers no longer expected the planter to play the role of a benevolent father attentive to their needs. Instead, they wanted him to pay just wages and to provide adequate fringe benefits such as housing, light, water, and educational facilities. This view was reflected as well in image studies made some years before of two milling districts in Negros Occidental, namely, La Carlota (Robot Statistics and Consultants for Public Relations 1962) and Victorias (Cui, n.d.). Some union leaders went so far as to claim that many workers now felt that they were being cheated and had grown restless. According to these labor leaders the workers knew that the planter's kind words and friendly hugs during his visits to their work place, like his invitations to his wife's many feasts, were only palliatives for their suffering, and that the suffering could be truly alleviated only by justice, especially in terms of better wages. In this exchange of opinions and charges between planters and labor leaders, printed and aired by attentive mass-media people, the sugarcane worker typically said nothing, remained silent.

It is the purpose of this paper to shed some light on the question by letting the worker have

his say. By consulting him in the matter, we may find out whose opinion is closer to the truth — the planter's, by which workers are more interested in kindness than justice, or the labor union's, by which workers seek justice above all.

Farm Personnel

Six occupational roles are usually found in the larger haciendas of Negros Occidental: the *hacendero*, or planter²; the *administrador*, or administrator; the *encargado*, or overseer; *cabo* or foreman-timekeeper; *dumaan*, or permanent worker, and *pangayaw*, or temporary worker. Some haciendas employ seasonal labor, especially for harvesting, and this will involve a *contratista*, or labor contractor, and a number of *sacada*, or migrant workers.

the *encargado*, who in turn enforces the planter's wishes and manner of farm management through the *cabo*. The *cabo* stays in the field and supervises the workers — the *dumaan*; who also live on the farm, and the *pangayaw*, who do not. Although most farms have a combination of *dumaan* and *pangayaw*, some employ only *dumaan*, and still others only *pangayaw*. *Cabos* and *encargados* usually receive monthly salaries, while all other workers, whether permanent, temporary, or migrant, are paid on a *pakyaw*, or piecework, basis.

During the harvest season, six of the 13 milling districts of Negros Occidental employ additional labor. These seasonal laborers are *sacadas* from Antique, Aklan, Iloilo, and the island of Bantayan, Cebu, contracted by the planter through the *contratista*. The planter-*contratista* agreement includes the length of time within which the planter wants the harvest completed.

Table 1

Percentage of IPC/NFSP Phase II survey farms on which is found at least one representative of selected occupational categories, classified by role category, crossclassified by size of farm (February–March 1970)^a

Role category	Farms on which at least one is found				Total (N=193)
	VS (N=54)	S (N=92)	M (N=35)	L (N=12)	
Planter	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Administrator	13	15	31	83	22
Encargado	11	48	80	67	45
Cabo	15	72	83	100	60
Dumaan	35	79	97	100	72
Temporary worker	80	75	77	33	74
Sacada	2	3	17	33	7

^aFarm size is classified as follows: under 5 hectares, very small (VS); 5.1–39.9 hectares, small (S); 40.0–99.9 hectares, medium (M); and 100 hectares and over, large (L).

The planter may be either the owner or the lessee of the farm he operates. When his holdings include tracts of land in different places, or when he resides outside the province, he usually delegates overall supervision to the administrator, often a close relative. Otherwise, unless his farm is small, the planter deals with

The planter pays the *contratista* who must in turn recruit *sacadas*. On the farm the *sacadas* are generally housed in *cuarteles*, which are barracks, or bunkhouses.

This study concerns only the planter, *cabo*, and *dumaan*. While private and government agencies often focus their attention on the

sacadas – the migratory sugarcane cutters said to symbolize the oppression of workers in Negros haciendas – the *dumaan* are five times more numerous than the *sacadas* and represent, with the *cabos* and planters, the permanent workforce that must live year round for, with, and from the sugar industry.³

Theoretical Foundations

The six hypotheses considered in this paper are drawn from theories of status and role and small-group dynamics, as well as from popular folk theory regarding the benefits of formal education. The first two theories are discussed in social science literature, while the third is implicit in what many Filipinos say and do.

Status and role. Studies in human behavior say that individuals or groups in any social structure occupy one or more particular positions or statuses. Attached to every position is a role, or a set of rights, duties, and expectations that the incumbent of that position is expected to perform. Role expectations among incumbents can be gathered by observing the rights and duties they expect from one another in the course of their interaction, or by listing the expectations they explicitly mention when they are asked to do so (Linton 1936; Gross *et al.* 1958). Expectation is here defined as what planters and workers say they themselves, or others, should be or should do.

Small-group dynamics. Homans' (1950:119–24) analysis of group interaction among members of the Bank Wiring Room, one of the groups studied by the Western Electric researches of 1927–32 in Chicago, speaks of two patterns of interaction among members of a group – the mode of elaboration and the mode of standardization. The mode of elaboration refers to the dynamics of the building up or dying out of interaction between persons, with corresponding changes in the sentiments between them and the activities they perform. The mode of standardization concerns the development of agreement between the sentiments and activities of two or more persons after a period of intense interaction. The elaboration hypothesis can be stated thus: The

higher the frequency of interaction between two or more persons, the higher the degree of liking between them and vice versa. And the standardization hypothesis: The higher the degree of interaction between two or more persons, the higher the tendency for their sentiments to agree. Homans (1950:131–33) further reports that interaction among members of one clique or subgroup is more frequent than interaction between the members of one subgroup and those of other subgroups. The analysis of planter-worker interaction in this paper is guided by Homans' hypotheses and findings.

Folk theory on formal education. The role of education in national development is often stressed, not only by educators, but also by officials of the government and men in industry. The largest share of the national budget, for example, has always gone to the Department of Education. Many of the larger business and industrial establishments make the completion of a certain level of formal schooling, very often college, a requirement for prospective employees. It is popularly believed that through education people can orient themselves toward modernization and industrialization, that is, adopt universalistic standards of thought and action, standards based on abstract and scientific knowledge. It is also believed that higher education will tend to weaken the average Filipino's close ties with his kinsmen – blood, affinal, and ritual – which connections are seen as the root of graft, corruption, and inefficiency both in government and in private organizations. There is, then, in popular belief an opposition between the forces of tradition, bolstered by kinship ties and personalistic values, and modernization, espoused by the educational system and its universalistic norms.

