THE STATUS OF RURAL LIFE IN THE DUMAGUETE CITY TRADE AREA, PHILIPPINES 1952

ROBERT A. POLSON and AGATON P. PAL

DATA PAPER: NUMBER 21
SOUTHEAST ASIA PROGRAM
DEPARTMENT OF FAR EASTERN STUDIES
CORNELL UNIVERSITY, ITHACA, NEW YORK
JUNE 1956

PRICE ONE DOLLAR

FOREWORD

This paper is a description of the present status of rural life in the rice-corn-coconut area of the Central Philippines. The survey on which this narration is based was conducted to establish a base line against which succeeding studies can measure the acceptance or rejection of technological practices. Special attention was given to those changes in the area of agriculture and health that have been approved and promoted by public policy or commercial interests. Some attention has been given to traditional ways of living, particularly for those thought most likely to change due to the pressure of new practices. The data and observations of the study indicate a rather rapid but selective spread of new practices throughout the area. There is a differential between new and traditional practices in direct relation to the degree of isolation, but the difference is not as large as anticipated and seems to be rather rapidly disappearing.

The contents of this publication are presented as a descriptive data paper on rural life in the Visayan part of the Philippines. Formal research reports will be published separately from time to time. The major findings, however, will not appear until after the first of the series of restudies of the Dumaguete trade area has been completed, probably in 1958-59. The intended readers of this report are college students in the social sciences in the authors' respective institutions, and the selection of data was made in terms of their class room needs. It is hoped that other readers desiring information on the rural Philippines will find this report useful and that it will stimulate them to study the problems of social change.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The field work for this study was conducted under a grant from the United States Educational Foundation in the Philippines. The authors wish to express their debt of gratitude to the Foundation Board of Directors and to the staff of the Foundation for their wholehearted cooperation and their interest in the project.

We wish also to express our debt of gratitude to the staff and students of Silliman University and the many people of Dumaguete City who generously aided us in the study. Silliman University contributed the time of staff members, office facilities and equipment. Appreciation is expressed to the Silliman Faculty Advisory Committee on the project: former President and Mrs. A.L. Carson, Vice-President Robert B. Silliman, Dean Herman C. Gregorio, Dean James F. McKinley, Dean Pedro E.J. Rio, Director Proculo A. Rodriguez, Professors Boyd A. Bell, Timoteo S. Oracion, and Agaton P. Pal. Mr. Pal later joined the senior author at Cornell University where he participated in the analysis of the data and the preparation of this manuscript.

Special assistance in obtaining field interviews was given by District Superintendent of Schools Tomas de Castro. Twelve experienced school teachers who knew the families and the dialect in the areas in which interviews were made were recruited by Mr. de Castro for survey work during their Christmas vacation. The twelve teachers were: Mr. Lino Avanzado, who interviewed in the barrios of Calangag, Isugan, Sacsac; Mr. Felipe Basubas, barrios of San Antonio and Tubtubon; Mr. Adriano Carino and Mr. P. Corteza, who interviewed the barrios of Malaunay, Palinpinon, Sagbang, and Valencia Poblacion; Mr. Socorro Carino in the barrios of Canal, Calindagan; Mrs. Dolores Dago-oc in barrios Balayanmanoc, Bongbong, and Mampas; Mr. Napoleon Duran in barrio Looc; Mr. Aproniano Laspinas in barrio Buntod; Mr. Hilarion Llosa, barrios Cantil-i, and Bajongpandan; Mr. H. Mercado, barrio of Bantayan; Mr. Vivencio S. Oracion, Bacong Poblacion; Mr. Agustin Riconalla, barrios of Camanjac and Batinguel. In addition to these twelve interviewers from the public school system, Mrs. Rosario G. Oracion of the Silliman University faculty interviewed in barrio Maslog and Mr. Timoteo Oracion of the Silliman faculty was the field supervisor.

PART ONE

THE DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA AND ITS PEOPLE

In 1952 a survey was conducted in the Dumaguete City trade area. Its purpose was to establish a benchmark of a long-term study of the acceptance of technological changes in a rice-corn-coconut culture complex area in the Philippines. The Dumaguete trade area was chosen because rice, corn, and coconut are its principal crops, and its proximity to a transmission center of modern practices puts it directly under the impact of modern technology. The area is composed of the municipalities of Dumaguete, Sibulan, Valencia, and Bacong. Twenty-three barrios, out of 71, were chosen for the study. From these barrios, 515 households were randomly chosen to constitute the sample of the study. This is a 7% sample of the total number of households in the area. See Appendix A and B.

The plan of the research is to repeat the survey five years and ten years after the benchmark. We hope to discover through this research some patterns in the people's acceptance of modern practices which can be used in a program of rural development. At this stage, therefore, we are not yet in a position to make a complete report. This one describes the present status of rural life in this part of the Philippines and particularly that of the farm operating families.

1. The Trade Area

The poblacion[1] of Dumaguete is the trade center of the area in which this study was made. Dumaguete is located in the southern part of Negros, an island in

---

[1] According to the Philippine Census definition, a poblacion is an urban section, a barrio a rural section of a municipality. Theoretically, a city is an urban municipality. But Dumaguete, not withstanding its being a city, is still largely rural. Its urban or city characteristics are confined to the Dumaguete poblacion..

the Visayan region of the Philippines. It is the capital of the province of Negros Oriental and as such is headquarters for government agencies on the provincial level.[2] These are: the Philippine Constabulary, Bureau of Prisons, Bureau of Public Schools, Bureau of Health, Bureau of Internal Revenue, Bureau of Public Works, Bureau of Lands, Bureau of Agricultural Extension, Bureau of Veterinary Medicine, the National Bank, the Red Cross, etc. Dumaguete is also a commercial center, not only for the province of Negros Oriental but also for the neighboring provinces. It is a port of call for inter-island and foreign boats. The commerce of Negros Oriental with Manila and with the western provinces in Mindanao, the southern region of the Philippines, flows through the Dumaguete port. In addition to its water connections, it has a national airport. The greatest concentration of Chinese[3] in the province live in Dumaguete; as a matter of fact, there are two Chinese schools and a Chinese Chamber of Commerce.

Silliman University was established by the American Presbyterian Foreign Missions in 1901. It has an enrollment of more than 3,000 students that come principally from the Visayan provinces and Mindanao.[4] About twenty-five American families are on the university faculty. There are two other private colleges in the city: St. Paulás College, a Roman Catholic School, and Foundation College, a non-sectarian school. In addition to these schools, which make Dumaguete a center of learning, there are four movie houses. The latest Hollywood version of American life and the western acculturated version of Philippine life[5] are disseminated.

---

2 The Philippine government is highly centralized. A national agency or bureau has a provincial office usually located at the capital of the province. The provincial office administers and supervises the field activities.

3 The Chinese in the Philippines are engaged primarily in business and in some places they control both the wholesale and retail business. Their concentration in a municipality may be an index of the place as a commercial center.

4 A number of Thai and Indonesians study in Silliman University.

5 Philippine movies are made in Manila.

Dumaguete poblacion, according to the 1948 census, had a population of 9,366 in an area of 4 square kilometers. That means, it had a density of 2,442 persons per square kilometer. This is the trade center of the Dumaguete area. It has the chief market of the province and the volume of business is large through out the week. This observation is significant because the markets in other municipalities have a sizeable volume of business only on the market day which is held once a week. The effect of the market place and the deliberate efforts of the agencies located in this center to introduce modern practices to the people create a strong force for change. This impact, we believe, is quite strong in the Dumaguete area.

The trade area of Dumaguete poblacion which was studied includes the barrios of: Dumaguete, Sibulan, a municipality north of Dumaguete, Valencia, a municipality west of Dumaguete, and Bacong, a municipality south of Dumaguete. This trade area extends: 10 kilometers to the north, 15 kilometers to the west, and 9 kilometers to the south of Dumaguete. The sea is east of the trade center.

TABLE 1

APPROXIMATE AREA AND POPULATION DENSITY OF THE DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1948

Trade Area	Area	Number of Barrios	Population	Population Density	Distance from Trade Center
Dumaguete[6]	30 sq. km.	23	15,472	673	
Bacong	23 " "	20	8,676	377	9 km.
Sibulan	40 " "	9	8,096	202	10 "
Valencia	163 " "	19	7,059	43	15 "
TOTAL	256 sq. km.	71	39,303	153.5	
Dumaguete poblacion	4 sq. km.	-	9,366	2,442	

6 Excluding the Dumaguete poblacion.

As shown in Table 1, there is a direct correlation between proximity to the trade center and population density. Proximity to the trade center and population density are both correlated with transportation facilities, that is, the nearer the place to the trade center the nearer it is to the road where one can ride on a bus. The difference in the population density of the trade center and the trade area is one of the indices of their contrasting characteristics. The population density of the trade area, which is 15365, compared to the density of the Philippines as a whole, which is 64.7,[7] indicates a considerable degree of population concentration in this area.

2. Some Barrio Institutions

Barrio and Poblacion defined: In the preceding section we have said that the Dumaguete trade area is composed of 71 barrios. But by definition of the Philippine Census, three of them are poblaciones, not barrios! A poblacion is one of the districts of a municipality and is the seat of the municipal government. It is defined by the Philippine Census as urban, and a barrio, as rural. Since the three poblaciones are more rural than urban and have less than 2500 population, we have considered them the same as barrios to denote their rural characteristics.

A barrio is a district of a municipality; but it is also a basic unit of rural society with a community life of its own. If a person is asked where he lives or where he comes from, he does not say "I come from, or I am from barrio Maslog". Instead he would say, "I am taga-Maslog, or I am Maslognon". The prefix taga and the suffic non both mean of, denoting a person's being a part of the barrio. This sense of belongingness and group identity result from the location of dwellings in clusters and the participation of the people in the institutional activities of the barrio.

---

[7] Data for 1948 furnished by the Philipp ine Bureau of Census to McMillan and Rivera for use in The Rural Philippines, p. 177.

The Barrio Fiesta. One of the institutional activities of the barrio is the fiesta. Every barrio has a Patron Saint and most of the barrios have constructed a chapel named for their saint. A fiesta is an annual celebration held in honor of a Patron Saint. It is preceded by nine nights of prayer at the chapel. The young boys and girls of the barrio are organized into nine groups, each group contributing candles for lighting and taking care of the decoration of the chapel for an evening. Men who can play musical instruments make up an orchestra to accompany the singing part of the prayers. The households also are divided into nine groups, each group providing one evening of food and tuba[8] for the leaders of the prayers and the members of the orchestra. The men and women who have a flare for acting get together and prepare a drama for the night of the fiesta. The barrio lieutenant arranges for the construction of a stage, and the hermano mayor[9] collects money from each household. This is used to pay for the services of the priest who will be invited to say a holy mass at the chapel. The day of the fiesta is the culmination of many hectic preparations.

The fiesta involves every household in the barrio, it brings the people together in cooperative activities, and it provides opportunities for the expression of talents. The willingness of the people to work voluntarily and to contribute money for the fiesta is an index of group unity and identity. If this enthusiasm can be projected to other areas of community life, then barrio improvement can be speeded up.

The Barrio School. Another institutional activity of the barrio is the school, most barrios have a four-grade school. However, during the Japanese occupation, most of the buildings were destroyed. At the end of the war, the

---

8 Tuba is a national beverage made by fermenting the juice of the coconut palm.

9 Hermano mayor literally means "older brother". In the barrio, it means "Chairman of the Fiesta".

government could provide only the salaries of the teachers so the people had to construct temporary classrooms in order to reestablish the school in their barrio. In case a barrio had not had a school before the war, the people had to donate a school site as well as to construct temporary buildings.

It appears that the barrio school buildings will continue to be temporary for the next ten or twenty years. The people maintain their temporary school buildings by periodic voluntary labor and money contributions to buy materials. This situation results in the peopleás identification of the school as their project. To give voluntary labor and to contribute money for the maintenance of the school building are accepted by the barrio people as duties. This participation in a common enterprise has reinforced group unity and group identity among the barrio people.

The Barrio Government. In theory a barrio is a unit of government. The Administrative Code of the country provides for the appointment of a teniente,[10] one or more sub-tenientes, councilmen and policemen. Except for the policemen, the appointed officials constitute the Rural Council of a barrio. These officials do not receive a salary but the people contribute money to buy uniforms for the policemen. The teniente, togetherawith the councilmen, settles disputes in the barrio, while the policemen are the local peace officers.

The actual situation, however, is often different from the intent of the law or of custom. The teniente is the choice of a politician, not the people's choice. In many barrios no appointments of councilmen and policemen are made. The people no longer look to the teniente for advice. In fact many people consider the office a burden because government officials who go to the barrio expect the teniente to take care of their food and lodging. By the standards of Filipino hospitality, it is not proper for a host to charge his guests.[11] The "police rural"

---

10 Teniente means lieutenant.

11 President Magsaysay has tried to solve the dilemma of Filipino hospitality by bringing baon (lunch or food provision) whenever he goes to a barrio. Cf. Agricultural and Industrial Life, Manila, December, 1954, p. 6.

and the "concejal rural" are not always considered positions of prestige, some people even refuse to accept an appointment to these offices.

Why is the barrio government no longer effective? We have not studied the situation long enough to be able to pinpoint the causes, but our conjectures are: (1) the teniente is not the choice of the people. Politics has disrupted the leadership system of the barrio. (2) The Municipal government has absorbed the functions of the barrio government. (3) The councilmen and policemen are not clothed with enough authority to function effectively. (4) The Rural Council, as a whole, does not have enough powers to solve the problems of the barrio. For example, it cannot promulgate ordinances and has nothing to do with taxation; neither has it any voice in the appropriation of tax money for barrio projects.

We do not believe that it is necessary to make the positions in the barrio government salaried jobs, especially since the barrio cannot afford to pay for them, but these positions can be dignified with prestige so that men of talents will aspire to them. Since the barrio carries on its religious affairs very well, it is quite possible that given the necessary autonomous conditions it can also manage its civic affairs effectively.

There are other institutionalized activities in the barrios, such as: marriage, mutual aid patterns, care of old and destitute parents and relatives, etc., but for our purpose, it is not necessary to go into their complicated details. The institutions of the fiesta, the barrio school, and the barrio government are sufficient to demonstrate that a barrio is a unit of community life.

3. Population Characteristics

Age-Sex Distribution. The survey of the trade area in December, 1952, included a census of the inhabitants of the area. In the 515 sample households, the total number of inhabitants was 2,868. The males numbered 1,425 and the females, 1,443. The sex ratio is 98.7 males for every 100 women. But the greater significance of the sex ratio is in the age bracket 15-34 years old, which is the marriage-

able period of life. Table 2 shows that for the ages 15-34, there are 461 males and 483 females. The sex ratio is 95.4.

