

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF THE RURAL PHILIPPINES*

—A Case Study of a *Hacienda Barrio* in Central Luzon—

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Since the hacienda type of landownership is quite unique, it is assumed that the village located within a hacienda, so called a *hacienda barrio*, has various distinctive features in relation to its socio-economic structure. In this monograph, one of the *hacienda barrio* in Central Luzon is taken as a case study, revealing a heterogeneous composition of the tenant class, that is, the existence of non-cultivating tenants and sub-tenants. The author attempted to get an integrated or systematic understanding of this composition through an examination of the social stratification, arriving at the hypothetical conclusion that the existence of multiple sub-classes within a homogeneous tenant class should be understood as a differentiation of the tenant class within the framework of the hacienda.

INTRODUCTION

The establishment of modernized or capitalistic relationships in Philippine agriculture has been extremely delayed. This is explicitly manifested in the various features of Philippine agriculture such as widespread landlordism, share tenancy system, marked over-population, prevailing farm debt and an usurious rate of interest. Since this is the situation, we must consider the various agrarian problems as being closely interrelated with the social and economic relationships. Especially, it is necessary to introduce the analyzed viewpoint in which due attention is paid to the various social and economic circumstances relating to agricultural production. What becomes important at this point is a study of the socio-economic structure through an intensive

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survey at a village level, and these micro studies should lead to a typology of the socio-economic structure in rural Philippines, bridging the micro study at the village level and the macro study at the national level. Though research on Philippine agrarian problems rapidly advanced in the postwar years, very few studies have so far been conducted from the above-mentioned viewpoint.¹

This monograph is an attempt to clarify the socio-economic structure of a village in the Philippines. The village where this study was undertaken is a *hacienda barrio*² in Central Luzon. The *hacienda barrio* was chosen because it is assumed to be one type of village in the Philippines. Well known to students of sociology and economics, land is the most important means of production in agriculture and the possession of land regulates the basic social and economic relationships in a community. In other words, one of the basic determinants for the socio-economic structure in the rural communities is the land ownership. In the case of a *hacienda barrio*, land is solely owned by a single landlord and the village consists of non-land owning classes, such as tenants and farm laborers. Needless to say, the owner of the hacienda, the landlord, holds a certain power over the villagers. Thus it can be hypothesized that the structure of a *hacienda barrio* is quite different from that of other villages, such as those in which land is owned by small resident landowners and owner operators

¹ Following studies are exceptions;

Mary R. Hollnsteiner, *The Dynamics of Power in Philippine Municipality*, CDRC, Univ. of Philippines, Quezon City, 1963.

James N. Anderson, "Land and Society in a Pangasinan Community," in Socoro C. Espiritu and Chester L. Hunt, *Social Foundations of Community Development, Readings on the Philippines*, Manila, 1964.

Ethel Nurge, *Life in a Leyte Village*, Univ. of Washington Press, 1965.

William F. Nydegger and Corrine Nydegger, *Talong: An Ilocos Barrio in the Philippines*, New York, 1966.

Tsutomu Takigawa, "Firipin no sonraku shakai kōzō (Social Structure of the Philippine Villages)," in *Kaigai shokoku ni okeru nōgyō kōzō no tenkai* (A Change of Agricultural Structure in Foreign Countries), ed. by T. Matoba and H. Yamamoto, National Research Institute of Agriculture, Tokyo, 1966.

Akira Takahashi, *Chūbu Luzon no beisaku nōson* (A Rice-Growing Village in Central Luzon), The Institute of Asian Economic Affairs, 1965.

—, "Firipin nōson kōzō ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu (A Note on the Socio-economic Structure of the Philippine Villages)," *Tōyō bunka*, No. 43, 1967.

—, *Land and Peasants in Central Luzon; Socio-Economic Structure of a Bulacan Village*, Institute of Developing Economies, 1969.

Hiromitsu Umehara, "Firipin no beisaku nosan (A Rice-growing Village in the Philippines; A Case Study at Barrio Tubuan, Laguna)," in *Ajia no tochi-seido to nōson shakai kōzō II* (Land System and Social Structure in Asia II), ed. by T. Takigawa and H. Saitō, The Institute of Asian Economic Affairs, 1967.

² *Hacienda* is a Spanish for a large estate or farm. *Barrio*, also a term of Spanish origin, means a village, the smallest administrative unit usually composed of several settlements or housing groups known as *sitio*. When we say a *hacienda barrio*, it means 'a village located within a *hacienda*.'

(villagers include tenants and farm laborers)³ or those in which the land is exclusively owned by a number of non-resident landlords and villagers are either tenants or farm laborers.⁴

The survey was conducted for approximately four weeks, from January to February in 1967. With the cooperation of PRRM,⁵ the village to be investigated was selected and necessary arrangements were made so that I was able to stay with a family in the village. The framework of the present survey, mainly focusing on the land system, was prepared in advance, but it had to be revised in the process of the investigation. Data and information were collected through a participatory observation and interviews, which included interviews, with a questionnaire, covering an arbitrarily sampled twenty-nine households.⁶ The PRRM house to house survey⁷ was also used as a supplementary source of information.

Insufficient time for the field survey is the fundamental limitation in the present study. Needless to say, this is a preliminary study that should be followed by a further intensive survey in the future.

I. THE GENERAL STATEMENT OF THE VILLAGE

The Central Plain is one of the most extensive plains in the Philippines, stretching over 15,000 square kilometers across the central part of Luzon Island. Included in this region are five provinces, Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, Pampanga, Pangasinan, and Tarlac. Taking advantage of the rainy season which occurs from June to November under the influence of the southwest monsoon, the entire region produces rice, and is one of largest agricultural regions in the Philippines. From early times, the development of landlordism was noticeable.⁸ As a result, there have been continuous conflicts between landlords and tenants since prewar times, making this region a hotbed of

³ The village taken up for discussion in J. A. Anderson's paper (*op. cit.*) is considered to represent this type of village, and an existence of a social status hierarchy is pointed out there. See also T. Takigawa, *op. cit.*

⁴ The villages taken up for study in T. Takahashi's *Land and Peasant in Central Luzon* and H. Umehara's paper (*op. cit.*) are considered to represent this type of villages. Lack of status structure within a village community is commonly observed in these studies.

⁵ PRRM is an abbreviation for Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement, a civic organization actively engaging in rural reconstruction in the Philippines.

⁶ Sampling was based on the primary classification in which households in the village were divided into three categories—registered tenants, non-registered tenants, and squatters. Out of twenty-nine households sampled, twenty-five are farm households, two non-cultivating tenants, one a *katiwala*, and one an agricultural laborer.