In this paper I hope to see if indeed higher education is associated less closely with traditional expectations than with more universalistic ones; more accurately stated, whether or not higher educational attainment is associated with an overriding concern for justice, competence, and industry, and with a weak kinship orientation.

Stated as hypotheses, the interests of this study can be specified as follows:

1. People belonging to the same hacienda grouping interact more often among themselves than with members of other groupings.
2. People belonging to different hacienda groupings interact with one another in inverse proportion to the size of farm on which they live; that is, the smaller the farm, the greater the interaction.
3. The more often members of one grouping interact with those of another, the more they will like one another.
4. The more often members of one grouping interact with those of another, the more their role expectations will be similar.
5. The tendency to have universalistic expectations will vary directly with educational attainment.
6. The tendency to have non-kinsman as social allies will vary directly with educational attainment.

How the Study was Designed and Done

The terms and assumptions for the sampling used in this study resulted from discussions with planters, officials of local planters' association, local officials, and other knowledgeable persons in Negros Occidental (see Lynch 1970a:4-6). It was decided that the sample would include farms of different sizes (small, medium, and large) and productivity (high and low). The criteria for farm size were commonly agreed upon in all the milling districts included in the survey: small farms, fewer than 40 hectares; medium from 40 to 99.9 hectares; and large, 100 hectares and above. Further, the small-farm samples included both owner-operated and lessee-operated haciendas. The conceptual criterion for high or low productivity was also generally agreed on: low productivity was production below the milling district's average piculs of sugar per hectare. Thus in a given milling district, a farm was considered highly productive if its average production of sugar per hectare in Crop Year 1967-68 (the

latest available figures) was at least as high as the average for the milling district.

The above categories in summary form, are as follows:

Category	Farm size	Productivity
1	Large	High
2	Large	Low
3	Medium	High
4	Medium	Low
5	Small (owner-operated)	High
6	Small (owner-operated)	Low
7	Small (lessee-operated)	High
8	Small (lessee-operated)	Low

Using the membership lists of the local planters' association, found in their annual reports for Crop Year 1967-68, farms answering the above descriptions - one for each category - were randomly selected for each of the milling districts included in the survey.

The on-farm survey was conducted in two weeks. The interviewing was done by eight team leaders and 32 junior interviewers (four to a team leader). Interviews of planters were conducted either in English or in a combination of English, Ilongo or Cebuano, and Spanish. Most worker respondents were interviewed in Ilongo or Cebuano (San Carlos district). While the original sampling design should have led to a total of 320 respondents, a variety of circumstances resulted in our actually interviewing only 284.⁴

These respondents can be described in modal terms. The 63 planters are mostly male adults (only nine are female); aged 45-54 years, and married (only five are not - three bachelors and two widows). All 50 cabos are male adults, 34-44 years of age, and married (with the exception of one who is single and one who is widowed). The 171 dumaan, aged 25-34 years, are adult males, more than three-fourths of whom are married (40 are single).

Limitations of the Study

The findings of this study are limited by the sampling design and the technique we used in

gathering data. Since we divided the farms in the population into eight categories and then randomly selected only one for every category, the sample is admittedly not proportionate to the population, nor is it large enough for purposes of generalization. The farms included in this study are only 1.4 per cent of the total number of farms in Negros Occidental (see Lynch 1970a:8-9).

However, like Kahl (1958) and Lynch and Makil (1968), our major interest was in comparing "various subgroups within our population" and seeing what differences in certain characteristics and values existed among them.

The survey technique – the method used in collecting the data – might be questioned because it is doubted that respondents give honest and truthful answers to an interviewer they have not met before. It might also be doubted that information gathered in a relatively short (one to two hours') interview can qualify as facts, real attitudes, or honest opinions. We realize the part played by human nature in such situations. That is why we took the following precaution: the interview questions were so framed that they generally concerned only ordinary activities of planters and workers, activities that we thought would not be considered confidential. Again, the questions on their opinions of one another, were phrased so that the respondents spoke of a category of people – not of the individual person with whom they interacted. Moreover, the very frankness of the answers we received makes us believe that, on the average, even the shyest respondents were answering truthfully.

Findings

The first three hypotheses are all concerned with personal interaction. Hypothesis 1 claims that planters, cabos, and dumaan all deal more with their own kind than with others. Hypothesis 2 claims that dealings between our respondent groupings will be more common on small farms than on larger ones. And, Hypothesis 3 states that familiarity among our respondent groupings will breed esteem.

In testing Hypothesis 1, data on the inter-

action of members of each group (a) among themselves (intragroup interaction) and (b) with members of the other groups (intergroup interaction) are called for. Unfortunately while we have both intragroup and intergroup data for the dumaan, we have only intergroup findings for cabos and planters.

Hypothesis 1. Dumaan, we discover, cannot simply be said to interact more among themselves than with either of the other groupings. For while they converse more among themselves than with the planter, they speak as often with cabos as they do with their fellow dumaan. Similarly, while the number of dumaan who have visited the homes of other dumaan is much greater than the number who have been inside the planter's home, the number of those visiting dumaan is not significantly greater than those who visit cabos. However, dumaan are much more inclined to feel they live near one another than they are to feel they live near cabos or planters. In other words, Hypothesis 1 is supported to some extent. Dumaan by all three criteria interact more among themselves than with planters. But they do not show a similar tendency in dealing with cabos. Here the only significant difference is perceived nearness of residence.

Our intergroup data throw further light on Hypothesis 1. We find that cabos, significantly more than planters, tend to speak at least once a week with dumaan and to feel they live near them. Dumaan, significantly more than planters, also tend to converse at least weekly with cabos, and feel they live near them. By our two measures of interaction, therefore, cabos and dumaan tend to associate more with one another than with planters.

But if we consider who tend to interact more with the planters, we find that cabos, significantly more than dumaan, converse at least weekly with the planter, have been inside his home, and feel they live close to him.⁵

In summary, the cabo occupies a middle position between the planter and the dumaan. Although he tends more than the dumaan to relate with the planter, he is apparently accepted by the dumaan as one of their own. For the

dumaan converse with him at least weekly and feel they live near him in the same numbers that they talk with and feel close to their fellow dumaan. This relationship of closeness between cabo and dumaan contrasts with the gap between the average planter and dumaan.

Various explanations have been given to account for this pattern of relationships among the three groups in the hacienda. That cabos interact with planters and dumaan alike may be explained by the fact that, as middlemen, cabos must necessarily deal with both groups. Planters and dumaan, on the other hand, because their occupational roles do not require frequent interaction, remain socially distant from one another.