TABLE 2

AGE-SEX DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE POPULATION
DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

Age	Male	Female	Total	Per cent	
Under 5	259	253	512	17.8)	Young
5 - 9	162	156	318	11.0)	
10 - 14	192	176	368	12.8)	41.6%
15 - 19	154	165	319	11.2)	
20 - 24	117	132	249	8.7)	Adults
25 - 34	190	186	376	13.2)	
35 - 44	147	154	311	10.8)	51.1%
45 - 54	104	101	205	7.2)	
55 - 64	53	67	120	4.2)	Old
65 and over	47	43	90	3.1)	7.3%
TOTAL	1,425	1,443	2,868	100.0	

It is our hypothesis that in view of the cultural pattern of the Philippines which discourages the migration of women, the 95.4 sex ratio in the marriageable age bracket is the result of sex-selective migration. This hypothesis is supported by the data on the Manila population of 1948 which was composed of 83,746 females and 88,622 males in the age bracket 25-34, an excess of 4,876 males.[12] In the provinces of Cotabato, Davao, Lanao and Zamboanga, which are receiving migrants from other places, there are also more males than females. In the provinces whose populations are migrating, like the Ilocos provinces, there are more females than males.[13] In the United States for the year 1950, there were 297 male Filipinos for every 100 Filipino women.[14]

---

12 Journal of Philippine Statistics, Vol. V, No. 8, Tables 6 and 7.

13 Ibid., Vol. V, No. 9, Table 7.

14 United States Census - 1950 Special Population Report: Non-White Population, by Race.

Child-Bearing Rates. From Table 2, the crude birth rate, hereafter called "birth rate" and fertility ratio can be derived. Birth rate refers to the number of children born in a year to every 1,000 peoples. In the area studied by this research the birth rate is 35.7. Compared to figures in Table 3 on overall birth rates, the Dumaguete trade area has a significantly higher birth rates.

TABLE 3

PHILIPPINE BIRTH RATES IN SELECTED YEARS COMPARED WITH OTHER COUNTRIES[15]

Philippine Birth Rates		Selected Countries	
Year	Birth Rate	Average Birth Rate, 1941-1949[16]	
1950	32.4	United States	20.0
1949	31.3	Switzerland	19.0
1948	31.5	Sweden	18.7
1947	30.4	France	17.6
1946	28.7	England and Wales	17.1

The birth rate, however, does not give a true picture of the child-bearing capacity of the population because it takes into account both sexes of all ages in the population. Fertility ratio refers to the number of children less than 5 years old per 1,000 women of the child-bearing age, 15-44. From Table 2 again, the fertility ratio can be derived, which is 816 children per 1,000 women, 15-44 years old. This is higher than the fertility ratio of the 13 barrios surveyed by McMillan and Rivera, which is 725.7, and of the rural United States, which was 600 for 1950.[17]

Another way of computing the child-bearing rate is to determine the number of children ever born to women who have passed the child-bearing age. Table 4 shows that 656 children were born for every 100 women. We have no figure to compare

---

15 Annual Report of the Bureau of Health for the Fiscal Year 1949-1950, p. 44. Quoted from McMillan and Rivera, The Rural Philippines, p. 179.

16 Paul H. Landis, Population Problems: A Cultural Intepretation. New York: American Book Co., 1954, p. 159.

17 T. Lynn Smith, The Sociology of Rural Life, New York Harper & Bros., 1953 p. 133

with this rate.

TABLE 4

NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN PER 100 WOMEN PAST THE CHILD-BEARING AGE
DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

Age of Women	Number of Children														To-tal
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
45-54	5	3	6	12	8	5	8	12	13	6	9	3	1	-	91
55-64	4	1	4	5	10	3	3	5	8	1	1	1	1	1	48
65 & over	1	1	6	2	3	4	2	5	3	3	-	-	1	-	31
Total No. of Women	10	5	16	19	21	12	13	22	24	10	10	4	3	1	170
Total No. of Children	10	10	48	76	105	72	91	176	216	100	110	48	39	14	1115

Formula: $\frac{\text{Total No. of Children}}{\text{Total No. of Women}} \times 100$

$$\frac{1,115}{170} \times 100 = 656$$

Marriage Age Profile. A study of the ages of the husbands and the wives at first marriage reveals an interesting pattern. Among the women 38% married before they were 20 years old, while among the men of the same age only 11% did. Only 9% of the women married after they were 30 years old while 16% of the men of the same age did. As shown in Table 5 below, women tend to marry earlier then men.

TABLE 5

AGE OF HUSBANDS AND WIVES AT THE TIME OF THEIR FIRST MARRIAGE
DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

Age at Marriage	No. of Husbands	Per cent	No. of Wives	Per cent	Total
Under 15	1	.2	7	1.5	8
15 - 19	51	10.9	175	36.4	226
20 - 24	203	43.5	168	35.0	371
25 - 29	140	29.9	88	19.3	228
30 - 34	40	8.7	26	5.4	66
35 - 39	23	4.9	9	1.9	32
40 and over	9	1.9	7	1.5	16
Total	467	100.0	480	100.0	947

A table of age and marriage chances can be derived from the figures in Table 5. For the men, the age bracket 20-24 and for the women, 15-19 can be considered as a 100% marriage probability. Using them as base figures, the marriage probability at different ages can be derived, as shown on Table 6.

TABLE 6

AGE AND MARRIAGE PROBABILITY
DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

Age	Marriage Probabilities	
	Men	Women
Under 15	0.5	5.0
15 - 19	25.0	100.0
20 - 24	100.0	96.0
25 - 29	75.0	60.0
30 - 34	22.0	16.0
35 - 39	10.0	6.0
40 and over	5.0	4.0

The age-marriage probability table applies only to the Dumaguete trade area. Although it probably is true for other rural areas of the Philippines, it is our conjecture that it is not valid in urban areas or among young men and women who are pursuing studies in colleges and universities.

Mobility. The mobility of the population is very low. Most of the husbands and wives in the area were born in the barrio where they now live. This means most of them married someone from the same barrio and this supports the notion that the choice of a marriage partner is largely influenced by propinquity.

The marriage of persons from the same barrio implies that these persons had not gone to other places long enough to choose or be chosen as a marriage partner. This implication is supported by the figures in Table 8 which show the number of times the husbands and wives had lived outside the barrio where they were born.

TABLE 7

BIRTHPLACE OF HUSBANDS AND WIVES, DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

Birthplace	Husband Number	Husband Per cent	Wife Number	Wife Per cent	Total Number	Total Per cent
This Barrio	285	59.2	286	58.0	571	58.6
Other Barrio in the same Municipality	101	21.0	109	22.1	210	21.6
Other Municipality in the same Province	72	15.0	78	15.9	150	15.4
Other Provinces	23	4.8	20	4.0	43	4.4
Total	481	100.0	493	100.0	974	100.0

The survey data on the desire of the household heads to move to another place to acquire a piece of land or to improve their present economic situation shows that most of them do not desire to leave the place where they now live. Only 8.3% of the household heads express a desire to migrate to Mindanao or to other places. However, this attitude does not imply that their sons do not desire to go to other places either for adventure or to "seek a fortune".

TABLE 8

MOBILITY OF HUSBANDS AND WIVES WHO WERE BORN AND NOW LIVE IN THE SAME BARRIO DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

Number of Times Lived Outside the Barrio	Husbands Number	Husbands Per cent	Wives Number	Wives Per cent	Total Number	Total Per cent
None	205	72.0	209	73.1	414	72.5
One	32	11.2	34	11.9	66	11.6
Two	34	12.0	25	8.8	59	10.3
Three	11	3.8	15	5.2	26	4.6
Four	1	.3	2	.7	3	.5
Five	2	.7	1	.3	3	.5
Total	285	100.0	286	100.0	571	100.0

Other characteristics. The 515 sample households reported a total of 2,667 children born. Of this number 789 died, or 3 out of every 10. Of the 515 households, 3 out of 5 had one or more children who had died. Of the 1,878 children who are alive, 311 are away from home, or 15 out of every 100. Seven out of 10 households had all their children at home. The above figures reflect a high death rate and low mobility.

There are 489 other persons, not children of the households, living with the sample families. All told, the average number of persons per household is 5.56. This is lower than the average for Negros Oriental which is 5.64, and higher than the average for the whole Philippines, which is 5.49.[21]

4. Ecology and Communication

Cluster of Houses. The people live in houses which are located close to each other. More than 7 out of every 10 houses are in a cluster. The largest cluster of houses is usually the center of barrio life. At this cluster, the barrio school and the chapel are usually located. Using the barrio school as a center, most of the houses are located near it, as shown in Table 9.

TABLE 9

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSES AND DISTANCE FROM BARRIO SCHOOL
DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952
(515 Households)

Distance	Percentage of Houses
Less than 1 kilometer	63.7
1 - 1.49 kilometer	23.9
1.50 - 1.99 kilometer	9.5
2 and more kilometers	2.9
Total	100.0

[21] Philippine Land Tenure Reform: Analysis and Recommendations, Table B20, derived from the 1948 Census of the Philippines.

There are both disadvantages and advantages in the barrios' village type community. Living in a cluster of houses means living at a distance from one's farm. But this disadvantage is not as important as it might seem at first, because the farms in the area are so fragmented that a farmer may have 3 or 4 separate parcels of land. On the other hand, proximity of dwellings enhances community unity and permits social control to operate effectively. One of the factors which influences people to live in a cluster is the isolation of the barrio. According to a barrio proverb, "A good neighbor is better than a brother who is far away". This shows Filipino love for close fellowship and dependence upon mutual aid. If the barrio were not isolated from other barrios or from the trade center in terms of communication and transportation, people would not be so dependent upon their neighbors.

Transportation. The type of road which is nearest to the houses in the barrio is an index of the type of transportation and the degree of the isolation of the barrio, in Table 10.

TABLE 10

TYPE OF ROAD AND PERCENTAGE OF HOUSES LOCATED NEAR IT
DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952
(515 Households)

Type of Road	Percentage of Houses
Foot trail	54.6
Carabao Cart Trail	8.9
Dirt Road	12.6
Gravel Road	9.7
Paved Road	14.2
Total	100.0

Only the gravel and paved roads are all weather roads for trucks and buses. Dirt roads are not passable during the rainy season. If we consider that the farms of the people are farther from the road than their houses, we realize why the farmers carry on their shoulders, and the women carry on their heads with great dexterity, their farm products.

Coprax is usually transported on a carabao's back or in a two-wheeled cart. As a matter of fact, the carabao is the principal source of power for both transportation and farming. Only 17 out of every 100 households have a bicycle, and only one out of every 125 households has a jeep. Going to Dumaguete City, the trade center, is still a special event for most people. Children wait for the coming home of their father and mother with great expectation for a treat of candies or bread. We suspect, although we have not ascertained it, that many adults in the barrios have not ridden on a truck (bus) for a distance of even 25 kilometers. Mobility from one place to another is still very slow.

Communication. Transportation and communication are directly related, that is, poor transportation means a low degree of communication. This conclusion is borne out by our data in the case of mobile movies. The United States Information Service (USIS) has its office at the trade center. Silliman University and the USIS each have a mobile movie truck which shows films without charge to the people of the trade area. Many of the household heads had not seen a film from the mobile movies during the entire year of 1952, as shown in Table 11.

TABLE 11

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN THE DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA WHO SAW FILMS IN 1952
(515 Households)

Number of Times	at Movie Theatre	at Mobile Movie Truck
None	70.8	55.2
1 - 3	15.3	36.5
4 or more	13.9	8.3
Total	100.0	100.0

The possession of a radio receiving set is very limited because of the lack of electricity. But even in the barrios near the trade center which had access to electricity, very few persons had a receiving set. For the entire trade area only 1.6% or 16 out of every 1,000 households had a radio. However, about 100 household heads listened at the 16 households with radios, or an average of 6 household heads listening per radio. This situation is tenable because of the location of dwellings in clusters and the neighborliness among the barrio people. The information on the possession of a radio becomes more significant when we consider the fact that in the trade area Silliman University operates a radio station, and on the nearby island of Cebu there are also two radio stations.

Other sources of the people's information reflect the clustering of houses in a barrio and the primary group characteristics of the barrio.

TABLE 12

SOURCES OF INFORMATION: "WHO IS YOUR BEST SOURCE OF GENERAL INFORMATION?"
DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952
(499 Households)

Source of Information	Percentage of Households
Neighbors and Relatives	34.9
Barrio Lieutenant	30.7
School Teachers	14.0
Newspapers and Magazines	13.8
Government Officials	1.0
Others	11.6
Total	100.0

It is our conjecture that the high percentage of households which get information from newspapers and magazines is largely a result of the reading centers in the barrio.[22]

[22] Reading centers are community projects of the barrio people under the leadership of the school teachers. A small house (sizes: 2' x 4', 4' x 4' or 3' x 6') is constructed cooperatively by the people. In it magazines and newspapers are placed by the teachers, local newspaper subscribers, and by the USIS.e The magazines and newspapers are usually many weeks old; nevertheless many people read them.

5. Education

Rising Level of Literacy. Among the household heads, 3 out of every 10 had not gone to school and only 14 out of 100 had gone beyond the sixth year in school. Among the housewives, more than 4 out of every 10 had not gone to school and only 1 out of 10 had gone beyond the sixth year in school. The women 35 or 40 years ago did not avail themselves of educational opportunity as much as the men did. The level of education, however, is rising. This is shown in Table XIII where a family member's education is significantly higher than the education of either husbands or wives.

TABLE 13

HIGHEST NUMBER OF GRADES OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY A FAMILY MEMBER
DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

Grades Completed	Husbands N = 469 Per cent	Wives N = 450 Per cent	Any Member of the Family Per cent
None	31.4	43.0	5.8
1	4.2	4.1	2.3
2	9.3	7.5	3.5
3	13.1	11.7	10.7
4	16.0	13.9	19.4
5	6.9	6.2	14.4
6	4.7	3.2	14.4
7 - 10	9.8	6.2	19.2
11 - 14	4.2	3.2	8.9
Over 14	0.4	0.6	1.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

The rising level of literacy is clearly apparent in the inverse correlation between ability to read and age, that is, the lower the age (excluding children less than 10 years old) the higher the literacy rate. This relationship indicates that (1) educational opportunities are becoming available to more people, and (2) the

interest of the people in education has been increasing. The per cent of literacy[23] in the area is 62, Table 14, as compared to 60 per cent for the nation.

TABLE 14

AGE AND PER CENT OF LITERACY OF 2,038 HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS IN THE DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

Age	Per cent Illiterate	Per cent Literate
10 - 14	21	79
15 - 19	13	87
20 - 24	19	81
25 - 34	30	70
35 - 44	44	56
45 - 54	51	49
55 - 64	59	41
65 and over	69	31
Average	38	62

Literacy Habits. One of the incentives to learning to read and write is the exercise of suffrage, because literacy is a required qualification for a voter in the Philippines. Six out of every 10 household heads, and 5 out of every ten housewives were registered voters. Almost all registered voters vote during political elections.