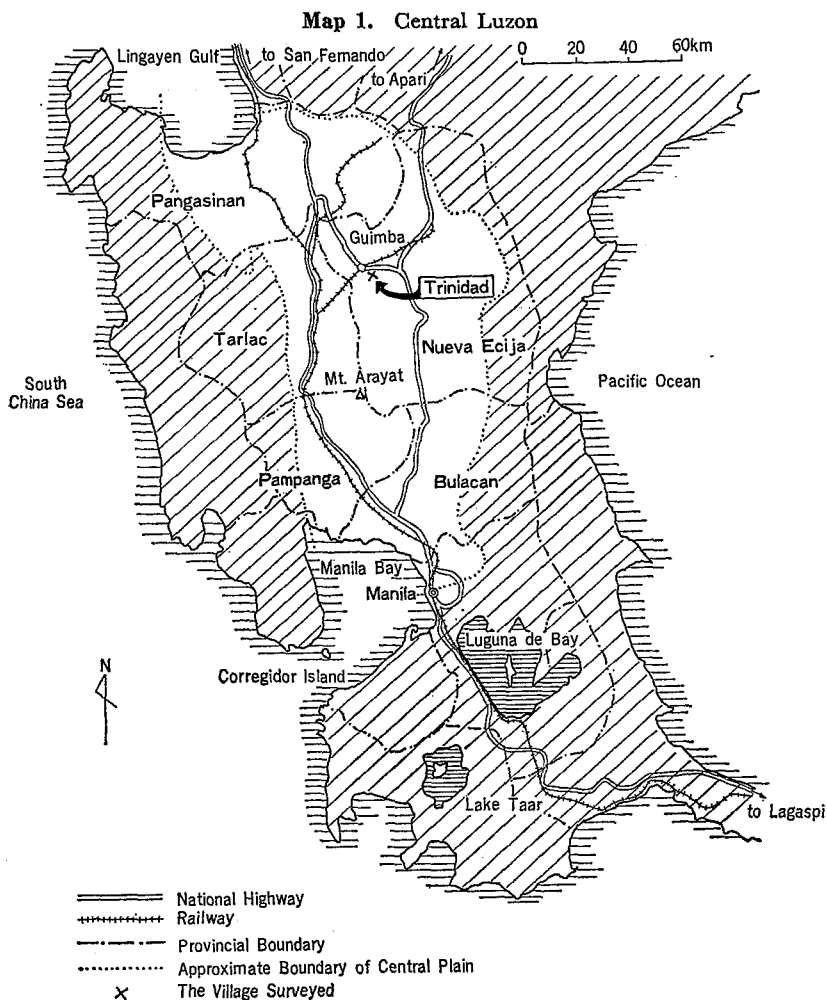
⁷ The PRRM house to house survey was conducted in December, 1966, for the purpose of evaluation and projection of PRRM's activities.

⁸ According to the 1960 Census, the proportion of tenant farms in the five provinces of Central Luzon is 64.7 per cent, and provinces of Pampanga and Nueva Ecija have particularly high rates—85.2 per cent and 76.3 per cent respectively.

agrarian unrest and thus the region with the greatest social tension. The Huk movement immediately after the last war represents the conflicts and revolts in their greatest intensity.

Location and History of the Village

Trinidad, the village with which this paper is concerned, is located in the municipality of Guimba in the province of Nueva Ecija (See Map 1). From Manila to the town of Guimba is 151 kilometers, and takes about four or five hours either by bus or train. About three kilometers east of the *poblacion*^o along the national highway, one can find Hacienda Trinidad, encompassing



^o The *poblacion* is a down-town district of a municipality. Each municipality consists of one *poblacion* and many *barrios*.

approximately one thousand hectares on the southern side of the highway. Trinidad is one of the three villages located within this Hacienda.

Topographically, this region slopes gently from the northeast to the southwest. With the exceptions of an intermittent crescent-shaped marsh which is supposed to be the former river bed, and the low mounds of a former natural embankment, the area is extremely level. Along the eastern border of the hacienda, the Ilog Baliwag River (a tributary of the Pampanga River), from which the irrigation water for the hacienda is taken, flows southwest.

It is said that Hda. Trinidad was established late in the 1910's. According to an aged informant who was the former head *katiwala* of the hacienda from its founding to the middle of the 1950's, approximately one hundred and twenty new tenants had to be brought in from various areas of Central Luzon because many inhabitants who had settled in this area before the founding of the hacienda had run away. There were four small settlements in the hacienda at the beginning, but these were combined to form the village of Trinidad early in the 1920's. They remained as *sitios* of Trinidad over a long period, but some time late in the 1950's or early in the 1960's, two *sitios*, Kolong and Maballero, located in the eastern and southern sectors respectively, separated and became independent villages. Therefore, there are presently three villages in the hacienda, of which Trinidad is the largest in population. Since the land area, both agricultural and residential, is owned by the hacienda, the term "village" used here merely refers to a cluster of houses as an autonomous unit with no territorial boundary.

Households and Their Occupations

The population of Trinidad was nine hundred and ninety according to the 1960 Census, and as of January 1967, when this survey was conducted, the number of inhabitants was slightly over one thousand. This means that the population increase during the seven year interval is less than twenty. However, this does not necessarily indicate that there was little increase in the population in the village. Rather, it was the result of the separation of two villages from Trinidad.

At the time of this survey, there were one hundred and sixty-four households in the village. The majority of these have been in this village since the prewar period, that is, from the parent's generation. Cases of new arrivals were extremely rare.¹⁰

In this village, there can be found neither an owner operator nor a part owner. All the farmers are tenants, who hold their tenancy contract with the hacienda. Therefore, it is presumed that the relationship of each household with the hacienda is of great significance. Relations with the hacienda can be roughly divided into three types: registered tenants—those who have formally been registered as tenants of the hacienda and have legal landlord-tenant relations; non-registered tenants—those who have not been registered,

¹⁰ Only two out of twenty nine sample households have moved into this village in the postwar period; one late in the 1950's and the other early in the 1960's.

but cultivate the hacienda's land registered under another tenant's name; and squatters—those who reside within the hacienda though they do not cultivate any land in the hacienda and thus have no direct connection with the hacienda.¹¹

Table 1. Number of Registered Tenants, Non-Registered Tenants, and Squatters by Age Group of Households' Head

Age Group (years)	Total	Registered Tenants				Non-Registered Tenants			Squatters		
		I	II	I+II	II+III	II	III	II+III	A	B	C
20—29	26		3			2	6		1		14
30—39	46	4	14			3	5	1	3	3	13
40—49	47	4	15	2	4	1	2		1	16	2
50—59	23	5	13	2	1					2	
60—69	11	1	7						1	1	1
above 70	11	3	3						1	4	
Total	164	17	55	4	5	6	13	1	7	26	30

Notes: I Those leasing tenanted land, i. e. non-cultivating tenants.