Moreover, the dumaan know and sense their subordinate status in the farm setting. This is reinforced by their feelings of *huya* (equivalent to the Tagalog *hiya*; roughly glossed as 'shame') and of *utang nga buot* (equivalent to the Tagalog *utang na loob*, or debt of gratitude), because in emergency situations — as when sickness or death comes to their families — the planters regularly grant them what both groups consider personal favors. Their general fear and awe for figures of authority probably also inhibits the dumaan from frequent association with planters.

Many planters, for their part, maintain distance from their workers. His individual personality will influence the frequency with which a planter associated with his workers, of course. Some planters, for example, insist on doing the paymaster's chore, paying the workers' wages in the workers' own houses, while others delegate this task to their encargados, or cabos. Some nonresident planters visit their farms as often as twice a week, others only once a month or even less, and still others almost never.

Hypothesis 2. Our data show that, with one exception, there is no significant association between farm size and level of interaction reported by dumaan, cabos, and planters. Farm size seems to influence (to be associated with) only the tendency of dumaan to have been inside the planter's home: dumaan living on

small farms, compared with those on other farms, show a significantly greater tendency to have visited the home of their planter.⁶

One explanation for this finding is physical proximity and convenience. On a small farm, workers can easily walk to the planter's house. Moreover, they will be fewer in number than they are on a large farm, which in itself increases the possibility of particular workers (the ones in our sample) being invited in. Finally, since many small farms have no cabos, it is perhaps to be expected that one or more dumaan will be as close to the planter as the cabo usually is, playing the latter's role in fact if not in name.

Hypothesis 3. In testing Hypothesis 3 we employed a measure of esteem that had previously been used by the Institute of Philippine Culture in thousands of interviews of Filipinos, rural and urban, beginning with the Philippines Peace Corps survey in 1964-65 (Lynch *et al.* 1966; Roy *et al.* 1967). The instrument is an 11-point self-anchoring scale introduced after the respondent has defined his version of the best possible hacendero, for instance. This ideal is identified as rung 10 on a ladder, the bottom rung of which is 0, the worst possible hacendero. The respondent is then asked to state the ladder rung on which the *average* hacendero, or planter, for example, or *most* planters, should be placed. These expectations will be discussed later. For the moment, we are concerned merely with the ladder scores respondents give to dumaan, cabos, and planters.

When we test the significance of association between interaction-frequency and esteem (as measured by ladder ratings), we find only chance relationships.⁷ In other words, in the farm setting at least, those dumaan who deal with cabos more frequently than other dumaan rate them about the same as the others do. This pattern is repeated with all the other combinations: cabo-dumaan, dumaan-planter, planter-dumaan, cabo-planter, and planter-cabo.

If the association we predicted was not verified, we did discover something else of considerable importance. Earlier use of the

11-point scale had led to the observation that the higher the respondent's educational attainment, the greater his tendency to give low ratings (Roy *et al.* 1967:101). This can be stated the other way around: poorly educated respondents tend to give relatively high scores to whomever they rate.

The median educational attainment of planters is fourth year college; of cabos, grade five; of dumaan, grade three. Hence, we should expect that the ratings given by dumaan would, on the average, be higher than those given by cabos, and that the average cabo's rating would be higher than those given by the average planter.

This expectation is tested in two ways. First, we look at all the ratings given by a particular rater and record his highest and his lowest. When the highest scores given are compared from rating group to rating group, we find that the highest given by planters are significantly lower than those of dumaan and cabos. When the lowest scores given are compared, the resulting difference between planters, on the one hand, and cabos and dumaan on the other is even more pronounced. Hence our expectation is fulfilled to the extent that the most highly educated group gives lower scores than the two less well educated groups. This is further supported by the median ratings given by the three groups to themselves and one another. Indeed, the planters give lower scores than both cabos and dumaan.

Table 2

Median ratings on an 11-point scale of esteem given by planters, cabos, and dumaan to the average dumaan, cabo, and planter (July 1969)

Rater	Rated group		
	Dumaan	Cabo	Planter
Planter	6.4	6.9	6.3
Cabo	9.1	8.8	9.0
Dumaan	9.2	9.2	9.1

However, when the average (mean) scores given by planters, cabos, and dumaan are

compared, we find that in rating dumaan and cabos the three rating groups are in the predicted order: dumaan give the highest average scores and planters the lowest, with cabos in the middle. When planters are rated, however, the results are most interesting: planters, as expected, give the lowest average rating; but dumaan – contrary to expectations – rate the planters lower than the cabos do. This shows that a considerable number of dumaan give the planters very low ratings, ratings low enough and numerous enough to pull the dumaan average down below that of the cabos. Whether it is dislike, resentment, anger, or something else, the lower ratings given by this significant number of dumaan in rating the planters strongly suggest that all is not well with the sugar industry of Negros Occidental in general and with planter-worker relations in particular.

Role Expectations of Planters and Workers

Role expectations were derived from responses to the questions in the context of the ladder-ratings described above. Two approaches were used to determine how the three hacienda groupings – planters, cabos, and dumaan – defined their role ideals. The first was through the ranking of selected qualities. That is, we selected those qualities of the ideal planter, cabo, and dumaan that were most frequently given by the three groups and compared the frequencies with which each group mentioned them. Then we tested to see if planters, cabos, and dumaan agreed on the rankings of these selected qualities among themselves and if there was agreement between any two of the three groupings.⁶ By using this procedure we were able to see which quality or qualities were considered important by the three groupings.

Second, we categorized the expectations mentioned by our respondents as universalistic or particularistic. Then we tested whether the three respondent groups significantly differed in the categories of expectations they expressed.

Ideal planter. Planters are in significant agreement with one another that the ideal planter is primarily pleasant and courteous to

his workers. Furthermore, he must be just, especially in paying wages, give fringe benefits, and be competent in farming and farm management — in that order of importance. There are other ideal qualities planters demand of themselves, such as having frequent contact with their workers, sharing their material possessions with them, and providing work opportunities for all the people on the farm. These, however, are of less importance.

Cabos rank the qualities of the ideal planter in much the same way as planters do. The *dumaan* in turn tend to agree substantially with the cabos on these rankings. However, when we compare the responses of *dumaan* with those of planters, we find a significant divergence. For instance, *dumaan* rank the sharing of material goods second, a quality which planters relegate to seventh place. On the other hand, planters give justice, especially in paying wages, second rank, while *dumaan* place it fifth.