The ability to read and write needs to be exercised in order to improve the skill and to make it a tool for the broadening of a person's social and economic outlook. A formal education of two or three years in school which uses English as a medium of instruction is barely functional and whatever skill is acquired is easily lost by disuse. As shown in Table 15, more than one half of the households do not have a newspaper or magazine to read.

---

23 Literacy is defined as the ability to read and write. In computing the literacy rate of a population, only those 10 years old and over are considered.

TABLE 15

NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES READ BY THE MEMBERS OF 515 HOUSEHOLDSt
IN THE DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

Papers Read	Percentage of Households
None	52.7
Weekly papers	33.6
Monthly magazines	1.4
Daily and Weekly papers	3.5
Daily, Weekly and Monthly	1.4
Other	7.4
Total	100.0

TABLE 16

NUMBER OF BOOKS OWNED BY THE MEMBERS OF 512 HOUSEHOLDS
DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

Number of Books Owned	Percentage of Households
None	71.3
1 - 5	18.3
6 - 10	3.9
11 and over	6.5
Totalt	100.0

The percentage of households which do not possess any books is very high. The illiteracy among household heads, as shown in Table 13 is 3 out of every 10, but there are 7 out of every 10 households whichtdo not own books. Therefore more than one-half of those who know how to read and write do not have a book in their household. When literacy is not used to acquire information from printed pages, such literacy ceases to be functional.

One reason fortthe lack of reading activities is the shortage of reading matter in the vernacular. At the trade center there is a vernacular four-page weekly paper but its circulation is very limited. There is a need for more vernatcular reading matter which willtaccomplish the twin purposes of literacy exercise and

the dissemination of practical information on citizenship farming and home improvement.

Correlates of Education. Our data show that education is correlated with a number of other characteristics of the people. For example, most of the men with no education were married to women who also had no education. The relationships between education and acceptance of modern practices is supported in theafollowing tables.

TABLE 17

HIGHEST GRADE COMPLETED BY THE FATHER COMPARED TO THE HIGHEST GRADE COMPLETED BY ANY MEMBER OF THE FAMILY, 469 HOUSEHOLDS, DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

Highest Grades Completed by any member of the Family	Highest Grade Completed by the Fathers	
	0 - 4 Grades Completed	5 or more Grades Completed
0 - 4 Grades Completed	55.6%	00.0%
5 or more Grades Completed	44.4	100.0
Total	100.0	100.0

TABLE 18

EDUCATION OF THE MALE FAMILY HEAD AND TYPE OF TOILET USED BY 469 HOUSEHOLDS DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

Type of Toilet	Education of Family Head	
	0 - 4 Grades Completed	5 oramore Grades Completed
None	44.7%	21.0%
Pig System	9.0	4.8
Pit System	32.0	40.3
Antipolo	14.3	33.9
Total	100.0	100.0

The higher the educationaof a family head the more modern are the practises of waste disposal in the household.

TABLE 19

EDUCATION OF THE MALE FAMILY HEAD AND USE OF HOSPITALS BY HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS
469 HOUSEHOLDS, DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

Use of Hospitals by Household Members	Education of Family Head	
	0 - 4 Grades Completed	5 or more Grades Completed
Yes	20.6%	48.4%
No	79.4	51.6
Total	100.0	100.0

The higher the education of the head of a family the more a household avails itself of modern medical facilities.

TABLE 20

EDUCATION OF THE MALE FAMILY HEAD AND USE OF DENTIST BY HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS
469 HOUSEHOLDS, DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

Use of Dentist by Household Members	Education of Family Head	
	0 - 4 Grades Completed	5 or more Grades Completed
Yes	37.5%	54.9%
No	62.5	45.1
Total	100.0	100.0

The higher the education of the head of the family, the more household members avail themselves of modern dental facilities.

TABLE 21

EDUCATION OF THE MALE FAMILY HEAD AND THE PURCHASE OF CANNED MILK, 469 HOUSEHOLDS DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

Purchase of Canned Milk	Education of Family Head	
	0 - 4 Grades Completed	5 or more Grades Completed
None	72.1%	39.5%
1 - 10	27.9	60.5
Total	100.0	100.0

The higher the education of the head of the family, the more likely it is that the household members will consume milk.

TABLE 22

EDUCATION OF HOUSEWIVES COMPARED WITH THE DEATH RATE OF CHILDREN 450 HOUSEHOLDS, DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

	Education of Housewives			
	No Schooling	1-4 Grades Completed	5 or more Grades Completed	Total
Number of Dead Child	361	286	74	721
Number of Mothers	204	172	91	467
Average Number of Dead Children per Mother	1.8	1.7	.8	1.5

The higher a mother's education, the lower is the mortality rate of her children.

RAP:56:103o25

TABLE 23

EDUCATION AND ISOLATION OF 469 HOUSEHOLDS, DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

A. EDUCATION OF HUSBANDS COMPARED WITH ISOLATION OF HOUSEHOLDS

Degree of Isolation	Education of Family Head		
	No Schooling	1-4 Grades Completed	5 or more Grades Completed
Near the Highway	46.1%	62.0%	78.6%
Away from the Highway	53.9	38.0	21.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

B. HIGHEST EDUCATION OF ANY FAMILY MEMBER COMPARED WITH ISOLATION OF HOUSEHOLDS

Degree of Isolation	0 - 6 Grades Completed	7 or more Grades Completed
Near the Highway	54.8%	77.6%
Away from the Highway	45.2	22.4
Total	100.0	100.0

The nearer a household is located to the means of transportation and communication, the higher is the education of the members of that household.

Education is a differentiating factor among the people of the trade area; the wider the educational gap between persons the more markedly different are their characteristics. Low education or lack of it and its concommitant effects constitute a vicious circle: people are less productive in their labor, lag behind in the use of better health facilities and improved farming methods because they have very low education; and they have very low education because their labors, health habits, and farming methods are antiquated. This vicious circle tends to perpetuate existing conditions and to widen the gap between the upper and lower social classes. This circular cause-and-effect can be broken by the improvement of educational facilities, both in formal education and in out-of-school informal learning.

PART TWO

HOUSING, FOOD AND SANITATION

1. The House

The Weather. The mean annual temperature in the Dumaguete trade area is 80.7°F with a mean variation of .8°F. A 14-year average of monthly temperatures at Dumaguete City is shown below. The air is warm and the humidity high. People wake up early in the morning and often start their work before sunrise. As soon as the sun approaches the zenith they stop working. After eating their noon meal, which is their heaviest meal, they take a siesta. When one's "shadow is one fathom long from his feet" he resumes his work. The off-hours at midday are a necessity because it is too hot to work then. Also, due to the heat, the people do not walk as fast as Americans do; if they did they would constantly be perspiring. The tropical island weather prescribes many of the housing requirements of Dumaguete people.

TABLE 24

MONTHLY AVERAGE TEMPERATURE OF DUMAGUETE CITY[24]

Months	Temperature (F)	Months	Temperature (F)
January	78.8	July	81.4
February	79.0	August	81.7
March	79.7	September	81.5
April	81.5	October	80.8
May	81.5	November	80.7
June	81.4	December	80.2

Average Temperature = 80.7°

[24] Frederick L. Wernstedt, The Agricultural Regionalism of Negros Island. (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis), U.C.L.A., 1953, p. 30.

Building Materials. Almost all of the houses are constructed of light materials, such as bamboo and nipai. Bamboo is a readily available material and consequently is cheap. It can be used as posts, beams, studs and rafters. When it is used for flooring, it is sliced into slats of uniform size. These slats are tied together with rattan about 3/4 centimeters apart. When the bamboo is used for the wall of the house, it is made into sa-sa. This is a bamboo board about six inches wide, which is made by splitting a bamboo tube in two. The inner side of the bamboo is broken off by several strokes with a bolo.[25] The strokes are expertly regulated so that only the inner part is cut but the outer part still holds together. In this way the bamboo half-split is straighthened out. The window shutters are also made of bamboo fashioned into sawali. In making sawali, the bamboo is sliced into slats one inch wide. The slats, which are about one centimeter thick, are split into 5 or 6 pieces, one inch wide and two millimeters thick. These thin bamboo slices are woven together to form a sawali.

The roof of the house is madeiof nipa thatch. Nipa is a palm which grows in swamps. Like bamboo, it is a domesticated plant. Nipa leaves are similar to coconut leaves, but contain oil and are therefore less brittle and last longer under sun and rain. The nipa leaves are woven together on a bamboo stick about 1½ meters long to form a thatch. The nipa thatches are sold by the hundred, between ₱6.00 and ₱7.00 a hundred.

The floor of the house is constructed one to 1½ meters above the ground. At this height, with bamboo slats as floors and sa-sa as walls, there is free circulation of air. Most husbands and wives cannot give the reason why the floor of their house is raised, but some say that to sleep on the ground is not good for one's health "because the exhalation of the earth will get into the body". Most of the space under the floor is utilized for storing fuel and other odds and ends.

---

25 A bolo is a large single-edged knife similar to a machete.

Since most houses are not enclosed with a bamboo fence, domestic animals also find shelter under the house.

House Furnishings. The data on house furnishings are given in Table 25.

TABLE 25

HOUSE SIZE AND FURNISHINGS IN 515 HOUSEHOLDS
DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

A. Number of Rooms and Floor Space

Number of Rooms	Per cent of Houses	Floor Space	Per cent of Houses
1	14.4	Under 10 sq. meters	2.1
2	29.6	10 - 19 " "	14.8
3	33.7	20 - 29 " "	20.9
4	14.6	30 - 39 " "	21.6
5	5.3	40 - 49 " "	18.2
6	1.0	50 - 59 " "	6.2
7	1.2	60 - 69 " "	6.4
8	0.2	70 and over	9.8
Total	100.0		100.0

B. Seating Furniture and Lighting Equipment

Seating Furniture*	Percentage of Homes	Type of Lighting[26]	Percentage of Homes
None	3.7	Coconut Oil	7.4
Bamboo benches	58.8	Lamparilya	87.5
Wooden benches	39.8	Standard Lamp	7.0
Rattan stools	1.6	Kingke	19.2
Rattan chairs	6.2	Petromax or hasag	19.8
Bamboo chairs	5.8	Electricity	2.1
Wooden chairs	7.6		
Sala set	3.5		
Total	100.0		100.0

* Seating furniture is listed in order of prestige.

26 Lamparilya is a local lamp made from tin cans and operates with a wick but no chimney. Standard kerosene lamps, kingke (kerosene chandelier lamps), and petromax (pressure kerosene lanterns) are imported lamps. They all use kerosene and except for the lamparilya the lamp is protected from the wind by a glass chimney.

C. Sleeping Equipment and Storage of Clothes

Palm mats spread on the floor	86.6	None	3.1
Lantay (bamboo bed)	18.8	Carton	4.5
Canvas cot	5.0	Kaban (wooden trunk)	94.1
Bed with sheets	10.5	Aparador[27]	17.2
		Dresser	7.2
		Built-in closets	0.8

(Total adds up to more than 100 per cent because some households used more than one type of item.)

D. Type of Stove Used for Cooking Meals

Type of Stove	Per cent of Households
Fire on box of earth	15.0
Tripod on box of earth	4.7
Earthenware stove (sug-ang)	81.6
Total	100.0

2. The Home

Husband-Wife Relationship. The husband is the head and has the final say in matters affecting the family. The wife is expected to be submissive to her husband. If a wife henpecks her husband, she and her husband become a subject of gossip in the neighborhood and their names become part of the barrio vocabulary. If the husband's name is Laloy, then to be a laloy means to be submissive to one's wife, and laloy means to be "henpecked". If the wife's name is Ibyang, then to be an Ibyang is to be a termagant. These words are used derisively, showing that the norm is a husband-dominated family.

27 An aparador is a storage cabinet or cupboard for clothes or food.

The husband, however, is expected to turn over his earnings to his wife. No money is spent unless it has been turned over to the wife and kept at home at least for a night. A husband is expected to ask permission of his wife before spending money for certain items. An index of this pattern as a norm is the way people discourage Filipino women who fall in love with a Chinaman.[28] They say that to be a Chinaman's wife is to be a "keeper of the key for the privy house, but not of the key for the trunk". This attitude is not so much a disapproval of Chinese-Filipino marriage, as it is a disapproval of not turning over the money to the wife for safe keeping.

Parent-Child Relationship. Children are enjoined to respect their parents. This respect is developed to the point where children are not expected to discuss or talk over certain matters with their parents. The children can only ask for direction or permission to do certain things; they may not exchange opinions with their parents. Sex topics are taboo between parents and children. When sons begin to come home late at night and daughters are serenaded in the evening, the parents have a dilemma on their hands. They are anxious to influence their children's choice of a wife or a husband, but have great difficulty talking with their children concerning their love affairs. When a father does not like the behavior of his daughter in her relations with her suitors, he does not talk directly to her. Instead he criticizes his daughter's behavior to his wife. The wife in turn tells her husband's criticism to the daughter in an admonishing manner. The husband can talk to his sons about their love affairs, but not to his daughters. Similarly the wife can talk to her daughters but not to her sons on this topic.

---

28 Among the Chinese, the man handles and decides the spending of money without the wife's participation.

In the evening, especially after the vesper prayer, children approach their parents, kneel before them and say "Bi-i, Tay, or Bi-i, Nay".[29] A father or mother or both in giving a blessing moves the right hand in the sign of the cross and then makes the child kiss the hand. Among brothers and sisters, the oldest calls the younger ones by name, but the younger ones call their elders with respectful terms of address. An elder male may be addressed mano, manoy, or ingko, and an elder female mana, or manay. If a younger brother or sister addresses his elders by name, the parents and the older brothers and sisters rebuke him at once with the question, "Were you born at the same time as your older brother?"

Discipline at Home. "The conduct of children in the community is an index of the kind of homes they come from." This is the notion among the people. To parents, the church and the school are only secondary influences in the character formation of their children. In many instances a child is punished not because he has done wrong, but because he has put his parents to shame before the community. In administering a whipping with a stick, a father or mother rebukes a child with the words, "We did not teach you to do that!" Whipping with a stick is a severe form of punishment. The lighter punishments which are usually administered by a mother are knocking the head with her knuckles or pinching the ears of a child. When a child kneels down the punishment ceases because kneeling is an act of submission and repentance.

When a visitor comes to a home, he greets those who are older than he, and those in the home who are younger than he greet him.[30] After the children have greeted the visitor, they go to a place in the house which is not within hearing

---

29 "Bi-i" is a contracted form of gabi-i, meaning "evening", "Tay" and "Nay" are contracted forms of "Tatay" and "Nanay" respectively. "Tatay" and "Nanay" are terms of address for father and mother respectively.