II Those operating their own tenanted land.

III Those cultivating land leased from another tenant: i. e. sub-tenants.

A Those who moved into this village as squatters—original squatters.

B Those who were originally tenants of the hacienda and have fallen to the level of squatters due to a later turn of events.

C Other squatters.

Source: In making this table, basic data and information were obtained from the present field study. A PRRM house to house survey conducted late in December 1966, was also used.

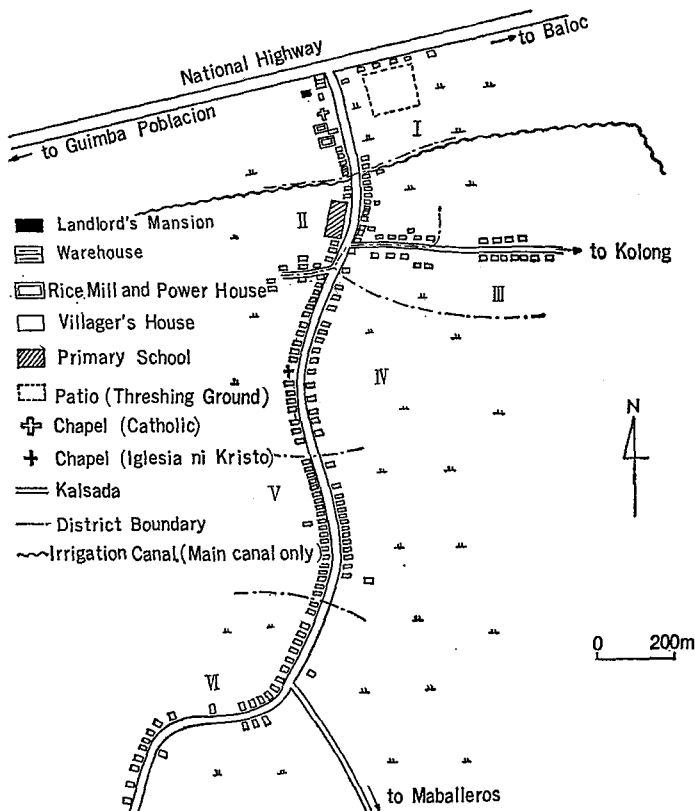
In Table 1, one hundred and sixty-four households are classified by the type of relationship with the hacienda and by age group of family head. There are eighty-one registered tenant households, twenty non-registered tenant households, and sixty-three squatter households. The following should be noted here; firstly, within the same tenant category, there are those who do not actually cultivate their land but put it out to lease in entirety (non-cultivating tenants), and there exist many sub-tenants who have leased land from these non-cultivating tenants, secondly, the non-registered tenants are concentrated in the younger age group, and thirdly, the number of squatters is very large. The significance of these characteristics will be discussed in the latter part of this monograph.

As might be expected in a village with the location and environment of Trinidad, farmers are the largest single occupational group. Among one hundred and one tenant households, eighty-four households, i. e. excluding seventeen non-cultivating tenants, derive their major income from farming. The next largest group are agricultural laborers. Thirty-seven out of sixty-

¹¹ "Registered" or "Non-registered" are not exactly well established terms. Villagers used to differentiate tenants in saying "*Rehistrado siya* (he is registered)" or "*Hindi rehistrado* (not registered)."

three squatter households fall into this category. These are the two largest occupational groups, and the rest are numerous and miscellaneous. The major occupation of the non-cultivating tenants can be found in the non-agricultural sector, for instance small business operators, merchants, government employees, factory workers, drivers, volunteer military service men, and so on. On the other hand, squatters apart from the above-mentioned agricultural laborers, migrate to find temporary and miscellaneous employment opportunities, such as seasonal agricultural labor, the market cleaning, the day labor, work at rice mills, and other odd-jobs in order to supplement their family income.

Map 2. Barrio Trinidad



Life in the Village

The village is built along both sides of the hacienda's main road (*kalsada*) and tributary roads (See Map 2). The main road runs southwards nearly at right angle to the national highway, crossing the central part of the hacienda. Though unpaved, it is not too rough and four or five meters in width. Large trucks and tractors are able to travel to and fro freely. The distance from the national highway to the southern end of the village is slightly

over two kilometers. Besides the one hundred and sixty-four houses of the villagers, there are the landlord's mansion towering over the entrance of the village, his large warehouse, his power station and water pump, a *cono* rice mill (not in operation since the mid-1950's), a primary school, a *barrio* hall, and two chapels (one for Catholic and the other for *Iglesia ni Kristo*). There are nine *sari-sari* stores¹² of which two are open stalls without roofs and the remaining seven have permanent facilities.

Generally, houses are constructed of bamboo and nipa palm, but those utilizing hard materials such as wood or a galvanized tin roof are also found. There is no electricity in the village and *Coleman* lamps (pressure lamps) or kerosene lamps are used for lighting. Water for daily use is procured from hand pumps, and unsanitary methods such as the open well are not seen. Dwelling improvements such as the beautification of housing lots, adoption of cement stool and blind drainage systems, as the result of PRRM extension activities, were noted here in this village.

While not a single family subscribes to a daily newspaper, there are many transistor radios in the village. Villagers used to visit the *poblacion* for obtaining daily necessities, or for enjoyment of movies and cock fighting. During the dry season, fishing at *sapa*¹³ serves as a villager's pastime as well as for actual profit. As is usual in rural areas, gathering and chatting in front of the *sari-sari* store in the evening is the most common pastime for villagers.

II. THE MANAGEMENT SYSTEM AND THE LANDLORD-TENANT RELATIONSHIPS IN THE HACIENDA

The Landlord

The present owner of Hda. Trinidad is the fourth successor to the property. In addition to this hacienda, he owns three more haciendas totalling several hundred hectares in nearby towns and his total landholding reaches approximately three thousand hectares. In terms of size of property, he is one of the largest *hacendero* in this region. Residing in Manila, he has been managing his large auto-repair factory since the prewar period. The management and supervision of the hacienda is left to a farm administrators, while the owner visits the hacienda for inspection only a few times a year. It is said that absentee landlordism in this hacienda began at the time of the *last war* when the previous owner could hardly stay in the hacienda due to the chaotic situation throughout Central Luzon. After the war, the Huk movement forced the previous owner to stay away from the hacienda. In the mid-1950's, the hacienda was succeeded by the present owner who is a native of Manila.