Ideal cabo. Planters demand competence from the ideal cabo; that is, they look for a good supervisor and middleman with the required knowledge of proper cane-growing practices. A pleasant disposition and courtesy in

dealing with his men is ranked second. Next comes a set of qualities which are functional in nature, i.e., bearing directly on the cabo's job: honesty, or justice, loyalty to his job, industry, diligence, and being a good subordinate. Planters agree among themselves on the ranking of these qualities.

Cabos, on the other hand, believe that courtesy in dealing with workers is of prime importance for their job. After this they value competence, justice, industry, and being a good subordinate. On the whole, the responses of cabos tend to approach significant agreement with those of planters.

Dumaan are in significant agreement with one another on the qualities of the ideal cabo, but they disagree with planters and cabos. While cabos and planters rank courteous behavior, competence, and justice, or honesty among the first three qualities they expect of the ideal cabo, *dumaan* give honesty a much lower rank (one among the three qualities that tie for sixth rank). Instead of justice, *dumaan* emphasize a cabo's ability to provide regular work and the willingness to help others, especially by sharing material goods with the men who work for him.

Table 3

Rankings given to selected qualities of an ideal planter, classified by quality, crossclassified by role category of ranker (July 1969)

Average rank order	Quality	Role category of ranker		
		Planter	Cabo	Dumaan
1	Smooth interpersonal relations, or courtesy	1	2	1
2	General care and solicitude	3	1	3
3	Justice, especially in paying wages	2	3	5
4	Provision of fringe benefits	4	4	4
5	Sharing of material goods	7	5	2
6	Competence	5	6	6
7	Provision of work opportunities	8	7	7
8	Frequent contact with laborers	6	8	8
Number of planters/workers ranking		59	50	170

Table 4

Rankings given to selected qualities of an ideal cabo, classified by quality, crossclassified by role category of ranker (July 1969)

Average rank order	Quality	Role category of ranker		
		Planter	Cabo	Dumaan
1	Smooth interpersonal relations, or courtesy	2	1	1
2	Competence	1	2	2
3	Justice, or honesty	3	3	6.5
4	Provision of work opportunities	7	7	3
5	Being a good subordinate	6	4	8
6	Loyalty to job	5	6	6.5
7	Industry	5	6	6.5
8	Sharing of material goods	8	5	4
Number of planters/workers ranking		61	50	166

Ideal dumaan. If we consider as one the responses of planters, cabos, and dumaan regarding the qualities of the ideal dumaan, we find overall agreement among their views. But if we examine the rankings given by any two of these respondent groups we find that their responses show considerable divergence.

First of all, planters expect a good dumaan to be loyal to his job, i.e., to be a conscientious and dedicated worker. They want the dumaan to report to work regularly and to perform his tasks, whether or not there is a cabo on the scene and supervising. Planters frequently complain of dumaan who sit and talk in the sugarcane fields, waiting for sundown. It is probably because of the dumaan's reported lack of dependability and his failure to identify with the hacienda that planters insist on the pakyaw method of wage payment. Salary by piece-work allows the planter to pay the dumaan only for what they actually do.

Second, planters think the dumaan have to develop smooth interpersonal relations with everyone on the farm. Next, they are expected to have the qualities of good workers — to be industrious, just, or honest, to be good subordinates, and to be competent and skilled in their work.

Cabos base their expectations of the ideal dumaan on their own relationships with the latter, i.e., they stress the qualities that a supervisor looks for in his workers. Primarily, the ideal dumaan must be courteous and be a good subordinate, which is to say that he should be respectful, obedient to his superiors, and should follow instructions faithfully. Then he has to be loyal to his job, industrious, and competent.

Dumaan think that the first desirable trait of the ideal dumaan is the ability to maintain smooth interpersonal relations with others. His second trait, though, should be the willingness to help his fellow dumaan in emergencies by sharing with them his material goods. They rank the other qualities in the following order: good subordinate, competent in his work, loyal to his job, industrious, and just, or honest, in dealings with others.

In summary, planters and cabos agree to a significant degree on the qualities of the ideal planter and the ideal cabo, while cabos and dumaan are in accord regarding the ideal planter. But beyond this the three respondent groups differ in their expectations, especially with regard to the ideal dumaan.

Table 5

Rankings given to selected qualities of an ideal dumaan, classified by quality, crossclassified by role category of ranker (July 1969)

Average rank order	Quality	Role category of ranker		
		Planter	Cabo	Dumaan
1	Smooth interpersonal relations, or courtesy	2	1	1
2	Being a good subordinate	5	2	3
3	Loyalty to job	1	3	5
4	Industry	3	4.5	6
5	Competence	6	4.5	4
6	Sharing of material goods	7	6	2
7	Justice, or honesty	4	7	7
Number of planters/workers ranking		63	50	167

Kinds of role expectations. Most desirable qualities asked for by planters and workers can be grouped under two well-known polar concepts, the universalistic and the particularistic – with a residual “in-between” category.

Universalistic qualities are those oriented towards institutionalized obligations to society based on abstract principles or objective criteria. Particularistic qualities, or expectations, are oriented toward personalism, or personal relationships such as obligations of friendship (Blau 1962; Zurcher *et al.* 1965). The in-between category includes expectations which might belong in either the universalistic or particularistic set but which cannot be classified because we are not sure what the terms used by respondents mean to them.

Using this scheme, we find that the universalistic expectations regarding planters are the following: justice, especially in the matter of paying wages, and competence. Justice, or honesty, competence, industry and loyalty to one's job are seen as universalistic qualities that cabos and dumaan should have.

The expectations that the planter has to provide fringe benefits and that cabos and dumaan have to be good subordinates belong to the in-between category. For it is not clear if

the fringe benefits referred to are benefits provided by law, such as emergency medical treatment, or optional benefits such as free schools for the workers' children or land on which to grow vegetables and fruits. Similarly being a good subordinate is a quality expected of the rank and file of any organization. To that extent it is universalistic. But if the hacienda workers interpret being a good subordinate to mean not talking back to or not antagonizing a superior, we suspect a shade of personalism in this expectation. Hence we classify it as an in-between.

Particularistic expectations for all three groupings include being courteous and pleasant, or smooth interpersonal relations, and sharing one's material goods; for planters, general care and solicitude for workers, and providing work opportunities; the latter is also asked of cabos.