30 The term "greeting" does not adequately describe the practice of a younger person's saying "Good evening" to another who is older. This practice among the people of the Dumaguete trade area is an expression of respect to another person because he is older. An older person is expected to acknowledge the greeting given him, but not to greet a younger person. Always, a younger person has to greet the older person first.

distance from where the parents and the visitor are sitting. If the visitor comes in the day time, the children are not expected to greet him. When children come near to hear the conversation of the parents and the visitor, a signal from the mother's or father's eyes is sufficient to make the children move away from the scene.

At meals the family eat together. Since many homes do not use spoons and forks, everybody is expected to wash his hands before sitting down to eat. The mother always enforces this sanitary measure. The father or the mother can leave the table anytime, but the children cannot leave ahead of their parents. By some system of chore distribution a child is assigned to wash the plates, another to fetch water, or to roll the palm mats every morning and to spread them in the evening, and another to feed the pigs and the chickens.

3. Food

Garden and domestic animals. Banana and papaya are common fruits and are grown around the house. The banana plant serves other purposes. Its trunk, after its fruit is harvested, is cut to pieces and pounded into hog feed. Its wide leaves are used as umbrellas. During the wet season most of the school children in the barrio are able to go to school by using these leaves as protective covering from the rain. Banana leaves are also used to wrap small fish before they are cooked, and are also used at the trade center as vegetable wrappers. Because of the many uses for the banana plant, it is found in most home yards. Kalamunggay is a tree with edible leaves as big as a dime. This is a "vegetable" tree which is commonly grown near the house. As a vegetable, it requires little care, is safe from the destruction of pigs and chickens, and continues to bear leaves for several years. A few hills of tomatoes, onion, and gumamela grass, which is known as tangad, are also grown near the house. Whenever fish or meat is cooked in the house, these are used as seasoning or "spice" vegetables. The planting of them near the house is a system of storing them since plants grow all the year round in the Philippines.

Besides banana, papaya, kalamunggay and the "spice" vegetables, very few houses have other vegetables in their backyards. This is because most of the vegetables are grown at the farm which is usually some distance from the house. The young leaves of the camote plant are cooked as a vegetable. Beans are usually planted at the edge of the farm, making use of the fence as a trellis for the vines.

The maintenance of a garden near the house conflicts somewhat with the raising of pigs and chickens. Chickens are not raised as a major commercial enterprise, but 9 out of every 10 households raise them for home consumption, most having no more than 5 hens. The chickens range free and are expected to forage most of their food. They are not housed in a coop. Instead, in the evening they roost on the roof of the house or on the branches of nearby trees. During the day they forage in the yards around the house, and in most cases, destroy the vegetables; they also search under the house for spilled grain and in the house for grains in containers which may be left uncovered. The nests of the hens are hung either on the wall inside or outside the house, or under the house. The chickens are very tame.

Nine out of every ten households raise pigs for home consumption, although occasionally an extra litter is sold. Pigs are also free to range around the yard. A month or three weeks before a pig is butchered, it is penned in a bamboo enclosure which is raised from the ground about a meter. At this period the pig is fed regularly. A native proverb says, "When somebody feeds you well, be careful because he may be after your life". This proverb is derived from the situation of a penned pig. When a pig is butchered, it is known in the neighborhood. Neighbors come around to buy pork because the owner of the pig can keep pork good for only a day or two. On special occasions, lechon[31] is made. This is a Filipino delicacy.

---

[31] A lechon is a barbecued pig. It is made in the following manner: After the butchered pig is cleaned, a small bamboo pole is passed through its mouth down through the body. The pig is placed over burning embers and by the use of the pole, it is constantly rotated.

The Bureau of Agricultural Extension and the schools are introducing purebred roosters and boars to upgrade the native chickens and pigs.[32] According to agriculturists, the native chickens are too small and do not grow fast. But less than one out of every ten households which raise chickens andpigs have tried to upgrade them by the use of a purebred male. Why? The situation has to be studied closely. Maybe the people have become so accustomed to the taste of the meat of their native chickens and pigs that they prefer them; or the maintenance of foreign breeds means more expense and the change of many practices; or the introduction of foreign-bred stock may conflict with certain beliefs of the people. We have not studied the situation long enoughito discover the reason for the slow reaction of the people to upgrading their chickens and pigs. These causes have to be discovered and understood before ways can be devised to speed the upgrading of native stock.

Diet. The informants in the survey were asked for the foods which had been served in their households for the past three mealsi There was a total of 89 food combinations. Considering that these were ordinary meals, and December (the month when the food lists were taken) is not a lean month for the people of the area, we are inclined to consider the food combinations as a representative sample of the people's food. Table 26 is not about food combinations but about the frequency of each food item in the 89 combinations.

The nine food items in Table 26 constitute the 89 food combinations. The ten food combinations with highest frequency, ranked from the highest to the lowest, are shown in Table 27.

---

[32] Such as White Leghorn, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Cantonese breeds. The boars are Poland China, Berkala, Bershire, New Jersey, etc.

TABLE 26

THE OCCURRENCE OF NINE FOOD ITEMS IN 89 FOOD COMBINATIONS SERVED AT THE THREE MEALS PRECEDING THE INTERVIEW IN 515 HOUSEHOLDS DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

Food Item	Per cent
Food combinations with Cereals (rice and corn)	95.5
" " " Fish (fresh, dried, and salted)	71.9
" " " Leafy Vegetables	67.4
" " " Meat (chicken, pork, and beef)	43.3
" " " Cooked bananas	42.7
" " " Camote (Sweet potato)	39.3
" " " Beans and Mongo	38.2
" " " Fruits	34.8
" " " Eggs	17.9

TABLE 27

FOOD COMBINATIONS RANKED IN ORDER OF FREQUENCY OF SERVING IN THE THREE MEALS PRECEDING INTERVIEW 515 HOUSEHOLDS DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

1. Cereal, fish, leafy vegetable.
2. Cereal, fish, leafy vegetable, bananas.
3. Cereal, fish, leafy vegetable, bananas, roots.
4. Cereal, fish, leafy vegetable, beans, mongo.
5. Cereal, fish, leafy vegetable, roots.
6. Cereal, fish.
7. Cereal, fish, beans, mongo.
8. Cereal, fish, leafy vegetable, meat.
9. Cereal, fish, bananas, beans, mongo.
10. Cereal, fish, leafy vegetable, bananas, fruits.

Food Habits. The people divide their diet into two groups, namely: (1) food, and (2) viand. Rice and corn are their cereals. Rice, corn, cooked bananas, or camote are classified as food. Fish, meat, eggs, or vegetable are classified as viand. Between food and viand, the former is more important; that is, they can have food without viand, but not vice versa. To be without food is considered "poverty", but to be without viand is considered stingy. Tuba, the beverage tapped from the flower shoots of the coconut treeaand then fermented, is drunk after

meal as well as at work.[33] The people, however, do not like to drink tuba after a meal without viand. But a meal with a viand, especially fresh fish or meat, is incomplete without tuba. Most adults say that they do not feel a sense of satiety without tuba. They also claim that tuba aids in the digestion of viand. As a matter of fact, the only time when children are urged to drink tuba is after a meal with fatty meat or kinilaw (raw fish) as viand in order to facilitate its digestion.

Meat or fish is eaten as tinula - it is cooked in boiling water, flavored with "spice" vegetables. The water becomes soup and it is served with the fish or meat.[34] Occasionally, fish or meat is eaten as sinugba - barbecued and therefore without soup. When fish or meat is cooked with vegetables, flavored with "spice" vegetables and fresh coconut oil, the viand is called utan. Vegetables are usually cooked with fish or meat, rarely alone. When vegetables are cooked in boiling water, drained and then mixed with ginamos (sauce made from small fish) and fresh coconuttoil, they are called kinilaw (meaning raw)t But vegetables or fish are rarely eaten as kinilaw.

We have mentioned earlier that 9 out of every ten households raise chickens and pigs for home consumption. But Tables 26 and 27 show that eggs have the lowest frequency among the 9 food items in combinations. The probable explanations for this are: (1) Very few households raise more than 5 hens, (2) the nattive hens laytonly about 50 eggs a year, (3) eggs sell for ₱.10 (5 cents) a piece at the tradetcenter, and a piece of egg is difficult to share among 5 or 6 persons in a household while dried or salted fish worth ₱.10 can be mixed with vegetables for utan for all the members of a household, (4) to the people the taste of egg is not any better than fish or meat, and (5) people are not aware of the nutritional values of different

---

33 The drinking of tuba among children of school age is not encouraged. For adults there is no social disapproval for drinking tuba. But for men to become drunk is frowned upon, and the disapproval for women who get drunk is moretseveret

34 The presence of soup as a part of a regular diet may be the reason for the Filipinos' use of a spoon in eating.

foods. Food selection is still largely guided by tast and habit.

Fruits are seasonal. In their season they are plentiful and are eaten abundantly but afterward they are not available. The problem is largely a matter of the people's learning to preserve fruits and the development of refrigerated transportation so that the food supply can be regulated. The low frequency of fruits in Tables 26 and 27 is not because fruits are out of season during Decembes but because the people do not habitually eat fruit as a regular part of a meal. Fruits are eaten in between meals but their lack as a food item is not considered a deficiency. To the people, to be able to eat fruit is all right, but not to eat it is also all right and does not make any difference.

Camote is a sweet potato. It is eaten either as the food in a meal or as a mixture with rice or corn. It is a crop which can be produced in great quantity, but it will not be quantitatively produced unless three major obstacles are overcome: (1) Camote is a low status food and is rarely found on the table of people in the higher socio-economic brackets, (2) it is perishable and cannot be stored for more than a week, and (3) It lacks variety in form as a cooked food item.

The use of canned foods for the family is regarded by the people as a good practice. Three out of every four informants expressed favorable attitudes on the practice of buying canned foodss But, as shown in Table 28, very few households buy canned goods.

The big gap between the attitude and the actual buying of canned foods needs to be explained. The people of the trade area are still largely on a self-sufficient basis, that is, they try to produce most of the things they need. They do not have enough cash to buy the things they need. Canned fish, as a viand is still a luxury item - it is good to have it, but being without it is not a social disgrace. Canned milk is considered a food for babies and the sick. It is used as a secondary baby food when the mothers's breast milk is not sufficient.

TABLE 28

THE PURCHASE OF CANNED FISH AND EVAPORATED MILK, 515 HOUSEHOLDS DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

Number of Cans of Fish	Per cent of Households (N = 513)	Number of Cans of Milk	Per cent of Households (N = 511)
None	58.0	None	68.6
Under 5	26.3	Under 5	14.3
5 - 14	14.1	5 - 14	11.2
15 and over	1.6	15 and over	5.9
Total	100.0	Total	100.0

Herb doctors (medicine men of the barrio) prescribe the use of milk as a part of the diet for persons afflicted with certain diseases. It will take time before most of the people will drink milk regularly because: (1) it is considered a baby's food, (2) it is a medicinal food, (3) its price is too high for people who live on a subsistence economy, (4) it is not locally produced, and (5) as a drink it cannot compete with tuba in supply and in taste.[35]

4. Sanitation

Privy Houses. The sanitary inspectors[36] of the municipalities have conducted a campaign for the construction of privy houses. The public school teachers, in connection with their "Community Program", have also campaigned for the construction of privies. The antipolo type of privy has been emphasized as the most sanitary in terms of the conditions of the area. This type can be made out of bamboo and nipa which are readily available. It has a pipe which leads into a tank. The pipe may be made out of bamboo or wood. The tank is a hole 2 x 2 x 1 metere The sides are lined with wood or sa-sa in order to prevent the earth from

---

35 Milk is sweetened with sugar before it is drunk. Without sugar, its taste does not appeal to babies and the sick.

36 A sanitary inspector is an agent of the Bureau of Health on the municipality level.

from crumbling into the holes. The top of the hole is covered with pieces of wood fitted together so that the flies cannot get inside.

Our survey shows that the campaigns of the sanitary inspectors and the public school teachers have had some initial success, although the use of a privy is still a long way from complete acceptance. More than one-half of the household heads said that they had heard about the antipolo type of privy house but less than one-half of those who had heard about it actually constructed it. As shown in Table 29 below, almost one-half do not have any privy house at all and most of the privy houses are of the pit system type which does not exclude flies.

TABLE 29

TYPE OF PRIVY HOUSE, 515 HOUSEHOLDS
DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

Type of Privy House	Per cent of Households
None	46.6
Pit System	34.0
Antipolo	19.2
Flush Toilet	0.2
Total	100.0

School teachers tell us that after a privy house is constructed, the next problem is to get the members of the household to use it. A story is told of a clever chief of police who summoned the household heads and threatened to penalize them because their privy houses were very dirty. Some of them told the chief of police that their privy houses were clean because they seldom used them, and the others said that their privy houses had never been used at all. The chief of police told them that "a privy house which is seldom or not at all used is considered dirty".

If the people construct privies to comply with regulations instead of to serve a functional need, sanitary campaigns cannot succeed. What are the reasons for the people's slow acceptance of the use of privy houses? In our analysis of the

situation the following factors should be considered: (1) There is a balance between the maintenance of free-ranging domestic animals and the practice of defecating behind bushes. This balance should be upset in order to make the people change their traditional practice. (2) The absence of running water or a sewage system discourages the e veryday use of privy houses because of the foul smell of the wastes. Some deodorant which is inexpensive and locally available needs to be used to minimize the repulsive odor. (3) The reality of germs is not understood by the people. Talks have little effect because the people attribute the cause of human illness to supernatural powers. Demonstrations by the use of microscope may produce results. As long as the reality of germs remains vague, it will be very difficult to teach the people to accept the use of privy houses.

Drinking Water. Water is an important item in the sanitary habits of the people. Its source, the way it is handled in bringing it to the house, and practices in drinking it, all affect the safety of drinking water. Rivers are used for drinking water and also as bathing places. In the language of the people, there is no distinction between "to take a bath" and "to swim". The absence of distinction between the two is due to the fact that both are done in the same place. Washing of clothes is also done on the river banks.

TABLE 30

SOURCE OF DRINKING WATER, 515 HOUSEHOLDS
DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

Source	Percentage of Households
Spring and river	19.8
Shallow well	39.2
Water pipe system	30.9
Artesian well	10.1
Total	100.0

Shallow wells are dug near clusters of houses which happen to be far from a river or spring. Their depth depends upon the availability of water. If the water level is far from the surface, then the well is dug deep. If there is sufficient water in a shallow hole there is no need to dig deeper, especially since the water in the hole makes further digging difficult. A well is dug cooperatively by the people and is community property. During the dry months its water level goes down so low that dipping stirs the soil at the bottom and makes the water muddy. In contrast during the rainy season the water level rises near the surface and sometimes even overflows the brim of the well. Most wells are not enclosed by a fence and sometimes a chicken or a pig will fall into it.