The present owner does show a deep interest in improvement of agricul-

¹² A *sari-sari* store is a small grocery store. *Sari-sari* means 'miscellaneous' or 'various' in Tagalog.

¹³ *Sapa* means 'a small stream' or 'a brook' in Tagalog. A crescent shaped *sapa* is located near the Ilog-Baliwag river at the eastern part of the hacienda.

tural production in the hacienda. However, little efforts can be observed. Irrigation facilities installed at the time of the opening of the present hacienda are still being used without any improvements.

Land Utilization and Management Organization

Though we were not able to obtain the reliable data on size and land use, it is said that total area of Hda. Trinidad is approximately one thousand hectares. However, we know that about two hundred hectares of hacienda land was inherited by a relative when the title of landownership was passed on to the previous owner, and that this portion, which we will refer to as the former hacienda, is presently under a different management.¹⁴ According to the author's estimation, approximately one hundred and fifty hectares are being used for housing lots and roads, another one hundred and fifty hectares for upland surrounded by the uncultivated land,¹⁵ and about six hundred hectares is paddy field.

Arable land in the hacienda is divided and put into tenants' cultivation under the sharing arrangement. About three hectares seems to be a unit for tenancy contract. The total number of tenants in this hacienda is approximately one hundred and eighty at present. The hacienda owns several farm machinery such as tractors, bulldozers, *telyadoras* (large size threshing machine), truck, and so forth. Therefore, a managerial body is necessary for management of the hacienda. At present, it is composed of seven persons; one *encargado* (administrator), four *katiwalas* (overseers), and two farm guards.

The *encargado*, representing the owner, assumes supreme responsibility in the hacienda's managerial body. The present *encargado* has been in his position since the mid-1950's, when he was promoted from a bookkeeper of the hacienda. Being formerly a resident of Trinidad, he recently purchased a house in the *poblacion* and transferred there. Now he commutes to the hacienda every day to carry out his job as an *encargado*.

Each *katiwala* is in charge of forty to fifty tenants and is responsible for the following duties: the distribution of seeds, payment of expenses for transplanting, keeping various records (varieties of rice, areas planted, dates of planting, areas and dates of harvesting, irrigation schedules, etc.), inspection of paddy fields, irrigation control, watching *mandala*,¹⁶ threshing, sharing the harvest, and so forth. The four *katiwalas* of the hacienda are all registered tenants of Trinidad. Two of them have held the post since prewar times, and others since the 1950's and 1960's respectively.

¹⁴ Though we say it is under another management, there has been no change in the tenancy system or the tenants themselves. At present there is an overseer newly appointed from the tenants of Trinidad.

¹⁵ The upland of the hacienda were reclaimed by the tenants' labor just three or four years ago. Up to the present no rent has been imposed on upland cultivation, as a form of compensation for the labor extended.

¹⁶ A *mandala* is palay in the stalk usually heaped conically in the field before threshing. In this area rice stalk is first piled into a small heap, called *sipok*, immediately after

The farm guards are assigned for watching *sipok* and *mandala* after the harvest. They are hired specifically for that purpose and thus their period of employment is limited to two or three months during harvest season. One farm guard is a tenant from Trinidad and the other a tenant from Kolong.

These agents are paid monthly by the hacienda. The salary is highest for an *encargado*. He receives one hundred pesos¹⁷ with four *cavans*¹⁸ of palay. A *katiwala* receives twenty-two pesos with two *cavans*, and a farm guard twenty pesos with one *cavan*.

The Landlord and Tenant Relationships

When a person wishes to be a tenant, he has to submit a petition to the hacienda through either an *encargado* or a *katiwala*. At that time, recommendation from an *encargado* or a *katiwala* is needed, and there were some cases of petitioners having to pay a certain fee for obtaining such a recommendation in prewar times. If the petition is accepted by the hacienda, it is transmitted verbally to the tenant through the *katiwala*. According to the *encargado*, tenancy agreement in this hacienda is in a form of written contract. However, tenants actually do not have any written document. Most probably, it is supposed that the hacienda unilaterally prepares a written form of tenancy contract and puts it in the custody of the hacienda. If this is the case, the tenants situation will not be much different from that of an oral contract.

As has been explained earlier, there are two types of tenants in the hacienda—registered and non-registered tenants. The difference between the two types in their relationship with the hacienda is that the former has relative stability in his tenant state, whereas the latter is more or less unstable. In other words, the latter are relatively weak in their legal status compared with the former. This is indicated by the fact that there cannot be found any non-registered tenants among those who have been involved in legal disputes with the hacienda concerning sharing arrangements since the early 1950's.

Not a single non-registered tenant could be seen in the hacienda before the early 1950's when a legal suit over sharing arrangements was filed in the court. The landlord has denied all revisions and new registrations of tenancy contracts since the start of the dispute. The result has been the appearance of non-registered tenants, for, under such circumstances as mentioned above, there is no other way for one to be a tenant except by being a non-registered tenant, even when a chance comes for him to take over the

reaped. Around ten days later, these *sipoks* are transferred to the threshing ground called *patio* and formed into a *mandala* there. It takes about five or six weeks before *mandalas* are sufficiently dried and ready for threshing.

¹⁷ According to the present exchange rate, one peso is roughly equivalent to twenty-six cents.

¹⁸ *Cavan* is a unit for bulk of grains. One *cavan* is approximately forty-four kilograms in palay and fifty-seven kilograms in rice.

tenanted land of a deceased relative.

As has been already mentioned, the tenancy system in this hacienda is that of a crop sharing arrangement. Originally, all the tenants were under a 50-50 sharing basis. Recently, however, two divergent forms of tenancy have emerged besides the original form. One is an arrangement in which the sharing ratio is advantageous to the tenant. The other is a sub-tenancy arrangement in which a tenant is under the strain of a double rent.

First, let us see the original form of tenancy arrangement which involves the great majority of the tenants in the hacienda. Under this system, the harvest is shared one half each between the landlord and the tenant after the seeds and threshing expenses are deducted. As for the expenses, the landowner assumes responsibility for the land tax and the planting expense, while the tenant is responsible for labor and expenses for plowing and harrowing, preparation of seedbed, weeding, supervision over the growing crop, reaping, transportation of the rice bundles, piling up rice bundles into *mandala*, and other miscellaneous items. The expenses for seeds, threshing, irrigation, fertilizer, and agricultural chemicals are equally born between the two parties. As to fertilizer and agricultural chemicals, however, the equal sharing of expenses is only in principle. The tenant has to bear these expenses unless there is some consent given by the landlord. Furthermore, the irrigation fee is paid to the landowner from the tenant's share at the rate of one *cavan* per "field."¹⁹ This is the arrangement which at present applies to seventy-one out of one hundred and one tenants at Trinidad.