In what pattern, if any, do our respondents mention these categories? First, we consider separately the description of each target group as given by each of the respondent groupings. Thus we record what planters expect of themselves, cabos, and dumaan; and what cabos and dumaan expect of the same three role categories. This gives us nine categories. We then compute for each of these categories the

percentage of universalistic, particularistic, and in-between expectations. In this way we can see which group or groups are by this measure more universalistic than others in their expectations. We can also test for significant differences among groups with regard to particularistic and in-between demands.

Little need be said about the in-between category of expectations. For in this respect we find no significant differences between planters and cabos, planters and dumaan, or cabos and dumaan. All groups mention this kind of trait with about the same frequency. On the other hand, groups do differ in the importance they give to universalistic and particularistic qualities. The statements that follow summarize the principal findings.

I. Universalistic expectations

A. Ideal planter

1. Planters, significantly more than cabos and dumaan, tend to have universalistic expectations of themselves.⁹
2. Cabos and dumaan do not differ significantly in their universalistic expectations of planters.

B. Ideal cabo

1. Planters, significantly more than cabos and dumaan, tend to have universalistic expectations of cabos.
2. Cabos and dumaan do not differ significantly in their universalistic expectations of cabos.

C. Ideal dumaan

1. Planters, significantly more than cabos and dumaan, tend to have universalistic expectations of dumaan.
2. Cabos and dumaan do not differ significantly in their universalistic expectations of dumaan.

II. Particularistic expectations

A. Ideal planter

1. Planters and cabos do not differ significantly in their particularistic expectations of planters.
2. Dumaan, significantly more than planters, tend to have particularistic expectations of planters.
3. Cabos and dumaan do not differ signif-

icantly in their particularistic expectations of planters.

B. Ideal cabo

1. Cabos, significantly more than planters, tend to have particularistic expectations of themselves.
2. Dumaan, significantly more than planters and cabos, tend to have particularistic expectations of cabos.

C. Ideal dumaan

1. Cabos, significantly more than planters, tend to have particularistic expectations of dumaan.
2. Dumaan, significantly more than planters and cabos, tend to have particularistic expectations of themselves.

When one has examined the above findings he can reduce them to the following statement: *In role expectations of themselves and others, planters tend to be significantly more universalistic than both cabos and dumaan.*

Role Expectations and Interaction

We stated above that this study was designed to find out the kind of expectations that planters and workers have of one another. While officials of the sugar industry say workers are particularistic and dependent on their employers, labor officials argue that this is not true. Their argument, supported by image studies reported by Cui (n.d.) and the Robot Statistics and Consultants for Public Relations (1962), states that the workers are actually universalistic, desiring a "good leader or manager" who pays just wages.

The data just reported do not support the view of the labor officials. Nor do they seem to agree with Cui's conclusion, for we found that cabos and dumaan tend to be particularistic. It is true that they expect the ideal planter to be just, especially in terms of wages, but they place primary emphasis rather on his sharing of material goods and being pleasant with them.

While cabos and dumaan emerge as primarily particularistic, planters have proved to be universalistic. How can we explain this difference? One possibility is that level of education in-

fluences the kind of expectations that planters, cabos, and dumaan have. We shall consider this question later.

A second possibility is that planters give greater prominence to universalistic qualities when talking about themselves because they are more aware than others of what the public demands of a good planter. This is so because they are more frequently exposed than their workers to the opinions aired over the radio and television, and printed in newspapers. They are constantly reminded that the public wants them to be just, or fair with their workers. This might explain why planters express such universalistic ideas about themselves, but the fact is that they feel the same way about cabos and dumaan. Yet the mass media have had little or nothing to say about the qualities of good workers — their stress continues to be on the behavior expected of planters. Hence the difference is still not explained.

Another possible explanation for the planter-worker difference, one mentioned by many articulate Negrenses, is this: planters and workers think differently about their role ideals because they are not in close communication (meaning close interaction) with one another.

Our data confirm that there is indeed a lack of interaction, or communication, between planters and dumaan. While most planters associate with cabos, and most dumaan also relate with cabos, relatively few planters and dumaan report that they talk with, visit, or feel they live near one another. To relate this lack of interaction to lack of agreement on role expectations we must investigate a further question, namely, the association existing between the frequency of interaction and similarity of role expectations. For if it is not true that interaction and expectations are significantly associated, then lack of interaction cannot be given as a likely cause of the planter-worker disagreement on role ideals. Hence our next hypothesis.

Hypothesis 4. The more often members of one grouping interact with those of another, the more similar will their role expectations be.

How do we measure agreement on role

expectations? Any two persons belonging to different hacienda groupings may agree or disagree on their expectations of planters, cabos, or dumaan. Further, they can agree in either of two ways: if both mention the same expectation or if both fail to mention the same expectation. They disagree when only one of them mentions a particular expectation.

Interaction between people belonging to different hacienda groupings may be either mutual or non-mutual. For instance when a planter and a dumaan from the same farm both report having visited each other's home, we record it as a mutual interaction. When only one reports having been inside the other's home, the interaction is non-mutual.

For every farm in our sample we looked into the type of interaction (mutual or not mutual) between planter and cabo and planter and dumaan. We also found out whether planter and cabo and planter and dumaan agree or disagree regarding the most commonly mentioned expectations for the local planter, cabo, and dumaan.

Using this procedure, we were able to test for any significant association between interaction and expectations. We analyzed the responses of the planters and dumaan according to farm size, but decided to examine the replies of cabos as a group, and not by farm size, because of the small size of the cabo sample.

There are 23 instances in which interaction is significantly associated with role expectations.¹⁰ These instances may be summarized in the following statements.

1. Planters and cabos who report mutual interaction tend to agree on the sharing of material goods as a quality of the ideal planter. However, they do not agree on the planter's having pleasant dealings with his worker; that is to say, only one of them reports this as a desirable quality. On the other hand, planters and cabos who do not report mutual interaction disagree on the quality of the planter's general care and solicitude for his workers.
2. On large farms, planters and dumaan who

report mutual interaction tend to agree that planters should be solicitous for the welfare of their workers. Despite their mutual interaction, however, they tend to disagree on justice and the sharing of material goods as qualities of the best possible planter.

On medium-sized farms, planters and dumaan who report mutual interaction agree in looking for justice in the ideal planter. However, they disagree on the question of the planter's general care and solicitude for his workers. Those planters and dumaan who do not report mutual interaction do not agree on pleasant dealings with workers as a quality of the ideal planter.

On small farms, planters and dumaan who report mutual interaction tend to agree in expecting justice from the ideal planter.