Water pipes and artesian wells are located near the provincial roads, or are available to households which are not too isolated. Faucets are provided for the use of the community. Water is not piped into the houses because many households cannot afford to pay for the pipe and the water, or else the people do not think that piping water into their houses is worth the cost. Besides the money involved, many practices have to be changed if water is piped into the houses. Artesian wells are the most recent addition to the people's source of clean drinking water. They are dug with the aid of the United States government and, again, are located near the provincial road.

Fetching of water from the wells, rivers, faucets, or artesian wells is usually done by women. The common container is the sag-ob. This is a bamboo tube about 2 1/2 meters long. It is carried on the shoulder in a slanting position in order not to spill the water. Empty 5 gallon kerosene cans are also used. Men use them in pairs on opposite ends of a carrying poll or yoke in order to balance the load. Two cans of water is too heavy for a woman to carry so she uses one can which she carries on her head. But cans are used less often than bamboo tubes. The fetching of water is done in the morning and in the late afternoon. Women take turns in filling their sag-ob while many stories are interchanged and news spread around the community through the fellowship of those who gather at the well.

At the house the water is transferred from the sag-ob to a banga or to a repo. The former is a jar without a faucet and the latter has a faucet. Most jars are made of clay. These are available at the potteries in Daro[37] and in Bulokbulok.[38] A jar made of clay is preferred to one made of metal because, (1) the clay jar is cheaper than the metal jar and (2) the clay jar keeps the water cooler because it is porous.

Most households use a common drinking-dipper which is made of a coconut shell or of aluminum. A few households are now using glass as the common drinking receptacle. Visitors are offered water in an individual drinking glass. But if a person from the same barrio refuses or is reluctant to drink from the common drinking receptacle, he is considered indifferent and aloofi This is serious social disapproval and behind the person's back his name is used to mean aloofness and a snobbish attitude to the folkways.

Modern Medical Facilities. At the trade center there are a number of modern medical facilities. There is a government hospital which dispenses service for a very small charge. The Mission Hospital at Silliman University also serves the community at largei There are two other small private hospitals. The Red Cross headquarters at Dumaguete has traveling nurses. There are also several private physicians and dentists. But do the people of the trade area avail themselves of these services?

Nine out of 10 households expressed favorable attitudes towards the use of hospitals, but less than three out of ten had a family member who had used hospital services during the past two years.

More than 8 out of 10 household heads expressed a favorable attitude towards the services of a medical doctor at child delivery, but only 6 out of every 100

---

37 Daro is a barrio in the trade area which is near the trade centeri

38 Bulokbulok is a barrio in the trade area which is a part of the municipality of Sibulan.

households had actually used the services of a medical doctor and trained nurse in child delivery.

There is a big gap between attitude and practice, and most of those who did use the services of hospitals and dentists were children under 15 years old. What are the intervening factors between attitude and practice? To discover these factors, we have to understand the traditional health practices of the peoples

TABLE 31

HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS WHO USED A HOSPITAL DURING THE PREVIOUS TWO YEARS
513 HOUSEHOLDS, DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

Household Members	Per cent of Households
None	72.5
Husband	3.8
Wife	3.6
Children over 15 years old	3.8
Children under 15 years old	12.5
Other family members	3.8
Total	100.0

TABLE 32

PERSONS WHO ASSIST MOTHERS IN CHILD DELIVERY, 514 HOUSEHOLDS
DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

Persons Who Assist in Child Delivery	Per cent of Households
Medical Doctor	3.3
Trained Nurse	3.1
Local Midwife	88.2
Others	5.4
Total	100.0

TABLE 33

HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS WHO USED THE SERVICES OF A DENTIST DURING THE PREVIOUS YEAR
515 HOUSEHOLDS, DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

Household Members	Percentage of Households
None	57.3
Husband	3.4
Wife	4.0
Children over 15 years old	6.4
Children under 15 years old	24.5
Other family members	4.4
Total	100.0

Traditional Medical Practices. In the Dumaguete trade area there are traditional health specialists. These specialists are the tambalan (herb doctor), manghihilot (masseur), and the hananabang (midwife). The specialties of the tambalan range from curing illness by the use of herbs to curing illness by propitiating evil spirits or the spirit of a dead member of the family. When somebody in a household is sick, the tambalan is called upon. He makes his diagnosis by feeling the pulse, the temple, and the forehead of the sick. If it is an ordinary sickness, that is, simply a biological defect, he makes a compound of herbs from his bag. He prescribes how much and how hot the water should be in which the herbs are placed; how much, when, and how many times a day the patient should drink the medicine; what foods the patient should eat and not eat.

If the sickness of a person is not ordinary,[39] the tambalan makes further diagnosis. If he finds out that the sickness is caused by an evil spirit which has been offended by the sick person, then two procedures are used for a cure. One is prayer by the family to a certain saint who is the debosyon (protector) of the

39 Whether a sickness is ordinary or not is judged by its symptoms or if the medicinal herbs have been changed several times and the sick person has not shown any signs of improvement; then the sickness is not ordinary.

family; the other is propitiation of the evil spirit by the tambalan. The tambalan is a powerful person. He uses both propitiation and threats in order to make the evil spirit restore the person to good health.

If from the diagnosis the tambalan finds that the sickness is caused by the spirit of a dead member of the family, then the wife and the husband begin recalling who among the dead has long been neglected with a mass.[40] After having determined who the dead ancestor is, the family secures money[41] to pay for a mass which the priest will say for the soul of the dead.

If from the diagnosis the tambalan finds out that the sickness is caused by barang,[42] then the family sits down together to recollect the occasions when, and the persons whom, they may have offended or trespassed upon. After the family has recalled the when and whom of their trespasses, the tambalan approaches the offended persons to make amends. The intercession of the tambalan usually culminates in the visit of the offended person to the sick so an apology can be made and goodwill restored.

The whole household of a sick person is involved. Everybody stays at home to keep company with and to give whatever aid is needed to the sick person. Neighbors and relatives come to visit. The household is kept quiet and yet it is animated with the presence of friends and kinsmen. The tambalan is given only a

---

40 A mass offered for the soul of a dead person credits the dead with indulgencies, and indulgencies can serve to shorten the soul's period of stay in purgatory. Purgatory is believed to be a limbo where a soul must undergo suffering before it is admitted to heaven. The length of a soul's stay in purgatory is proportional to the sins committed in life.

41 Family savings, if there are any, are usually exhausted when somebody in the family gets sick. Pamesa (having a mass said for a soul), or the fees of a medical doctor have to be met by prenda (temporary sale of property).

42 Barang is a power possessed by certain persons. This power can cause sickness in the person toward whom it is directed. A barangan (the person who has barang) may give sickness to a person as a personal revenge, or he may do it for a fee.

token fee for his services. By tradition a tambalan cannot make a charge because he has been endowed with a "divine touch" so that he can serve the people.[43] If he charges for his services, he loses his power to cure sickness. However, since a service cannot be effective unless it is paid for, a token fee has to be paid. If a tambalan has done all he can to cure the sick person and the sickness becomes worse, then a medical doctor is called or the sick person is taken to a hospital. A common complaint of Dumaguete doctors is this practice of bringing them patients who are near death.

The manghihilot's skill is inborn. Its sign is being born suhi (born with the feet first). Even as a child, people ask him to touch their throats if a piece of fish bone has stuck inside. His skill is recognized even before he becomes an adult. His specialties range from the cure of headaches, removal of foreign bodies in the throat, massage of pains in the body, to setting dislocated and broken bones.

He does not charge for his services, and he also is given a token fee. He tries his best, but if he fails after several attempts, then a sanitary inspector or a medical doctor is called.

If a woman becomes a midwife, the people trace her family tree to find out how many members in her family have received the "divine touch" and how proficient they were. A new midwife is judged by the records of the specialists on her family tree. Her service starts from the fourth month of conception when she is called upon to put the foetus in a proper position in the womb, and she does this as often as twice a month thereafter. When the woman feels that her labor is about to begin, the midwife starts attending her. The midwife is always at the bedside of the expectant mother to advise on how to regulate the movements of her body.

When the baby is born the midwife is always there to care for the mother and the baby. She bathes the baby everyday with water in which the leaves of the

---

43 The common notion is "No tambalan will become rich," because it is a sacrificial calling.

"kalipay" (happiness tree) have been soaked. She gives the mother a medical herb to speed up her recovery and to insure that she will have an abundant milk supply for her baby. Other leaves selected by the midwife are burned and as the smoke rises the baby is held over the smoke and shaken to shake off the fears which it may have acquired in the process of its birth. The same leaves are also burned for the mother and the smoke is caught in the blanket which covers her. Then she is shaken to shake off the fears she acquired during labor.

If everything goes normally with the mother, the midwife bathes her two weeks after her delivery. Sweet smelling leaves gathered by the midwife are immersed overnight in the water which will be used to bathe the mother. Then the blanketso which have been hung around her bed to protect her are taken down. This is a gala day in the family and special food and viand are prepared.

The midwife's services are paid for by a fixed fee, although the amount varies from barrio to barrio. In all instances, however, the services for a first delivery cost more. In one barrio, the midwife is paid ₱5.00 for the first delivery and ₱3.50 for each succeeding delivery. In another barrio, ₱3.00 for the first and ₱2.50 for succeeding deliveries. The midwife has ways of breaking down the amount into fees for specific services, such as: payment for the candles she used in her prayer for the safe delivery of the mother, fees for prenatal care, delivery, burial of the after-birth, cutting the umbilical cord, bathing the mother and the baby, etc.

Whether the fees are token or not, the family of the woman to whom the services are rendered does its best to secure money to pay for the midwife's services, and the midwife expects to collect the money. In one instance, the expectant mother was the daughter of the midwife. The fees were not waived. The explanation was that both mother and baby would become sickly if the fees were not paid; the midwife will have itching fingers if her services are not reimbursed. And so, the fees have to be paid both for the protection of the recipients and of the giver of the services.

We are now in a position to analyze why less than 3 out of ten households availed themselves of the services of the hospitals, and less than one out of ten households had a trained nurse or a medical doctor to assist in child delivery. From comparing the traditional and modern medical practices, we infer the following:

(1) The use of hospital services necessitates the patient's staying away from home. Poeple who are not used to staying in different environments lose their sense of security if separated from other members of the family at a time of illness. In the hospital the coming in and out of family members and friends is not as free as in the home of the patient.

(2) Patient-"doctor" relationships in the traditional medical practices is more intimate than in modern practice. The doctors, the nurses, and the attendants have to care for many patients, while in the traditional practice the "doctor" or the midwife practically stays in the home of the patient. Besides, there is usually no previous acquaintance between the doctor and the patient, while in the traditional practice the patient and the "doctor" either know each other or each other's expectations.

(3) The traditional medical practices are tied to the religious beliefs of the people. Religion, being an important part in the value system, is an important source of a patient's sense of security. Modern medical practitioneers also associate religion and healing. Rapport with patients from the barrios is often more effective when these two aspects of life go hand in hand.

(4) The transportation between the trade center where modern medical facilities are available and some parts of the trade area is difficult and often dangerous for a patient.

(5) The people in the trade area who operate on a small annual cash income shudder at the thought of a medical bill for ₱50.00 or ₱100.00. We do not believe, however, that money is the important factor because a family will willingly pay for

a burial ceremony, and will butcher a pig, carabao, or cow for a kolasyon.[44] It is a matter of values. If they come fully to accept the use of modern medical facilities, they will be as willing to spend money for a member of the family when he is sick as when he is dead.

---

[44] When a person dies, eight nights of prayer are held for the peaceful repose of his soul. On these nights relatives and neighbors gather. They contribute food and viand to feed the people. After the eighth prayer, the kolasyon is held. This takes place during the day. Neighbors, friends and even relatives who live at a distance come to join in the kolasyon. The kolasyon consists of the ninth prayer, and a party in honor of the dead. Food and drink are served abundantly.

PART THREE

AGRICULTURE: A WAY OF LIFE

Social Values of Land

Different societies have different social values for land. Primitive tribes fought for the possession of hunting grounds. American Indians warred on early European immigrants in an attempt to keep them from settling their lands. Heroic service to a Spanish king was rewarded with an encomienda.[45] Serfdom was a special relationship between a lord and the occupants of his land in which the latter were tied to the land; a transfer of land ownership meant a change of lords for the serfs. In this section we shall examine the social relationships involving land of the people of the Dumaguete trade area.

Man-Land Ties. The people have a feeling of identification with land which grows out of incidents in their life in which land is involved. Among these incidents and the associated beliefs are the following:

1. Land is used as a dowry in marriage. In the Dumaguete trade area, as well as in many parts of the Philippines, a dowry is often demanded by the parents of the bride from the parents of the birdegroom. The local term for dowry is bugay. The dowry formerly went to the parents of the bride, who in turn shared it with relatives who had helped take care of the bride when she was a baby. For example, the bride's aunt who lived with her mother had usually acted as a nursemaid for her. She was entitled to a share in the dowry. Present day practice, however, has changed to favor the bride and groom, any dowry asked by the bride's parents being given to the new couple. The ideas behind asking for a dowry are:

---

45 An encomienda was a piece of land, together with its inhabitants, which was awarded by the King of Spain to a subject who had served in the acquisition of colonies. The person to whom the land was given was called an encomiendero. This practice is the origin of tenancy in the Philippines.

(a) As a token assurance that the girl is desired not only by the man but also by the parents of the man, and (b) As a guarantee that the girl will not live in extreme poverty. Whenever the parents of the girl do not wish their daughter to marry a man who has proposed, they will ask for a dowry which is greater than the boy's parents can pay. Failure to provide the dowry demanded means unsuccessful negotiations between the parents, and therefore, the children cannot be married.[46]

One of the things commonly asked for as a dowry is a ricefield, a cornfield, or coconut trees. The field received as a dowry serves as an economic asset with which the new couple starts married life, but it is valued not only for its productivity but also for its association with the marriage of the couple. This valued memory of the acquisition of a field is not a neglected; on the contrary, it is told and retold to children. The emotional involvement of a father and a mother in a piece of land is one of the reasons for the children's calling a land inheritance the "bone of our parents"; the expression conveys a feeling of reverence for the property.

2. Life crises are associated with land. Sickness sometimes occurs while a man is working on the land. He may work too hard, get hungry and be caught by rain and become afflicted with a sickness called "pasmo". It is not caused by germs, but by the weakened condition of the body plus the unfavorable weather. It is admitted that the man made a mistake to overwork and disregard the weather. Still it is not his mistake that is remembered, but his hard work and his having gotten his sickness in a particular field. Later the patient will emotionally remark, "I sweated on this land; I almost died for this land". The land becomes a memorable spot for him. In cases where a man dies because of sickness contracted or because of accidents while working on a piece of land, the children's regard for it

---

[46] Young men and women occasionally go ahead despite the disagreement between their parents. They either elope or indulge in illicit relationships. In either case, the disagreement and the dowry are ignored and the marriage is formally arranged.

will always be associated with their father. They will say, "Our father raised us by this land; he died for this land; this is the bone of our father".