The next is an arrangement in which the sharing ratio is more advantageous to the tenant than to the landlord. Those who have this form of arrangement are the tenants currently in dispute with the landlord over the sharing ratio. This dispute originated in the mid-1950's when ninety-four tenants sued the hacienda at the Court of Agrarian Relations in Guimba asserting a 70-30 ratio.²⁰ The tenants won their claim, but the hacienda immediately began new proceedings to seek a 55-45 ratio. Moreover, it is said that the tenants began seeking a leasehold system instead of share-tenancy system sometime in 1964.²¹ However, up to January, 1967, the court decision has not been reached. Therefore, the sharing of the harvest is done in coordination with the "Provisional Liquidation," annually passed by the court, in which the ratio fluctuates from 55-45 to 65-35 every year. The above ratio is applied to the net harvest—the harvest that is left after the expenses of the seeds, reaping, and threshing have been deducted from the gross harvest. As for expenses, the landlord pays the land tax while the expenses for seeds, reaping, and threshing are equally divided and the remaining operating ex-

¹⁹ As has been mentioned earlier, there is a sort of unit (about three hectares) for tenancy contracts in this hacienda. We will call it a "field" hereafter.

²⁰ This seems to correspond to the enactment of tenancy law in 1954 under the late President Magsaysay's administration.

²¹ This is thought to correspond to the Agrarian Land Reform Code enacted in 1963 under the former President Macapagal's administration.

penses and labor are born by the tenant. It should be noted that this ratio is only applicable to the main crop. For crops grown during the dry season, the previous 50-50 ratio is applied. At present, seventeen tenants in Trinidad follow this arrangement.²²

Another form is a sub-tenancy arrangement in which a tenant cultivates the land leased from a non-cultivating tenant or a *katiwala*. Since the arrangement between the landlord and the non-cultivating tenant is to share equally of the harvest as mentioned earlier, the sub-tenant must be subject to an equal sharing arrangement. In addition to a rent for the landlord, he has to pay the non-cultivating tenant a fixed rent of about fifteen to twenty-five *cavans* per "field." The sub-tenant, thus, shoulders the double burden of the farm rent, which reaches nearly seventy to eighty per cent of the gross harvest. In Trinidad, there are thirteen sub-tenants at present.

It is a common practice in the Philippines that tenants in the rice growing area are provided by their landlords with a ration, advances and loans for operational expenses and family needs. The ration is the amount of palay advanced by the landowner to the tenant for home consumption, and it is still a common practice in Hda. Trinidad. It is given every Sunday, and up to seven kilograms per capita per week are allowed. Tenants have to repay immediately after the sharing of harvest. Regardless of whether registered or non-registered, all the tenants in the hacienda are entitled to request a ration, but those who are in dispute are subject to a ten per cent interest on ration while other tenants are free from interest.²³ The period of the ration is limited to four or five months from the planting to the harvesting of the main crop. As will be mentioned later, for the ordinary tenant, there usually remains a very little palay for his home use after the sharing of the harvest and the repayment of the ration and loans. Therefore, the ration, which is called *rasyon* by villagers, is indispensable for the tenants, and has great significance in the life of the hacienda's tenants.

III. THE STRUCTURE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Rice is a major crop grown by the tenants in this hacienda. Very recently, tenants cleared some waste land which extends over one hundred and fifty hectares at the southeastern section, and started planting vegetables there. However, vegetable production does not have much significance to the individual farm operation, because the area planted to vegetables is very much limited and production itself is not stable yet. In this section we will therefore focus attention on the production structure of the major crop, rice.

²² In the hacienda, about thirty tenants are at present in dispute, and all of them follow this arrangement.

²³ The tenants of the former hacienda are also entitled to receive the ration, but they have to pay ten per cent interest as in the case of tenants in dispute.

Farm Size

Although there are one hundred and one tenants including seventeen non-cultivating tenants in the village of Trinidad, the number of farm households is eighty-four as was pointed out earlier. Table 2 shows the number of tenant households by tenure type and size of paddy field. On this table, we will notice that there are three peaks in the distribution of the number of farm households. They are at the 3.0-3.9, 6.0-6.9, and 8.0 and above hectare points. This is supposedly the result of the fact that the hacienda's paddy fields are divided into approximately three hectares as a leasing unit. Therefore, the farm households with a size of less than five hectares hold only one "field" of tenanted land. In like manner, those with the size ranging from five to less than eight hectares are supposed to hold two "fields," and those with eight hectares and above supposedly hold three or more "fields." In other words, the structure of farm households in this village can be divided into three groups; the one-"field"-group, the two-"fields"-group, and the three-and-more-"fields"-group.

Table 2. Number of Tenant Households by Type of Tenants and Farm Size

	Total	2.0- 2.9ha.	3.0- 3.9	4.0- 4.9	5.0- 5.9	6.0- 6.9	7.0- 7.9	8.0 ha. and above	Unkown
Number of Farm Households	84	18	40	7	5	9	1	3	1
Registered Tenant									
II	55	11	30	4	3	4		2	1
I+II	4		2	1				1	
II+III	5					4	1		
Non-Registered Tenant									
II	6	2	3			1			
III	13	5	5	1	2				
II+III	1			1					
Non-Cultivating Tenant	17	3	6	1	2		1	1	3

Source: Same as Table 1.

The three-and-more-"fields"-group consists of three households which are all *katiwalas*. One partly cultivates his tenanted land, while the other two cultivate entirely by themselves. There are two more *katiwalas*.²⁴ One is a non-cultivating tenant. The other falls into the two-"fields"-group. From this fact, we can assume that *katiwala* households constitute the highest economic group in the village.

Next is the two-"fields"-group into which fifteen households of the village fall. Eight of them operate their own tenanted "fields", while the rest operate two "fields" partly sub-leased from non-cultivating tenants or *katiwalas*. Farm management of this group is fairly stable compared with that of the third group.

Although the one-"field"-group is the smallest in terms of farm size, sixty-five out of eighty-four, a little over three-fourths of farm households, fall into this category and it can thus be called the average group in the

²⁴ There are five *katiwalas* residing in the village of Trinidad—four *katiwalas* of Hda. Trinidad and one *katiwala* of the former hacienda.

village. As will be mentioned later, an average yield per hectare is about forty *cavans* only. Further, one "field" is not big enough to support a family. Therefore, farmers in this group tend to seek another source of income such as off-farm employment.