3. Despite their mutual interaction, planters and dumaan on large farms do not agree on competence as a quality of the ideal cabo.

Mutually interacting planters and dumaan on medium-sized farms are in agreement in pointing to industry, justice, and loyalty to one's job as qualities of the ideal cabo. However, despite their mutual interaction, they do not agree on the cabo's having pleasant dealings with workers under him.

Planters and dumaan on small farms who report mutual interaction tend to agree on industry as a quality of the ideal cabo. However, they disagree in expecting justice from the cabo.

4. Planters and dumaan on large and small farms who report mutual interaction tend to agree in expecting justice, or honesty from the ideal dumaan. Despite their mutual interaction, however, planters and dumaan on small farms do not agree on the count of industry and loyalty to one's job as qualities of the ideal dumaan. Those planters and dumaan who do not report mutual interaction do not agree in ex-

Table 6

Instances of significant associations between frequency of interaction and role expectations classified by type of interaction, crossclassified by whether there is agreement or disagreement on expectations (July 1969)

Type of interaction	Agreement	Disagreement
Mutual interaction	11	9
Non-mutual interaction	0	3
Probability level	n.s.	

pecting industry from the best possible dumaan.

When we examine the kind of association that occurs between interaction and role expectations in the 23 instances summarized above, we find that planters who interact frequently with workers, and workers who interact frequently with planters, tend to agree with one another as often as they disagree with one another on their role ideals (see Table 6). Our data show, in other words, that *frequency of communication, or interaction, between planters and workers apparently does not influence their agreement or disagreement on role expectations*. Therefore we find no evidence that lack of communication between Negros planters and workers is a cause of their differences in role expectations.

Education and Universalistic Orientation

Folk theory of formal education. Many Filipinos believe that if the Philippines is to industrialize to a satisfactory degree, Filipinos will have to abandon their traditional values, generally personalistic or particularistic, in favor of others that are more modern and universalistic. For while they recognize that Japan has succeeded technologically while retaining, or at most transforming, its cherished customs and traditions, they also see that the history of many developed countries clearly suggests that universalistic values go hand in hand with industrialization, or modernization.

Further, because the average Filipino home does not teach these values (Guthrie and Jacobs 1966:84-100), observers conclude that they must be learned from the school. Our next hypotheses will test if indeed high educational attainment is directly associated with universalistic traits such as justice, industry, competence, and loyalty to one's work, as well as with a weak kinship bias. We will present our findings on these two hypotheses after briefly describing the educational attainment of our respondents.

Education of planters and workers. The planters are the best educated of the three groups considered in this study. A full 65 per cent have acquired a college education and 25 per cent have at least finished high school. In sharp contrast, not one of the cabos or dumaan has gone to college, and only 6 per cent of cabos and 1 per cent dumaan have attended high school.

If we compare the dumaan with other Filipinos in terms of elementary school education, we find that they still emerge as poorly educated: only 17 per cent of dumaan have finished elementary grades, while 34 per cent of the population of Negros Occidental and 42 per cent of Filipino males 10 years and over have completed their elementary schooling (Bureau of the Census and Statistics 1963:12-13).

Hypothesis 5. The tendency to have universalistic expectations will vary directly with educational attainment.

We used the following procedure to test the validity of this hypothesis. Taking the expectations mentioned by planters, cabos, and dumaan for themselves and one another, we computed the percentage that universalistic qualities represent of all qualities mentioned by each group for themselves and for the other two groups. On grounds of these findings, each group was placed in one of two categories: those for whom universalistic expectations represent less than 50 per cent of all qualities mentioned, and those for whom they are more than 50 per cent. Then we tested for the significance of association between the level of education and the percentage of universalistic

expectations mentioned within each group. We examined nine possible associations: the planters' level of education and their expectations of the ideal planter, cabo, and dumaan and the same possible associations between educational attainment and expectations expressed by cabos and dumaan.

We find a significant association between the level of education of planters and more universalistic expectations of the ideal dumaan. We also find a beyond-chance relationship between the educational attainment of dumaan and their expectations of the ideal cabo.¹¹ In the case of the planters, we note that the more educated they are, the more they tend to mention universalistic qualities for the ideal dumaan. Among the dumaan, their tendency to have universalistic expectations of the ideal cabo varies with whether or not they have been to school. Dumaan who have had some education tend to mention universalistic qualities, while those who have not attended school at all tend to be particularistic.

Since these associations occur only in two instances (out of nine possibilities) we cannot simply state that the higher the educational level of our respondents, the more they tend to be universalistic.

The data on the kinds of expectations of our three respondent groupings indicate that planters are generally universalistic in the ideals they have for themselves, cabos, and dumaan. Now, if higher level of education were always associated with a greater emphasis on universalistic expectations, we should expect the most highly educated planters to exhibit this tendency more than those who have had fewer years of schooling. However, this kind of association occurs only in the planters' expectations of the dumaan. What this suggests is that while almost all planters (regardless of education) agree that universalistic qualities should be demanded of the ideal planter and cabo, a considerable number of them (the less well educated) still have traditional, or particularistic, expectations of the dumaan. The planters have clearly defined the behavior they expect of themselves and cabos — people in power — but they still

show two ways of thinking about their subordinates, the *dumaan*. Similarly, while the *dumaan* are generally particularistic in the expectations they express for themselves, planters and *cabos*, we find that they also are of two minds, but about *cabos*: those *dumaan* who have gone to school tend to be less personalistic than others in the demands they make of *cabos*.

In summary, *differences in educational attainment do not always and inevitably accompany differences in the kinds of expectations planters and workers have of one another*. Regardless of education, *cabos* have particularistic expectations of all groups, *dumaan* feel this way about planters and their fellow *dumaan*, while planters make universalistic demands of themselves and *cabos*. Education plays a part in two cases – the planters' view of *dumaan* and the expectations that *dumaan* have of *cabos*. In neither case is the role clearly and unequivocally defined: people with more years of schooling show universalistic tendencies that others do not.

Hypothesis 6. The tendency to have non-kinsmen as social allies will vary directly with educational attainment.

To find out who were the five closest social allies of our respondents, we asked them to think of their five closest friends, people they could really count on – relatives or non-relatives, but outside their immediate families. When the initials of these people had been recorded, we then asked about the relationship of each one to the respondent – blood, affinal, or ritual kinsman, or nonkinsman. Since most respondents could think of only three close friends, not five, our analysis considered only the first three that had been mentioned.