3. Land has a claim on man. This is based on the belief that "man coming from dust will eventually return to dust". But the belief is limited to a particular spot of land where a person had his "pillow (after-birth) buried". Where one's "pillow" has been buried there is harmony between man and land. He is least likely to get sick on such land.

Many persons who migrated to new areas of settlement in the mountains of Negros or in Mindanao contracted malaria, and some of them died. Their susceptibility to sickness or death was attributed partly to the lack of "acquaintance" between them and the new land. Many people who migrate take with them a handful of earth from the land they have been working. This earth is strewn on the new ground which they intend to work. The "native" handful of earth is believed to "acquaint the new land with the man" and thereby to insure the man of harmony with the new soil.

4. Land can curse man. The land does not give the curse, but man earns the curse. In the dialect this is called "gaba" or "busong". Improper or disrespectful use of the land earns a "busong". If rice or corn is not harvested because the crops are so poor that it does not pay to harvest them, then "what is given by the land is not accepted by the man". In this case the man earns a "gaba" from the land.

What is proper or respectful use of land is not sharply defined by the people. This lack offers an opportunity to introduce a definition which will put a positive sanction on the conservation of the fertility of the land.

5. Land is a symbol of sonship. Primogeniture in land inheritance is not practised because the notion is that all children are equal in their relation to their parents. This notion of equality is observed in the division of family

property. A brother who has money and desires to purchase the entire family farm often cannot convince his brothers and sisters to take money from him for their share of the parentsiiproperty. Instead, the farm is divided equally and each child takes his share of the land because "they are all children of the same parents". A common proverb about sharing among siblings is "usa ka katmon, magangay pito ka magsuon". "Katmon" and "magsuon" are rhymed. This meansi "One katmon (a fruit), seven brothers will equally share". A katmon is a fruit no bigger than an orange; nevertheless, it must be shared by seven brothers because they are brothers.

Many brothers and sisters who cannot agree on the division of their land inheritance prefer to lose their goodwill relationships rather than their small share of the inheritance. A son may say to his brother, "I can lose my brotherhood with you, but not my sonship with our father". Every sibling insists on receiving his share in kind; but those who are on non-farm jobs have their shares worked on a crop-share basis by brothers engaged in farming. Then two or three years later or at a time of great need, some of them will sell their shares to a brother who has money. This practice of land division has led to the fragmentation of farms, as is shown in the following tables.

TABLE 34

SIZE OF FARMS OPERATED BY 326 HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS IN THE DUMAGUETE CITY TRADE AREA, 1952*

Size of Farms in Hectares	Percentage of Farms
Less than .60	27.1
.60 - .99	11.4
1.00 - 1.99	28.0
2.00 - 2.99	16.0
3.00 - 4.99	11.7
5.00 - 9.99	4.3
10.00 and over	1.5
N = 326	Total 100.0%

* A supplementary schedule on farm practices was obtained from all heads of households whose usual occupation was farming or who obtained ₱100 worth of products from their land in 1952.

TABLE 35

METHOD OF ACQUIRING 804 LAND PARCELS BY 326 HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS DUMAGUETE CITY TRADE AREA, 1952

Method of Acquisition	Percentage of Parcels
Inheritance	60.0
Purchase	20.0
Marriage	12.0
Marriage and Homestead	8.0
N = 804 parcels	Total 100.0%

6. Land is power. Before 1935 (the inauguration of the Philippine Commonwealth) a citizen who did not know how to read and write could exercise the right of suffrage if he owned property worth at least ₱500.00. Since land, for most people, is their only property with an officially assessed value, the property requirement for illiterate citizens to vote in political elections was always understood to be land. Today only literate citizens can vote but among the old people the idea of political right by virtue of property ownership is still held.

Land property, because of its officially assessed value, can be used as bail for persons who are detained in prison. To be accused before the court is a crisis in a man's life, but to be detained in prison even for a night is a calamity both to the person and his family. Therefore, a person's ability to save another from pre-trial imprisonment is a power to reckon with in a barrio. Since this power is acquired by land ownership, a person who has land has power.

7. Land is a safe and profitable investment. Many people of the Dumaguete trade area do not deposit their money in a bank or in Postal Savings. The formal procedures of banks and post offices are not congenial to people who are used to transacting business in a highly personal manner. They prefer to invest their money in land. The people's attitude toward investment is summarized in their proverb, "A person's business may blossom with luck for three or five years, but it takes only one day of bad luck to make a total loss in business. Crops may fail

consecutively twice but never thrice; crop failure is never a total failure; even if it were, the land is still there".

The expansion of Dumaguete City has led to land speculation in the rural areas near it and along the provincial highway. Residential lots in these barrios have reached a price of ₱5.00 to ₱10.00 a square meter, while in the trade center lots are bought for as high as ₱60.00 a square meter. A square meter is minute to rural people who are used to space, and a cost of ₱5.00 to ₱10.00 a square meter leaves them speechless. If we consider that the minimum wage law for agricultural work sets ₱2.00 for a day's labor, we can understand what ₱5.00 to ₱10.00 a square meter means to these people.

In the Dumaguete trade area the monetary value of land is high. Even so, it is still considered a safe investment, because when one needs cash, selling the land or putting it on a prenda[47] is not difficult since there are more people who want to own land than who want to sell it. The table below is the rural people's estimate of the value per hectare of the land they are farming.

TABLE 36

HOUSEHOLD HEADS' ESTIMATED VALUE OF THE FARM LANDS THEY CULTIVATE
DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

Estimated Price of Farm Land per Hectare	Percentage of Farms
Under ₱100.00	10.6
₱100.00 - ₱199.00	15.6
₱200.00 - ₱499.00	17.2
₱500.00 - ₱999.00	16.6
₱1,000.00 - ₱1,999.00	21.8
₱2,000.00 - ₱3,999.00	13.8
₱4,000.00 and over	4.4
N = 326	Total 100.0%

47 Prenda means temporary sale. This is discussed in the section on the Credit System.

Farming practices are conditioned by the social values of land. In the Dumaguete trade area, man has a strong affective involvement with the land and the possession perase of land is over-emphasized to the neglect of the productive quality of the land. Attempts to introduce new soil conservation and farming practices can succeed if the rural people perceive them as factors which are in harmony with their social land values. Any new farming practices which contradict these land values will likely fail to be adopted as rapidly as anticipated by their promoters.

THE FARM TENURE SYSTEM

The problem of definition. In agricultural societies, since land is the immediate source of livelihood, complicated relationships between man and land have evolved. The major man-land relationship is what is known as farm tenure. What is the farm tenure system in the Dumaguete area?

In the barrios a person who works on a farm is commonly referred to either as an owner or a tenant. These two catægories are inadequate because they over-simplify the true picture of the current farm tenure relationships. For example, farmer A cultivates his own farm which is .5 of a hectare, and farmer B cultivates X's farm which is 5 hectares. Who isathe tenant, A or B? If B is the tenant, then the basis of farm tenure is ownership of farm regardless of size. In the case of the example above, B may have enough food to support his family for a year while A's food supply may last only 3 months. Is it possible, therefore, for a tenant to be economically better off than a farm owner? If it is, the farm tenures do not realistically describe the man-land social relation because the common notion is that a farm owner is always better off than a tenant. The situation is compli-cated further by a practice wherein C rents for a fixed amount in cash or in kind the farms of D, E, F, G, and H. The farms rented are cultived by K, L, and M on a crop-shaaring basis with C. Are D, E, F, G, and H landlords of C, and the latter a tenant of the former? But what is C in relation to K, L, and M? The practices

are complicated, and the farm tenure terms farm owner and tenant have become inadequate descriptive concepts.

There is another complication in the situation, the distinguishing of a farmer from a non-farmer. Who is a farmer? Those who work on the land are commonly considered farmers. But what about a haciendero who finances a big farm and operates it with a farm manager? What about a teacher, a policeman or a fisherman who has a one-ganta seed-rice field? Is the haciendero a farmer? Is the policeman or fisherman with a one-ganta seed-rice field a farmer? Data on the number of farm owners and tenants may not have any real meaning unless it is clearly stated who are the tenants and who are the farmer operators. The Philippine Census of Agriculsure defines a farm, but not a farmer. Since our primary interest is people, the census definition will not serve our purpose.

The confusion in farm tenures is the result of complicated practices. Improved description requires the formulation of definitions that more adequately reflect the relationships that exist between land owner and land user. Despite the absence of satisfactory definitions, data was collected on farm tenure with the intent of making ex post facto definitions and classifications.

Varied Tenure Practices. In the survey sample there were 326 households that cultivated some land but whose tenure practices varied widely. More than one-half (54%) of the farming household heads were full owners, but almost one-half of these reported other occupations as the principal source of their livelihood. Nineteen per cent (62) reported they were owners of some land but also cultivated the land of other persons on a crop-sharing basis. The proportion of farm-owned versus farm-worked-on-shares varies greatly. Some operators own most of their land and share-crop only small supplementary plots. At the other extreme the operators own only a home site and garden and share-crop the balance of the land they work. Twenty-four per cent (77) reported as share tenants, do not own any of the land they operate. Those household heads who claimed farming as the principal source of livelihood were also engaged in a number of supplementary activities (Table 37).

Definitions. Our interest here is people who have farming as their principal occupation. For purposes of this study, the following definitions are formulated:

A farmer is a person who operates a farm and whose principal occupation is farming, regardless of the amount of land he owns or cultivates. By definition, a landlord is not a farmer if he does not operate a farm. The farm owners who reported their principal occupation as other than farming are not considered farmers in the following description of Tenure and occupation differences. Among the farm owners interviewed, therefore, 56 are not counted as farmers. Only 270 qualify as farmers and these are distributed in the following tenures.

(1) Farm-owner operator, or farm owner for short: 48.9% (132) are land owners and farmers by occupation. They cultivate their own land.

(2) Part owners or part tenants: 22.6% (61) are farmers by occupation but their farms consist of some parcels owned by them and some parcels owned by other persons.

(3) Tenants: 28.5% (77) are farmers by occupation who do not have farms of their own. They cultivate the farms of other persons on a rental or crop-sharing basis.

TABLE 37

FARM OPERATORS BY PRINCIPAL OCCUPATION AND OWNERSHIP OF LAND
326 HOUSEHOLDS, DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

Principal Occupation	Tenure of Farm Operator
Farm Owners	
Farming	132
Homemaker-Widow	30
Tuba gatherer	5
Carpenter	4
Cochero (coach driver)	4
Professional	3
Fishing	2
Sawali and Nipa Thatch Maker	2
Gambler	2
Other skilled labor	2
Weaver	1
Clerk	1
Part Farm Owner	
Farming	61
Non Farm Owner-Share Cropper	
Farming	77

COMPARISON OF FARMERS AND NON FARMERS

The working definition being used to distinguish a farmer from a non farmer is based on occupation, because occupation is one of the major variables which often differentiate people into socially significant groups. In this section we will try to find out whether farming and non farming occupations actually differentiate people in the Dumaguete trade area.

Vital Statistics. Age is a selective factor in migration, as was pointed out in the first part of this report. An examination of the ages of the husbands and wives shows that age is also a selective factor in occupation.

TABLE 38

AGE OF FARMER AND NON FARMER HOUSEHOLD HEADS AND THEIR HOUSEWIVES
DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

Age	Household Heads		Housewives	
	Non Farmer per cent	Farmer per cent	Non Farmer per cent	Farmer per cent
Less than 45	68.3	52.7	66.0	63.9
45 and over	31.7	47.3	34.0	36.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	245	267	233	236

TABLE 39

AGE AT MARRIAGE OF FARMER AND NON FARMER HOUSEHOLD HEADS AND THEIR HOUSEWIVES
DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

Age	Household Heads		Housewives	
	Non Farmer per cent	Farmer per cent	Non Farmer per cent	Farmer per cent
Less than 25	52.4	56.7	72.2	73.5
25 and over	47.6	43.3	27.8	26.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	181	256	223	225

The non-farm household heads and housewives are younger than those of the farming group, but the latter group married at an age slightly younger than the former. The younger age and later marriage of the non-farmer group may be explained by the fact that a change from a farming to a non-farming job is a risk and an adventure; older persons have less desire to undergo such a period of insecurity. Hence farmers, if they change occupation at all, do so when they are young. The non-farm group, undergoing a period of risk and adventure, tend to postpone marriage. The age difference in the marriage of the two groups is not great, but is likely to widen as non-farmers and farmers specialize more occupationally.

Size of the household is another differentiating characteristic between non-farm and farm groups. The latter group has more children born per household and a slightly higher percentage of children who died. A higher mortality rate is correlated with poor sanitary facilities and low acceptance of modern medical practices.

The non-farm households have a higher average number of other persons in the household who are not members of the immediate family. There are two probable explanations for this: (1) nephews and relatives who leave the farm to look for non-farm jobs stay in the homes of kinsmen who are already established in non-farm positions, and (2) the non-farmers are economically better off than the farmers and the presence of other persons in a household is to a degree an index of economic status. The second explanation also is born out for farm families by the finding on the average number of other persons in the household among farmers of different tenure: farm owner households - 1.00; part owner households - .93; tenant households - .73.

Despite the higher death rate and lower average number of other persons in the household, the farm household is still slightly larger than the non-farm household. These figures are shown in Table 40.

TABLE 40

HOUSEHOLD VITAL STATISTICS FOR FARMER AND NON-FARMERS
DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

	Non-Farmers	Farmers
Number of Households	245	270
Total number of children born	1,187	1,348
Average number of children born	4.8	5.0
Total number of children who died	378	411
Percentage of children who died	29.4	30.5
Average number of other persons in household . . .	1.00	.87
Average size of the household	5.5	5.6

Isolation. Another differentiating characteristic between non-farmers and farmers is the degree of isolation. The concept of isolation is measured in terms of (1) distance of the house from the road where one can ride on a bus to the trade center, (2) the type of road on which the house is located, (3) distance of the house from the nearest barrio school, and (4) the location of the house in relation to other houses.

TABLE 41

DEGREE OF ISOLATION OF FARMERS AND NON-FARMERS
DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

A. Distance from the Home to a Bus Route	Non-Farmers per cent	Farmers per cent
Less than .5 kilometers	56.1	37.2
.5 km. - 2.9 km.	37.3	34.9
3.0 km. and over	6.6	27.9
Total	100.0	10010
N =	244	269

B. Type of Road on which Home is Located		
Paved and Gravel roads	30.6	17.8
Carabao Cart (dirt) roads	21.21	21.9
Foot trail	48.2	60.3
Total	100.0	100.0
N =	245	270

C. Distance from House to Barrio School		
Less than .5 km.	37.9	26.0
.5 km. - 1.49 km.	53.5	58.5
1.5 km. and over	8.6	15.5
Total	100.0	100.0
N =	245	268

D. Location of House		
In a cluster of houses	91.3	61.0
Not in a cluster	8.7	39.0
Total	100.0	100.0
N =	244	270

A glance at the first and last lines of sub-tables A, B, C, and D will show that (1) on the first line the non-farmer group has a greater percentage than the farmer group, and (2) on the last line the farmer group has a greater percentage than the non-farm group. Since the first line of every sub-table means less isolation, while the last line means more isolation, the farmer group is, therefore, more isolated than the non-farmer group. The difference, however, is not as great as might be anticipated from a knowledge of contemporary communities in other countries.