Land and Irrigation

Topographical conditions in this region cause the paddy fields of the hacienda to be generally dry fields with the exception of some swampy fields scattered near the Ilog Baliwag River. The paddy field is usually partitioned by low dikes called *pilapil*,²⁵ five or ten *pilapils* for every hectares. This division is made so as to draw water as evenly as possible over the surface of the fields. These *pilapils* come in various sizes according to the contour of the land. Once rice is planted, the *pilapil* is the only route for both men and animals to take from the main road to the individual fields, and thus it is usually well-trodden. However, the constructed *pilapil* is usually narrow in width and tends to collapse easily. Indeed, when the harvest season has started, various trucks and carts to transport the bundles of harvested palay are sent into the fields, breaking down these dikes. Therefore, this type of temporary construction is more suitable than a permanent structure.

Almost no human effort was noted in the maintenance of the soil fertility. The only source of enrichment of the soil is cattle manure left by the carabaos (a working animal in Southeast Asia) pastured in the field during the off-planting season. Therefore, the fertility of the land will decrease as the land utilization increases through such practices as double cropping.

The irrigation canals being presently used in the hacienda are the ones which had been dug early in the 1920's. The main canal runs east to west in the northern part of the hacienda, while a number of laterals run southwestwards along with the topographical relief. Irrigation water is taken from the Ilog Baliwag River, where a sand barrage was constructed to raise the water level. Since the water supply in the river is not sufficient during the dry season, double cropping is very much limited.

The hacienda takes entire responsibility for the maintenance and operation of the irrigation system. It is said that the total expenditure of the hacienda for the irrigation service amounts to nearly three thousand pesos per annum. As was mentioned earlier, tenants are charged one *cavan* of palay per "field" for irrigation services extended by the hacienda.

Methods of Cultivation and Farm Labor

The regular crop season occurs between the month of July and December coinciding with the rainy season in Central Luzon. At Trinidad, land preparation starts early in July, and transplanting takes place in August, at the height of the rainy season. The crop is harvested from December to January as this area enters into the dry season. The second crop called *palagad* is

²⁵ *Pilapil* is a Tagalog word which means either 'a dike, a levee between watery rice field' or 'the individual rice field partitioned by dikes.'

planted in March, and harvested during the month of June. Although all the tenants in this village plant the regular crop called *panahon*, the area planted to *palagad* is not more than about one-tenth of the entire paddy field area.

There are three types of agricultural labor; family labor, exchanged labor (*suyuan*) and hired labor such as *upahan* (labor hired by day), *pakyaw* (contract labor), and *hunakan* (commission system). Regardless of farm size and tenure type Philippine farmers rely heavily on hired labor in their rice production. The general practice in this village is no exception even though *suyuan* is still commonly observed.

For instance, all of the tenants rely on *pakyaw* for transplanting,²⁶ and either *suyuan* or *upahan* for reaping.²⁷ The work done with the hacienda's *telyadoras*, for which the tenants pay five *cavans* for every one hundred *cavans* threshed, is considered a sort of *hunakan*. As for irrigation services, tenants pay one *cavan* per "field" as has been discussed earlier. Furthermore, trucks or *kaliton* (carts) are hired by tenants to transport the rice bundles from the field to the *patio*.²⁸ Those who do not own carabaos have to hire a tractor or a carabao for plowing and harrowing,²⁹ though *suyuan* is commonly observed.

Since this is a common practice among the farmers, demand for hired labor is very large during the planting and harvesting seasons. Hired labor is supplied by agricultural laborers and members of the tenant families in the village. They usually form a loosely-tied labor group which consists of thirty or forty members headed by a boss called the *kabisilya*. In Trinidad there are four groups for the planting and one for the harvesting. When the season arrives, either the *kabisilya* approaches the tenants to obtain a work contract or vice versa, and he dispatches workers in his group to the worksite according to an agreed schedule. These labor groups meet the demand

Table 3. Number of Selected Farms by Yield Level

Yield Level	Regular Crop*	Second Crop**
0— 9 <i>cavans</i>	0	1
10—19	4	1
20—29	5	2
30—39	8	12
40—49	8	2
50—59	4	1
60 and above	3	0
Minimum and Maximum	12~63	8~53

Notes: *1966 crop year (August to December 1965)

**1966 crop year (February to June 1966)

²⁶ The wage rate of *pakyaw* labor for transplanting is twenty-five pesos per one *cavan* of seeds, which is sufficient to plant one hectare of paddy.

²⁷ In this area, the present wage rate of *upahan* labor is two pesos with one meal per day.

²⁸ In hiring trucks, tenants have to pay one *cavan* of palay for every load.

²⁹ Sixty pesos is paid for a hired tractor with a driver per day.

for hired not only within the hacienda, but also in neighboring areas.

In the *poblacion*, there are contractors for tractors, *telyadoras*, and trucks. When they receive orders from the tenants, the necessary farm machinery with operators are sent to the fields.

As was seen above, heavy reliance on hired labor is a quite common practice among the rice farmers. This is not a feature peculiar to this village, but a basic feature observed throughout the Philippines.

Level of Yields

Yield of palay per hectare on the selected farms in Trinidad is shown in Table 3. Since this data was collected through interviews, there might be some errors in the reported area planted to rice which is the basis for a calculation of the yield. Therefore, the table can only present us some ideas on yield levels. From this table, we can estimate the average yield of *panahon* in the village as approximately thirty-five to forty-five *cavans* per hectare, which is very close to that of Nueva Ecija (38.9 *cavans* according to the 1960 Census) and around ten *cavans* higher than national average. On the other hand, the average yield of *palagad* is estimated at thirty to thirty-nine *cavans*, slightly lower than that of *panahon*. In view of the indigenous nature of the rice plant, the dry season crop with the abundance of sunlight should be higher in its yield level. Therefore, it can be assumed that the lower yield of the *palagad* is due to the unstable, insufficient supply of water during the dry season.

Farm Debts

Taking into consideration that the tenure is share tenancy, the farms are small, the crop yields low, and the farm income dependant on one principal crop per year as pointed out in preceding sections, credit assumes an extraordinary importance in this village.

According to the sample survey, twenty-one out of twenty-five, 84 per cent of the farm households surveyed, received advances of palay, and twenty-four, 96 per cent of the households, received loans (See Table 4). There was one household in the sample which had not received an advance and a loan during last four or five years. This household operates two "fields" with a relatively high average yield of fifty-six *cavans* per hectare. In addition, there were three households which received only loans. These were all tenants operating one "field" with a permanent side job. Since a survey in Central Luzon reported that 89 per cent of the rural households were in debt,⁸⁰ the situation in this village proved to be no exception.