We used our data to test the above hypothesis in two ways. We asked, first, whether or not there was a significant association between level of education of the members of a single grouping, and their tendency to have non-kinsmen among their three closest friends; second, whether or not there were significant differences among the three groupings in their tendency to have non-relatives among their three closest friends.

As one can see by inspecting Table 7, the majority of respondents in all groups have among their closest friends at least two who are not related to them by any kind of kinship – blood, affinal, or ritual. This suggests that problems facing the farm population of Negros Occidental are unlikely to be compounded by nepotistic behavior, at least not as a general rule or in all areas of difficulty.

Further research is needed here, a possible first step being the development and application of other indicators of weak kinship bias. However, our preliminary findings support Lynch's (1969a) conclusion that Filipinos are generally less kin-biased than they are said to be. This fact should encourage those who plan to modernize farm management in Negros.

Summary of Findings

The main objective of this study was to find out what kind of expectations planters and workers had of one another. Our findings have shown that planters and workers differ considerably in their expectations, planters emphasizing qualities that make for efficiency, *cabos* and *dumaan* stressing traits that enhance interpersonal relations and encourage paternalistic behavior.

One might think of three possible explanations for this difference in expectations, namely: first, the impact of mass media, to which planters are exposed more frequently than their workers; second, the lack of communication, or interaction, between planters and workers; third, educational attainment, which is much higher among planters than it is among *cabos* and *dumaan*. An examination of these possibilities leads to the conclusion that of the three, educational attainment comes closest to offering an explanation of the observed differences. However, even here there are unanswered questions.

We thought that planters might mention universalistic qualities for themselves, especially the paying of just wages, because radio, television, newspapers, and magazines had made them painfully aware that such qualities were demanded of them by the public. Arguing

Table 7

Respondents classified by role category, crossclassified by the number of nonkinsmen among their three closest friends outside their nuclear families (July 1969)

Role category	No. of nonkinsmen among closest three friends outside nuclear families									
	None		One		Two		Three		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Planter	4	7	9	15	17	30	29	49	159	100
Cabo	5	10	9	18	16	32	20	40	50	100
Dumaan	28	17	30	18	53	32	54	33	165	100

Probability level

n.s.

against this explanation, however, is the fact that planters are also universalistic in their ideas about desirable and undesirable traits of workers, about whose duties and responsibilities the mass media rarely have anything to say. If exposure to mass media cannot explain all cases, it cannot explain any.

Lack of communication, or interaction, between planters and workers is similarly unable to explain why planters and workers have different expectations. We find that planters and workers who interact frequently with one another tend to agree on their expectations as often as they disagree. The frequency of communication among them does not affect their agreement or disagreement on role ideals.

Finally, we find that the differences in educational attainment between planters and dumaan offer the best explanation for the planter's tendency to be universalistic and the dumaan's tending to be particularistic. The planters as a group are well educated; the dumaan and cabos are not. However, despite the general tendency of planters to be universalistic, some of them (the less well educated) tend to expect traditional behavior from dumaan. On the other hand, despite the particularistic orientation of most dumaan, those who have attended the elementary grades tend to look for universalistic traits in the ideal cabo. Cabos, however, are consistently particularistic, regardless of the number of years they spent in school, and whether or not they have been to school at all.

Discussion

It remains for us to attempt an explanation of these exceptions. Why do those who are less well educated among planters have particularistic expectations of dumaan? And why do the better educated dumaan express universalistic norms for the cabo? Why should planters and dumaan behave so differently in these two cases? In the concrete, why should intragroup differences in education be important in these two cases and not in the others?

First we will discuss possible explanations for the tendency of less well educated planters to expect traditional behavior from dumaan. We thought the less well educated planters might come from small farms, where closer contact with dumaan would encourage particularistic relationships with them.

Since most small farms have relatively few workers, and some planters even supervise work in the cane fields personally – that is, without any intervening cabos – planters and dumaan on such farms should be in continual and close association with one another. Moreover, most planters on small farms live right on the property. Further, with relatively few workers to look after, small-farm planters will attend personally to the requests, or favors, their dumaan ask of them, especially in times of emergency or crisis. Such a relationship between planters and dumaan calls for a benevolent or patron's role for planters, and a grateful, subservient role for dumaan.

We hypothesized therefore that planters on

small farms would be (a) less well educated and (b) more particularistic in their expectations of *dumaan*. This would explain the observed association between educational attainment and role ideals.

Indeed, planters from small farms do tend to be less well educated than planters from large and medium-sized farms.¹² However, we find that the expectations for *dumaan* expressed by small-farm planters include universalistic and particularistic traits in about the same proportion as the expectations elicited from planters who own medium-sized and large farms. Hence we still have no answer to our question.

We then thought that perhaps planters who finished their schooling in Manila, who presumably had been more exposed to big-city life and the requirements of efficient, productive organizations in the industrialized setting, would tend to be more universalistic than planters who had attended school in the provinces. However, we found that the place where they had acquired their education showed no significant association with the frequency with which they mentioned universalistic or particularistic traits for the *dumaan*.¹³

Since the possibilities discussed above did not explain why the less well educated planters expressed particularistic norms for *dumaan*, we had to look elsewhere. A partial answer may lie in the number of *dumaan* that currently live on Negros farms.

In the month of July 1969, during the first phase of the IPC/NFSP socioeconomic survey of Negros Occidental, we often heard planters complaining about their having too many permanent workers, or *dumaan*, on their farms. The existence of this problem was later confirmed by various people who had observed conditions in the sugar industry in general, and in Negros Occidental in particular. Carlos Ledesma, NFSP president, for instance, made the point in private conversation that if efficiency were desired in the sugar industry of Negros Occidental, farms should strive for an economically sound ratio of about one hectare of land per worker. Referring to the whole sugar industry in the Philippines, although he could

have been speaking just about Negros Occidental, McHale (1970:20) pointed out that "the basic factor involved (in the problem of low wages of cane field workers) is too many people involved in work which can be done — and is done in other parts of the world — by far fewer."

These estimates and opinions are borne out by a finding of the second phase of the IPC/NFSP survey. When we asked the planters how many, if any, of the *dumaan* they could release for employment elsewhere; that is, how many *dumaan* they did not need to run their farms — many planters replied they could release large numbers. The number varies by district (Table 8) but on the average planters consider 16 per cent of their *dumaan* superfluous.