Educationa In a paper concerning the correlates of isolation in the Dumaguete trade area the authors reported on data indicating that education isa inversely related to isolation -- the greater the isolation, the less the education. In the preceding paragraph it is shown that the farmers are more isolated than the non-farmers. If the finding on the relation between isolation and education is valid, it follows that the farmer group has less education than the non-farmer group.

TABLE 42

EDUCATION OF FARMERS AND NON-FARMERS
DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

A. Highest Grade Completed by Male Household Head	Non-Farmers per cent	Farmers per cent
None	23.5	36.7
1 - 4 years	44.2	41.6
5 or more years	32.3	21.7
Total	100.0	100.0
N =	183	267

B. Highest Grade Completed by Any Member of the Family		
None	4.5	7.0
1 - 6 years	62.0	67.7
7 or more years	33.5	25.2
Total	100.0	100.0
N =	245	270

C. Is the Husband in the family a Registered Voter?		
Yes	71.6	58.6
No	28.4	41.4
Total	100.0	100.0
N =	183	266

In the three sub-tables the non-farmer and farmer groups are consistently differentiated in the direction of more education for non-farmers than for farmers. The previous finding on the inverse relation between isolation and education is, therefore, valid and established further by the relationship:

Farmer - more isolation - less education

Non-farmer - less isolation - more education

Mobility. Geographical mobility may be measured by taking the birthplace as a base for the number of other places a person has lived. For our purpose, it is sufficient to compare the two groups on birthplace and whether or not they have lived away from it. This will provide a measure of accomplished mobility which may be

checked with intended movement away from the present residence. If the two measures of mobility show consistency, then a greater confidence can be placed on the measurement.

TABLE 43

MOBILITY OF NON-FARMERS AND FARMERS
DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

	Non-Farmers per cent	Farmers per cent
A. Birthplace of Husbands		
This barrio	59.1	59.9
Outside this barrio	40.9	40.1
Total	100.0	100.0
N =	181	267
B. Has husband Lived Outside this Barrio?		
Yes	50.3	46.1
No	49.7	53.9
Total	100.0	100.0
N =	183	267
C. Do you plan to migrate to Mindanao or other places?		
Yes	10.6	6.7
No	89.4	93.2
Total	100.0	100.0
N =	245	266
D. Children Away from Home		
Number of children away from home	135	176
Number of households with children away from home	66	80
Average number of children away from home	2.05	2.20

The difference between the two groups in sub-table A is negligible; hence the two groups have the same baseline for the measurement of mobility. Sub-table B, however, shows that in the farm group more people had not lived outside their barrio.

This means that the non-farm group is more mobile than the farm group. On intended movement there is a greater percentage of the farm group than of the non-farm group who do not intend to move to other areas. This measure of intended movement is consistent with the accomplished movement. It can be said, therefore, that the non-farm group is more mobile than the farm group.

The differential mobility for the two groups does not hold true for their children because in this case, the reverse is true; that is, there are more children from the farm group than from the non-farm group who are away from home. This phenomenon may be the result of family size since the farm household is larger than the non-farm household, or of the rising level of literacy among the children of the farm group. This migration trend among the new generation has important implications because the movement of youth from the farm group will tend to make the farm population an older age group.

Some Selected Health Practices. Referring again to a paper on the correlates of isolation in the Dumaguete trade area, the authors found that isolation is inversely related to the acceptance of modern practices; that is, the greater the isolation, the less the acceptance of modern practices. In the preceding sections on isolation and education, it has been shown that the farm group is more isolated and less educated than the non-farm group. In other words, the findings on isolation and education are supported for the non-farmer and farmer groups. Again, if the findings on isolation and the acceptance of modern practices are valid, then it can be deduced that the farmers, being more isolated, have a lower acceptance of modern practices than the non-farmer group who are less isolated.

TABLE 44

ACCEPTANCE OF MODERN HEALTH PRACTICES AMONG FARMERS AND NON-FARMERS
DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

A. Source of Drinking Water	Non-Farmers per cent	Farmers per cent
Artesian well and pipe system	51.6	31.6
Spring, river, and shallow well	48.4	68.4
Total	100.0	100.0
N =	245	270

B. Type of Toilet		
Antipolo	23.0	16.3
Pig and Pit System	44.8	38.9
None	32.2	44.8
Total	100.0	100.0
N =	245	270

C. Did Household Members Use a Hospital during the past two years?		
Yes	31.4	24.0
No	68.6	76.0
Total	100.0	100.0
N =	228	270

D. Who assisted the Mother in Child Delivery?		
Medical doctor and trained nurse	9.2	2.5
Trained Midwife	54.4	46.4
Untrained Midwife and others	36.4	51.1
Total	100.0	100.0
N =	228	260

The categories in each sub-table above are arranged in descending order: the first line is the most modern practice and the last line is the traditional practice in the trade area. Reading the first and last line of each table will show that the non-farm households have a higher percentage of acceptors of modern practices

than the farm group, and that the farm group has a higher percentage than the non-farm group on using traditional practices. This means that the non-farm group has a higher acceptance while the farm group has a lower acceptance of modern practices. Again, the postulate on the relationship of isolation and acceptance of modern practices is supported with the occupational grouping of the population of the trade area.

Social Participation. There is but limited data on the social participation of the people in the Dumaguete trade area. The few organizations in the area are primary groups organized for mutual aid. The occupations are not yet so markedly differentiated as to encourage the organization of special interest groups in the rural areas. The meager data collected by the authors indicate that the farm group has greater social cohesion than the non-farm group. This is probably due to the similarity of occupation and common activities among the farm group, whereas the non-farm group are distributed throughout many different occupations.

TABLE 45

NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONS TO WHICH HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS BELONG
DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

Number of Organizations	Non-Farmers per cent	Farmers per cent
None	16.3	3.7
One	44.4	37.7
Two	36.3	57.1
Three or more	3.0	1.5
Total	100.0	100.0
N =	245	268

The greater primary group cohesion of the farmers is also reflected in the people's sources of information. The barrio lieutenant and the school teacher are well established barrio positions. The less the urban acculturation of the people, the more they will depend upon these barrio leaders for enlightenment. Newspapers, radio, government officials and agencies are not barrio institutions;

they are more urban than rural features.

TABLE 46

SOURCES OF GENERAL INFORMATION FOR FARM AND NON-FARM HOUSEHOLDS
DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

Sources of General Information		Per cent of Total Sources Mentioned Non-Farmers	Farmers
Traditional Barrio Sources	(Barrio Lieutenant	26.7	30.9
	(Barrio School Teacher	9.9	16.3
	(Neighbors and Relatives	30.1	35.7
Urban Sources	(Newspapers	16.6	9.8
	(Radio	11.0	3.5
	(Government Officials and agencies	5.7	3.8
Total		100.0	100.0
N =		262	284

Morea of the farm group than of the non-farm group depend upon traditional sources for information, while the non-farm people make more use of the newer sources of information such as newspapers, radio and government agencies. Newspapersaand radio are individual household, not community, facilities. Consultation with, or approach to government officials and agencies is on an individual basis. In general, the farm group has remained onaa primary basis of social participation, and the non-farm group on a more impersonal or secondary one.

Summary. A definition of farmers on the basis of farming as a principal occupation has been set up; by the use of this definition the households of the Dumaguete trade area have been dichotomized into non-farmers and farmers. Since occupation is a variable which differentiates people into groups, the validity of the definition for farmers and non-farmers can be tested by finding out whether the non-farm and farm groups are really two different groups in terms of differential characteristics.

The analysis of the data shows that non-farmers and farmers are differentiated by: ages of husbands and wives, age at marriage, average number of births, deaths, size of household; degree of isolation, education, mobility, acceptance of modern practices, and social participation. Some of the differences are slight, and this we believe to be due largely to the lack of refinement in our measuring device. As a whole, however, the data show that non-farmers and farmers are two different groups. If they are two different groups, set up in terms of our definition of a farmer, then some confidence can be placed in the validity of our definition.

COMPARISON OF FARMERS OF DIFFERENT TENURE

In the preceding section it was shown that farmers and non-farmers differ from each other in certain characteristics. In this section we will try to find out whether farmers of different tenures differ also in some characteristics.

TABLE 47

AGE AND LAND TENURE
DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

A. Age of Husbands	Farm Owner per cent	Part Owner per cent	Tenant per cent
Less than 45	43.9	61.6	66.2
45 and over	56.1	38.4	33.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	132	61	74
B. Age of Wives			
Less than 45	57.0	65.3	74.0
45 and over	43.0	34.7	26.0
Total	100.0	10010	100.0
N =	114	49	73
C. Age at Marriage			
Less than 25	53.8	53.4	63.8
25 and over	46.2	46.6	36.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	128	56	72

Sub-tables A and B show that farm owners are the oldest, and tenants are the youngest in the three tenure groups, and sub-table C shows that farm owners and part owners married later than tenants.

TABLE 48

FAMILY STATISTICS AND LAND TENURE
DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

	Farm Owner	Part Owner	Tenant
Number of Households	132	61	77
Total number of childrensborn	669	305	369
Average children born per household	5.1	5.0	4.8
Average number of living children	3.5	3.4	3.4
Average number of children at home	2.7	2.9	2.9
Average number of other persons in the household	1.0	.9	.7
Average size of household	5.7	5.5	5.4

Tenasnts have fewer children born per household; farm owners have more living children but it has the least number of children at home, which is probably due to the older average age of owners families. Farm owners have more other persons in the household and they have a larger household.

TABLE 49

ISOLATION AND FARM TENURE
DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

A. Distance from the Home to a Bus Route to the Trade Center	Farm Owners per cent	Part Owners per cent	Tenant per cent
Less than .5 km.	41.2	27.8	37.0
.5 - 2.9 km.	32.0	41.0	35.0
3.0 km. and over	26.8	31.2	27.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	131	61	77
B. Type of Road on which Home is Located			
Paved and Gravel	18.9	16.4	16.9
Dirt, cart and foot trail	81.1	83.6	83.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	132	61	77

Table 49 continued....

Table 49 continued

C. Distance of the Home from the Barrio School	Farm Owners per cent	Part Owners per cent	Tenant per cent
Less than .5 km.	31.3	21.3	21.0
.5 km. - 1.49 km.	56.5	60.5	60.4
1.5 km. and over	12.2	18.2	18.6
Total"	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	131	61	76
D. Location of Dwelling			
In a cluster of houses	56.8	65.6	64.9
Not in a cluster	43.2	34.4	35.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	132	61	77

Farm Owners have somewhat less isolation than part owners and tenants.

TABLE 50

EDUCATION AND LAND TENURE
DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

A. Highest Grade Completed by Husband	Farm Owners per cent	Part Owners per cent	Tenant per cent
None	29.5	41.0	46.0
1 - 4 years	41.7	45.9	37.8
5 or more years	28.8	13.1	16.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	132	61	77
B. Highest Grade Completed by any Household Member			
None	1.5	8.1	15.6
1 - 6 years	60.7	78.8	68.8
7 or more years	37.8	13.1	15.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	132	61	77
C. Is Husband a Registered Voter?			
Yes	64.1	57.3	50.0
No	35.9	42.7	50.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	132	61	77

Farm owners have the highest educational attainment, tenants have the lowest educational attainment in the three tenure groups.

TABLE 51

MOBILITY AND LAND TENURE
DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

	Farm Owner per cent	Part Owner per cent	Tenant per cent
A. Birthplace of Husband			
This barrio	62.8	54.0	59.4
Other Barrio	20.4	26.2	18.9
Other municipalities	16.8	19.8	21.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	132	61	74
B. Birthplace of Wife			
This Barrio	57.8	63.2	47.9
Other Barrio	28.9	20.4	20.5
Other Municipalities	13.3	16.4	31.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	114	49	73
C. Has Husband Lived Outside the Barrio			
Yes	44.0	46.0	50.0
No	56.0	54.0	50.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	132	61	74
D. Has Husband Considered Moving to other Areas?			
Yes	6.9	8.3	5.3
No	93.1	91.7	94.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	130	60	77

Sub-tables A and B show that most farm owners are born in the same barrio where they now live. The tenant group has the highest percentage of husbands and wives who were born in other municipalities. Tenants also have the highest percentage

of husbands who have lived outside the barrio, but the lowest percentage of husbands who desire to move to other areas.

TABLE 52

ACCEPTANCE OF MODERN HEALTH PRACTICES AND LAND TENURE
DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

	Farm Owner	Part Owner	Tenant
A. Source of Drinking Water	per cent	per cent	per cent
Artesian wells and pipe systems	38.6	26.2	23.4
Springs, rivers, and shallow wells	61.4	73.8	76.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	132	61	77
B. Type of Toilet			
Antipolo	21.9	13.2	9.3
Pig and Pit System	39.5	34.4	41.5
None	38.6	52.4	49.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	132	61	77
C. Use of Hospital by a Family Member During Past Two Years			
Yes	26.5	19.7	23.3
No	73.5	80.3	76.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	132	61	77

Farm owners have a higher acceptance of modern health practices than the other two tenure groups.

TABLE 53

NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONS TO WHICH HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS BELONG AND LAND TENURE
DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

Number of Organizations	Farm Owner per cent	Part Owner per cent	Tenants per cent
None	3.0	1.7	7.8
One	32.6	33.3	49.4
Two	63.6	65.0	38.9
Three or more	.8	.0	3.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	132	60	77

The part owner group is neither sharply nor consistently differentiated from the other two tenure groups; in some characteristics it is close to the farm owners, and in others, it is close to the tenant group. The definition of a part owner is loose because it does not distinguish part owners who are largely farm owners from part owners who are largely tenants.

Farm owners and tenants are sharply differentiated in the preceding tables; it means that our definitions of farm owners and tenants are valid, and that farm owners and tenants are really two different groups. Tenants are younger than farm owners. The probable explanation for this is the likelihood that many new farm couples start as tenants on the agricultural ladder. As they grow older, they are able to purchase some parcels of land and to inherit others from their parents.

Tenants marry earlier than farm owners; low education and more isolation are the causes for this earlier age of marriage. More tenants than farm owners are born outside of the barrio where they are now living, which means that their chances for inheriting property in their present residence is very much less than those of the farm ownersawho have a greater percentage of parents living in the same barrio.