The Trinidad Credit Union⁸¹ and merchant-moneylenders are major

⁸⁰ G. F. Rivera and R. T. McMillan. *An Economic and Social Survey of Rural Households in Central Luzon*, Manila, 1954, p. 101.

⁸¹ The Trinidad Credit Union is a purely non-governmental credit union which was established with fifteen members under the guidance of the PRRM in May, 1965. In December, 1966, which means a year and a half after its establishment, fixed deposits

Table 4. Situation of Farm Debts by the Tenure Type and Credit Sources

	Types of Tenants					Total	Notes
	I	II	III	IV	V		
Number of Sample Households	11	5	3	4	2	25	
Number of Households with Advances of Rice	10	3	3	3	2	21	
(Sources)							
Hacienda	9		1	1	1	12	{ 1. No interest 2. 10 per cent interest
Villager-merchant					2	2	{ 1. 3 <i>cavans</i> of palay to 1 <i>cavan</i> of rice 2. Palay equivalent to the value of rice advanced
Merchant-moneylenders	1	3	2		1	7	{ 1. 3 <i>cavans</i> of palay to 1 <i>cavan</i> of rice 2. 40 per cent interest
Number of Households with Loans	10	5	3	4	2	24	
(Sources)							
Trinidad Credit Union	8	1	1	3		13	1 per cent interest on balance monthly
Relatives	1					1	No interest
Villager-merchant	2			1	1	4	{ 1. Repayment in the form of palay converted by the price rate at harvest time 2. 40 per cent interest (repayment in palay)
Merchant-moneylenders	2	5	2	1	1	11	{ 1. 10 per cent interest (repayment in palay) 2. 40 per cent interest (repayment in palay)

Note: In the column "Types of Tenants," I indicates registered tenants, II tenants in dispute with the hacienda, III tenants cultivating lands of former hacienda, IV non-registered tenants, and V sub-tenants. The figures on the column of the sources indicate the number of cases and do not necessarily correspond with the number of households.

sources for credit in this village, supplemented by a merchant, one of the non-cultivating tenants in Trinidad. As for an advance of palay, the ration

rose to seventeen thousand pesos and the membership to one hundred and twenty-eight members. The union consists not only of the membership from Trinidad, but from several neighboring villages. Needless to say, Trinidad has the largest membership with fifty-six households. Applicants are very strictly screened, and at present, it appears to be limited to those from the upper strata of rural households. The terms of the loan are as following; that it should not exceed the deposited amount of the individual members, that it is unredeemable for the first three months with payment over the next ten months, and that one per cent interest is charged every month on the balance. It is said that the demand for loans by members is great, and at present the average loan per person is between one hundred and two hundred pesos each.

from the hacienda is the most common source. But tenants in dispute with the hacienda or of the former hacienda used to rely on the merchant-moneylenders and a villager-merchant for securing advances of palay as well as loans.

Usurious rates of interest were observed for advances and loans. Merchant-moneylenders charge a 40 per cent interest on loans, and for advances, tenants have to pay three *cavans* of palay for every *cavan* of rice. Since one *cavan* of rice is equivalent to two *cavans* of palay, tenants must pay a 50 per cent rate of interest. Furthermore, these interest rates applied for a period of less than six months, since all debts must be liquidated at the coming of the harvest time. Thus, these rates of interest amount to be more than 100 per cent annually.

Judging from the situation mentioned above, it can be said that farm debts with usurious interest rates become deeply rooted in the farm household economy. Since this is the situation of the average rural household, the case of the squatters should be worse. Only the households in the three-and-more-“fields”-group (composed of *katiwala*), some of the two-“fields”-group (those realizing a successful farm management), and non-cultivating tenants with other occupations are excluded from the above mentioned situation.

IV. VILLAGE COMMUNITY

As has been seen in the preceding sections, there are various types of tenants, various kinds of relationships between the landlord and households and highly complicated interrelations and interconnections among the inhabitants in the village. In order to get an integrated or systematic understanding of this complicated setup of the village community, we will examine and clarify the social stratification of this village.

Economic and social relationships relating to the production activities usually take in reality a very complicated form. The most basic ones, however, exist between social classes regarded as exploiting and those regarded as exploited: i.e. between the haves and the have-nots of the means of production. In the rural Philippines, where landlordism is widely spread, the relationship between the landlords and tenants is the most basic one, for the land has a prime importance as a means of production. Therefore, we will take the class relationship as an axis when examining the social stratification.

In the case of this village, the most important aspect in the class composition is the relationship of the villagers to the hacienda. As has been explained earlier, there are three types of relationships—that of the registered tenants, non-registered tenants, and squatters. Generally speaking, the first two correspond to the agricultural operator class and the third to the non-operating class. But it should be noted that there are *katiwalas* and non-cultivating tenants among the registered tenants. *Katiwalas*, subordinates of the landlord, are selected among the inhabitants of the village and exercise supervisory power over all the tenants. Non-cultivating tenants are those who clearly exploit a certain segment of the tenant population (particularly sub-

tenants) through the sub-letting of their tenanted land. The *katiwalas* and non-cultivating tenants should therefore be considered to belong to a different stratum. Thus we see that the Trinidad village society is composed of three strata; one is the stratum which holds a controlling or exploiting relationship over the other members of the village, a farm operator stratum, and the non-operating stratum. Applying the terms Upper, Middle, and Lower to the respective strata, the Upper stratum is composed of *katiwalas* and non-cultivating tenants, the Middle of all registered and non-registered tenants excluding those belonging to the Upper stratum, and the Lower of squatters. Each of these strata is not necessarily homogeneous. It may be divided further into sub-strata if criteria such as number of "field," range of controlling power, and the possibility of mobility are taken into consideration. Table 5 shows the class composition of Trinidad.