Despite the crowded conditions, most planters who say they have too many *dumaan* also reveal that they would be willing to dismiss their redundant workers only if they knew they would be given work elsewhere. Moreover, most *dumaan* say they do not want to leave the farm, partly because they appreciate the security they have there, partly because they know of no employment opportunities outside the farm.

It is this overcrowding of *dumaan* on many Negros farms and the scarcity of employment outside the farms that seem to account for the ambivalence of some planters as to whether or not they should demand efficiency from their *dumaan*. While planters have defined efficiency as a requirement for managerial or supervisory positions — positions they and their *cabos* hold — only some of them emphasize the norm of efficiency when considering their *dumaan*. The role of patron, which obliges the planter to maintain a "welfare program" for his superfluous *dumaan*, seems more deeply ingrained in some planters than in others.

Emphasis on efficiency is an emergent expectation of planters for *dumaan*, for the traditional relationship is that of patron and client. The rise of the new style apparently results from the present condition of overpopulation on many farms, as well as from the present drive for social justice in Negros,

Table 8

Number of dumaan employed on farms listed in the 1968–69 annual reports of eight planters' association of Negros Occidental, classified by association, crossclassified by whether or not their employers say they are needed year round (February–March 1970)

Association	Number of dumaan employed		
	Total ¹	Not needed ²	
		N	%
Binalbagan-Isabela	10,468	2,263	21.6
La Carlota	10,792	1,584	14.7
Ma-ao	4,007	193	4.8
Sagay-Escalante	7,237	547	7.6
San Carlos	10,005	4,281	42.8
Silay-Saravia	7,478	486	6.5
Talisay-Silay	2,675	61	2.3
Victorias	22,472	2,741	12.2
TOTAL	75,134	12,156	16.2

¹Total number is derived from data collected during the IPC/NFSP survey of 4.8 per cent of all farms for Binalbagan-Isabela association, 4.2 for La Carlota, 3.7 for Ma-ao, 4.4 for Sagay-Escalante, 3.8 for San Carlos, 3.5 for Silay-Saravia, 3.6 for Talisay-Silay, and 4.3 for Victorias.

²The number of dumaan not needed is derived from the survey referred to in footnote 1.

particularly through implementation of the minimum-wage law. Many planters now realize that they can pay their workers the minimum wage only if they employ the minimum number of dumaan actually needed for the farm's operation. Perhaps those planters who feel more pressed, or harrassed, to pay just wages, or who are consciously working towards that goal, see that they must cut down their work force. This they do by demanding (or at least talking about) competent, skilled, and efficient dumaan. The better educated planters do this more than the less well educated.

Our final question is this: Why do some dumaan, those who went to school, tend to mention universalistic qualities for the cabo more often than those who never went to school? The dumaan's educational attainment does not vary with farm size. That is, the percentage of dumaan from large and medium-sized farms who have been to school is the same as that from small farms. Dumaan who have not gone to school are also distributed proportionately among farms of all sizes. Neither do the dumaan on any particular size of farm differ in the kinds of expectations they men-

tion for the ideal cabo – dumaan on large, medium-sized, and small farms mention particularistic and universalistic expectations in almost the same proportions.

What appears to be the case is that while dumaan have traditional and well-set norms to guide their behavior toward, and their expectations of, planters and fellow dumaan, there is an emergent alternative relative to cabos. As in the case of the planters in their expectations of dumaan, so here the better educated dumaan express universalistic norms for a good cabo – he should be a competent, fair middleman. Perhaps here, once more, the newly arisen pressure for work on overcrowded farms makes fairness more important – all things considered – than euphemistic or partial treatment.

Notes

Romana Pahilanga-de los Reyes is a native of Negros Occidental, Bago City in particular. After 10 months as a field research assistant to David Szanton (1967–68) during the latter's study of Estancia, Iloilo (Szanton 1967a, 1967b, 1971), she enrolled for graduate studies in anthropology. She completed her master's degree at

the Ateneo de Manila in June 1970 and has been a full-time research associate of the IPC since that time. She is currently (November 1971) completing a year-long study of 1,000 rice farmers and 75 landlords of Nueva Ecija. The present article, submitted to PSR October 25, 1971, is based on her master's thesis and was partially funded by the Faura Research Center, Inc.

1. Data used in this study were gathered during an exploratory survey of socioeconomic conditions in Negros Occidental conducted in July 1969 (see Lynch 1970a). The survey was the first phase of a project undertaken by the Institute of Philippine Culture (IPC), Ateneo de Manila, and partially supported by the National Federation of Sugarcane Planters (NFSP). Additional data used were gathered during the second phase of the same survey, conducted in February and March 1970. The IPC/NFSP survey included eight of the 13 milling districts of Negros Occidental, namely, Binalbagan-Isabela, La Carlota, Ma-ao, Sagay-Escalante, San Carlos, Silay-Saravia, Talisay-Silay, and Victorias. Data for this paper were gathered from the same eight milling districts.

2. There are several reasons why the term "planter" is preferable to its alternative, "hacendero." First, since so many sugarcane farms in contemporary Negros are small in area (75.5 per cent are under 40 hectares) the latter label, applied to all, is pretentious — especially for the owners of those farms (27.2 per cent of the total number) that are under five hectares in size. Second, large numbers of the more outspoken farm owners have made it clear that they prefer to be called planters. For a more detailed discussion of these occupational roles, see Lynch 1970b.

3. One out of two sugarcane workers in Negros Occidental is a *dumaan* while only one out of 10 is a *sacada*.

4. The difference between the planned and actual sample sizes came about in several ways, the most common causes being inability to locate the respondent (13 *dumaan*) and the non-existence of a particular role on a farm (13 *cabos*). The interviewing on one farm had to be abandoned completely, because the planter was never there to be interviewed and to grant the necessary permission for us to interview his workers. In all, there were only five individual refusals (all *dumaan*).

5. The McNemar test for the significance of changes was used for intragroup data. The chi-square test for two independent samples was used for the intergroup data. In testing the measure of association for significance, the probability level accepted in this study is 0.05.

6. The chi-square test for two independent samples was used.

7. The Kolmogorov-Smirnov two-sample test was used.

8. The test used for intragroup agreement on the ranking of qualities was the Kendall coefficient of

concordance *W*. For intergroup agreement, the Spearman rank correlation coefficient was used.

9. The chi-square test for two independent samples was used.

10. The chi-square test for two independent samples was used.

11. The chi-square test for two independent samples was used.

12. The chi-square test for two independent samples was used.

13. The chi-square test for two independent samples was used.

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