Table 5. Class Composition in the Village

Strata	Number of "field"					Total	Notes
	None	One	Two	Three and above	Unkown		
Upper Stratum	U		1	4		5	Registered Tenants
	L		10	3	3	16	
Middle Stratum	U		3	12		15	Non-registered Tenants
	M		51		1	52	
	L		11	2		13	
Lower Stratum	U	56				56	Squatters
	L	7				7	
Total		63	75	18	4	164	

Twenty-one households belong to the Upper stratum and, as has previously been mentioned, they comprise *katiwalas* and non-cultivating tenants. Properly speaking, the *katiwala* should be placed in a stratum higher than Upper. But in the case of this village, the *katiwalas* were selected from the registered tenants and the position of *katiwala* is not necessarily inaccessible to the ordinary tenants. Furthermore, if we take these situations into consideration, it would be closer to the actual conditions of this village to include the *katiwala* within the Upper stratum rather than to place them in a completely separate one. Since there are differences between *katiwalas* and non-cultivating tenants in their control over the other members of the village, however, we have to divide the Upper stratum into two sub-strata: the Upper-U composed of the *katiwalas* and the Upper-L of the non-cultivating tenants. One of the characteristics commonly observed in the Upper stratum is economic wealth, though there are some cases of not-well-to-do families whose sole income source is a sub-tenant rent. The family which practices extending the palay advances and loans, as has been previously explained, is included in this stratum. Though there are only two *katiwalas* in the *barrio council*²²

at present, the position of *barrio captain* had been assumed until the mid-1950's by a member of this stratum. With the ruling and economic power previously noted, the Upper stratum maintains a significant latent power in the village society.

The Middle stratum is composed of farm operators. Eighty households of the village belong to this stratum. Among these households there are differences in their types of tenanted land holdings as well as number of tenanted "field", and there are supposed to be the most important determinants for the size of farm income. Therefore, we can classify this stratum into three sub-strata. Middle-U into which fifteen farm households fall, is the two-"fields"-group with the relatively stable farm management. Middle-M into which fifty-two households are classified, consists of one-"field" tenants. Farm management of this group is more or less unstable and operators usually seek an off-farm income source to supplement their insufficient farm income. Middle-L consists of thirteen sub-tenants who are under the double burden of farm rent and who tend toward securing off-farm income sources. As a whole, this stratum forms the core of village society and is the most active in village affairs. This is indicated by the fact that the *barrio captain* has been elected mainly from the U or M of this stratum since the middle 1950's.

The Lower stratum is composed of sixty-three households of squatters. Among them, those who are former tenants or sons of tenants who established separate households, should be classified into the sub-stratum (Lower-U) that is separated from that of original squatters (Lower-L), for the former generally have very close relations with the farm operators' stratum and retaining certain possibilities to advance to the operators' stratum, while the latter, vagrant-like, have no contact with other residents of the village. Though the economic condition of this stratum is below that of the Middle, participation in community affairs is quite active with the exception of those from the Lower-L.

Having presented a general pictures of the social stratification in the village, we will now discuss the basic characteristic of it. To give the conclusion first, we can assume the above-mentioned stratification as a differentiation of the tenant class of the hacienda. We will develop this thesis as thoroughly as possible though it is difficult to present sufficient evidence due to lack of complete data and information.

First, it can be presumed that the class structure of the village at the time of the establishment of the hacienda was very simple. Most probably, a single homogenous stratum, that of farm operators, predominated the entire class structure and there might have been only a handful of squatters if they did exist. The holdings of tenanted land by the farm operators was either one or two "fields". Though division of one "field" into smaller units is strictly prohibited, it is possible to divide two "fields" into two one "field." Therefore, in the process of population increase, the number of one "field" operators

³² A *barrio council* consists of one *barrio captain* and six *barrio councilmen* who are elected by votes.

has increased while those operating two "fields" of land has continued to decrease. In this sense we can assume the number in the agricultural operator stratum has slightly increased. But the operation of one tenanted "field" was originally not sufficient to support a household. It is essential with one "field" operation to supplement farm income through off-farm employment. And the economic situation here is quite unstable. Therefore it is not difficult to imagine the downward movement of these tenants to the non-operators, if they come across a misfortune such as illness, a fire, robbery and the like. Moreover, for the children of these one "field" operators, there is no means available to remain in the village except by becoming squatters when they grow up and are ready to establish independent households. Though there are some cases of non-operators rising to the operator stratum through inheritance of tenanted land, new registration, or by some other means, non-operators will out-number others simply because arable land is limited in the hacienda. In this manner, an enlarged non-operators' stratum is formed within the class structure of the village.

On the other hand, the operation of two "fields" of tenanted land is comparatively stable and savings, if any, might be possible in some particular cases. Purchasing land within the hacienda, however, is impossible, and due to the tenancy system and various restrictions it is difficult to expand the farm size. Therefore, though upward movement arises within the operators' stratum, the direction tends toward non-agricultural activities such as merchandising, store owning, and government employment.

At the time when these inner contradictions had increased, new changes on the landlord side such as absentee landlordism on the part of the hacienda owner and his denial of new registration or revision of tenancy contracts occurred. With respect to the absentee landlordism, the increase of the *katiwalas'* authority, their accumulation of tenant land, and their practice of sub-leasing tenanted land developed. The farm households moving upwards strengthen their advancement into non-agricultural fields by transforming into non-cultivating tenants and thus furthering their economic level. Here, they enter into a new relationship in which they control sub-tenants. The sub-tenant stratum in which a tenant is subject to a double rent from the hacienda and the upper stratum has been created within the farm operator's stratum.

What will be the most fundamental significance or implication of this social stratification? In the case of a *hacienda barrio*, the concurrence of common interest among the tenants is supposed to take the most distinctive form since the tenants unanimously have relations with a single landlord. In Trinidad, however, a heterogeneity of the tenant class results in a lack of integration, which is considered to be one factor of weakening the tenants' bargaining power with the landlord. For the landlord, the accumulation of tenanted "field" by his agents implies a more effective rule over the tenants and thereby facilitate overall control. Furthermore, the agent and the existence of multiple sub-classes within the originally uniform class such as sub-tenants,

non-cultivating tenants, and squatters helps to fragment tenant interest. Such a fragmentation is very favorable to the landlord in his class relationship with the tenants. This is the fundamental significance of the present state of the class composition of Trinidad village.

We have discussed in this paper the socio-economic structure of Trinidad, a *hacienda barrio* in Central Luzon. As was hypothesized at the beginning, various distinctive features deriving from the hacienda type of landownership have been observed. The most basic feature is, the author thinks, the class composition in which multiple sub-classes such as non-cultivating tenants and sub-tenants are included. The existence of sub-classes within the tenant class, supposedly homogeneous, is quite exceptional in the Philippines and the class structure observed in this village is assumed to result from what the author calls the framework of a hacienda.

Very unfortunately, we must at present refrain from developing any kind of generalization simply because there have been very few studies on the socio-economic structure of the *hacienda barrios* as well as other types of villages. We can only look forward to further studies being undertaken in the future, especially a study of the socio-economic framework of haciendas, the historical development of hacienda type of landownership, and the hierarchy status of the *hacienda barrio*.