The tenants' low acceptance of modern practices is also due to low education and more isolation. More isolation is farther reenforced by low membership in organizations.

Farm and Farm Power. A comparison of the sizes of farms shows that more of the farms of less than 2 hectares are operated by tenants than owners; and more of those which are two hectares and up are operated by farm owners than tenants. Besides the relatively small size of the tenants' farms, most of the farms valued at less than ₱500 per hectare are the ones which are cultivated by the tenants. The low valuation of the tenants' farms reflects the poor quality of the tenants' land. In addition to small size and low value, the tenant group has the lowest percentage of farm power as measured by the use of the carabao.

TABLE 54

SIZE AND VALUE OF FARMS AND TYPE OF FARM POWER COMPARED WITH LAND TENURE
DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

A. Size of Farms	Farm Owner per cent	Part Owner per cent	Tenant per cent
Less than 2 hectares	50.8	63.9	75.3
2 hectares and more	49.2	36.1	24.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	132	61	77
B. Value of Farm per Hectare			
Less than ₱500.0	37.9	44.9	48.7
₱500.0 or more	62.1	55.1	51.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	132	60	74
C. Farm Power			
Cattle and Horses	10.1	10.1	14.5
By Hand	27.1	28.3	28.9
Carabao	62.8	61.6	56.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	129	60	76

Farm Practices. More tenants than farm owners and part owners use chemical fertilizers. This is due to the fact that the landlords, who usually live at the poblacion, learn about the use of chemical fertilizers from their contacts with government and educational agencies and usually advance the cost of the fertilizers. Except for following the instructions of the landlords, the tenants cultivate the farm according to what they have learned from their fathers. Our suspicion, that the higher percentage of tenants who use chemical fertilizers is due to the landlord's influence, is confirmed by the finding that the tenant group has the lowest percentage using other than chemical fertilizers. In the practice of crop rotation also, the tenant group has the lowest percentage.

TABLE 55

FARMING PRACTICES AND LAND TENURE
DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

A. Do you use chemical fertilizers?	Farm Owner per cent	Part Owners per cent	Tenant per cent
Yes	31.0	26.3	37.7
No	69.0	73.7	62.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	132	61	77
B. Do you use fertilizers other than chemical fertilizers?			
Yes	34.8	34.4	26.0
No	65.2	65.6	74.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	132	61	77
C. Do you practice crop rotation?			
Yes	46.2	57.3	41.6
No	53.8	42.7	58.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	132	61	77

It has been said that tenant operation of a farm is not cultivation, but mining. Perhaps this is an exaggeration, but tenants usually will not invest labor on a farm if that labor will not bring them an immediate income. The investment of labor in long term farm improvements is advantageous to a farm owner, but not to a tenant, who often does not stay long enough to enjoy the fruits of his labor. When asked why they did not build embankments to prevent soil erosion and canals to irrigate their farms, tenants would reply, "I am not going to make my landlord richer". At present the tenants covent resentment is against his fate (palad or swerte). Will the tenants continue to blame their fate, or is there a likelihood that they will transfer the blame to the landlords or to the government?

Adequacy of Food Supply. If the tenants' farms are small, poor in quality, and their farm practices not very productive, then it can be predicted that their crops will not be adequate to feed their families. In addition to the above factors, one should remember that tenants receive only a part of the fruits of their labor. The prediction of inadequate food supply for tenant families is borne out by our data. The validity of these data is established by the consistency of answers to a direct question (sub-table A), and answers to an indirect question (sub-table B).

TABLE 56

ADEQUACY OF FAMILY FOOD SUPPLY AND LAND TENURE
DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

	Farm Owner per cent	Part Owner per cent	Tenant per cent
A. Are your crops adequate to feed your family?			
Yes	35.4	40.0	12.2
No	64.6	60.0	87.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	130	61	74
B. How many months did your crops feed your family last year?			
Less than 7 months	64.6	52.5	85.3
7 months or more	35.4	47.5	14.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	130	61	75

We tried to investigate farther the tenants's means of livelihood. In the case of copra, which is the principal cash crop of the area, only 1/3 of the tenants derive income from it. Only 1/5 of the tenants had off-farm employment duringathe year 1952.

TABLE 57

SOURCES OF CASH AND IAND TENURE
DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

A. Do you produce coprax?	Farm Owner per cent	Part Owner per cent	Tenant per cent
Yes	79.5	75.4	35.0
No	20.5	24.6	65.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	132	61	77
B. Did you have off-farm employment during 1952?			
Yes	15.1	24.6	19.4
No	84.9	75.4	80.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	132	61	77

Summary. Farm owners and tenants are two different groups in terms of non-farm characteristics and farm practices. The part owner group is not consistently in the middle between farm owners and tenants. There are characteristics on which part owners are the same as farm owners, and cases in which they are the same as tenants. This points to the need for refining the definition of part owner farmers.

The tenants are economically and socially impoverished. From the point of view of social welfare tenancy is a liability because: (1) the productivity of a tenant-operated farm is low compared to family needs, (2) the use of modern farm techniques is handicapped by the lack of freedom on the part of tenants to decide for themselves, and (3) tenants are not likely to be able to give their children better nutrition and education.

TENANCY

Tenancy is a man-land relationship in which the person who cultivates the land does not own the land, and the fruits of his toil are divided between him and the owner of the land. This type of man-land relationship implies that:

(1) A piece of land, instead of supporting one family, should be made to support two families,

(2) A person should work hard in order to be able to produce enough food for the support of two families instead of one.

The above implications presuppose that the productive capacity of a unit of land, and the energy and managerial ability of a tenant, will make possible the production of crops enough for two families. But this presupposition is all too often not carried into actuality. The land is either too infertile or not large enough to produce crops for two families. The tenant may lack the necessary equipment and know-how to make the land produce its potential.

From the point of view of community welfare, tenants are a social burden. They cannot be depended upon to give their per capita contributions for the maintenance of community services. But this is not their fault, for they are the unfortunates in a social order. Tenants are not able to provide their children with an education adequate for social mobility and as a result the tenant class becomes self-perpetuating. As they are often tied to a hand-to-mouth existence, they do not undertake many future-oriented efforts. This is not to say that tenants are undesirable persons, but the point we want to emphasize is, that society will benefit more from them if they are freed from a situation where they cannot meet their obligations of fatherhood in a family and of full citizenship in a community because the fruit of their labor is so meager. It is our conjecture, from the point of view of food production that an owner-operated farm will yield more than a tenant-operated farm. And on the part of the tenant, he would be more efficient as a farmer, as a good family provider, and as a citizen of the community if he worked his own land.

Tenancy in the Dumaguete Trade Area. Fifty-one per cent of the household heads in the Dumaguete trade area were classified as farm operators. The tenure status of these farm operators is 49 per cent full owners, 22.5 per cent part owners, and 28.5 per cent share tenants. That the tenant class perpetuates itself, is shown by our data in which 35 per cent of the part owners and 40 per cent of the full tenants are occupying farms which were once occupied by relatives. Forty-one per cent of the part owners and 22 per cent of the tenants are related to the landlords. Landlords whose farms are worked by relatives are not "big-time" commercial farm owners. They are usually elderly persons or former farm operators whoihave given up farming for a non-farm job. There are a number of these persons who have climbed the socio-economic ladder and now derive their means of livelihood principally from non-farm positions but they continue to own lands acquired by inheritance, marriage, or purchase. Land ownership has a high social value and is a means to increasing one's position and power in the community.

Tenancy is thought of by the people in the Dumaguete Area as a crop-sharing arrangement between the person who works on the land and the owner of the land. The tenant is called a saop and the landlord, agalon. The terms connote a social distaince between the two. Saop literally means share-cropper and agalon, master. The agalon-saop relationship exists not only in matters of farming, although farming is the basis of it, but in many other aspects of life. If the tenant is known not to have voted for the landlord's candidate, the landlord may be strict with him or may even order the tenant to vacate the land. When the landlord entertains at his house, the tenant is asked to supply firewood and to work in the kitchen. Love affairsibetween the children of the two, which happen occasionally, are disapproved of by the parents of both parties and viewed by the community with misgivings. The agalon thinks that his son or daughter will put his family to shame by marrying a saop'sison. His daughteriwill have to live in poverty should she live with her parents-in-law; and should a tenant son-in-law live in his household, he will have difficulty treating the former "servant" as a son.

The saop on the other hand is afraid that his son will be treated as a "houseboy" by his wife and by his father-in-law! Furthermore, he is ashamed to think of the possibility that his own son, in the name of his father-in-law, could command him as a tenant.

Hence, the marriage, even at its proposal stage, becomes a subject for community gossip! The people will sarcastically remark that the match is a hantok for the boy, meaning that he has hit a "jackpot" of wealth. Then, on second thought, the remark will follow that "oil and water will not mix; oil always goes on top of the water". This expresses the feeling of the people that a landlord and a tenant can never be equal; the landlord is always boss over the tenant. Of course, everybody in the family of the landlord is considered landlord, and everybody in the family of the tenant is considered tenant.

A typical illustration of "true love" as depicted in Philippine movies and local color stories is a love affair between a tenant's son or daughter and a landlord's daughter or son. It is "true love" because, despite the bitter opposition of the parents, even if the daughter is disowned and dis-inherited, the young man and woman proceed to marry and live in poverty.

The above illustrations are given to show the people's notion of the difference between a landlord and a tenant. Tenancy is not just a man-land relationship; it is a social phenomenon which prohibits freedom to choose a candidate for public office, to love and to marry, to dine at the same table with certain people, or to work when one wishes. Now, let us examine the landlord-tenant relationship as applied to farming.

Farm privileges. The tenant has certain traditional privileges on the farm he operates. If he has not yet built a house somewhere, he can build a house on the rented land, and the house is his own. The landlord does not provide a house for his tenant. Only hired laborers on plantations are provided with quarters.

Near the House the tenant can plant bananas, fruit trees and "spice" vegetables. The landlord does not insist on a share of this home garden produce, but the tenant is expected occasionally to present a bunch of bananas as a "gift" to the landlord. The tenant can raise pigs and chickens and the landlord does not expect a share of them.

Decisions on what to plant on the farm are usually predetermined. The land is identified as corn, rice, or sugar cane land before a tenant occupies it. The use of new practices or innovations can be initiated by the tenant only with the permission of the landlord. In most cases, they are introduced by order of the landlord. The results of innovations are considered so uncertain that it is a big responsibility for a tenant to adopt new practices without the landlord's permission and support.

Sharing system. The landlord's share ranges from 2/3 to 1/4 of the crops. If the land is fertile and cultivation is relatively easy because the farm is level, the following arrangements are usual:

1. 50 - 50: - The tenant supplies the carabao and the plow. He cultivates the land, sows the seeds, and protects the crops from stray animals. Expensessfor the seeds and the harvest, paid either in cash or in kind, are equally shared between the landlord and the tenant. If fertilizer is used on the farm, the cost is advanced by the landlord and at harvest time the tenant pays his share in kind. If the landlord is the type who exploits a tenant, he will set a low price for the crop when the tenant pays for his share of the fertilizer. After the harvest, seed and fertilizer expenses are deducted, the remaining crop is equally shared between the landlord and the tenant.

(2) 1/3 - 2/3: - If the tenant does not have a carabao and plow, the landlord supplies them. The same arrangement for the harvest, seeds and fertilizer expenses is followed as in the 50—50 plan. The tenant gets 1/3 of the crops and the landlord gets 2/3.

If the land is not fertile -

(3) 2/3 - 1/3: - The arrangements for the work animal and plow and the expenses for seeds and fertilizers are the same as in (1), but the tenant gets 2/3 of the crops and the landlord gets 1/3.

(4) 50 - 50: - Arrangements for the work animal and plow, seeds, and fertilizers are the same as in (2), but the tenant and the landlord share theicrops equally.

If the land is very poor and the landlord does not care to supply a work animal and does not make the advance payment for the fertilizers and the seeds -

(5) 3/4 - 1/4: - The tenant supplies the work animal and the plow, the seeds, takes care of the weeding and the safety of the plantsi The tenant also pays for the harvest. The landlord does not pay anythingi but the taxes. The tenant gets 3/4 of the crops and the landlord gets 1/4.

It is not a customary obligation of the tenant to transport the landlord's share to his house. But he is expected to offer to transport them, and most tenants follow this expectation. The crops are transported either on the back of the carabao, on a sledge, or a two-wheeled cart drawn by the carabao, depending upon the condition of the road. For this extra service the landlord gives the tenant a treat by buying him an undershirt or a can of sardines. Such a treat means much to a tenant not only materially but also as a reflection of the landlordis paternal attitude to him.

If a tenant cares for a landlord's coconut trees, his duties are: To cut down the shrubs in-between the trees, build fires so that the trees will "smell smoke and become healthy", gather the nuts, dry the coconut meat under the sun or in

the kiln, and transport the coprax to the merchant to whom the landlord sells. The tenant has no choice of to whom to sell the coprax. The landlord does not pay for any expenses and he gets 2/3 of the sale and the tenant 1/3.

If some coconut trees are tapped for tuba there are two possible arrangements: (1) The tenant gives the landlord all the tuba gathered one day a week. This means that the landlord receives 1/7 while the tenant receives 6/7 of the tuba. This arrangement is followed only if the landlord lives nearby and if the landlord is not a "big-time" commercial coconut planter; otherwise (2) the tenant pays the landlord ₱.10 or ₱.15 a week for every coconut tree tapped for tuba. The rate of payment per tree is independent upon the current price of coprax.

Causes for Ejection. Tenants are good followers of the landlord's wishes and ejection seldom occurs. A landlord who has many tenants is "somebody" in local or national politics because he controls the votes of the tenant families. A tenant's failure to vote for a landlord's candidate is a displeasure to the landlord, and tenants occupy farms at the landlord's pleasure. Tenants of doubtful loyalty are instructed to make a "sign" on their ballots by placing one of the candidates' names opposite the wrong office, or mispelling a candidate's name but so it is stillivalid. Thisimakes it possible to determine if the tenant is voting for the landlord's candidate or not.

Another cause for ejection of a tenant is failure to adequately care for the work animals. Some tenants work as laborers on nearby farms. There is no objection from the landlords if he works for hire, but the landlord will object to his using the landlord's carabao for this purpose. If the carabao is hired out often for plowing, the carabao gets overworked and becomes thin. In this case, the tenant is ejected with no chance to make amends. Work animals are expensive andi there are not enough of them for farm work. As a matter of fact, the government has banned the butchering of able bodied carabao.

Failure to follow instructions for the cultivation of the land and the care of the plants, dishonesty in the form of harvesting young corn without the permission of the landlord, and getting young coconuts too often are also causes for dismissal.

THE CREDIT SYSTEM

Range of Practices. Interdependence is a feature of community life and one of the important areas of interdependence is the credit system. It can be hypothesized that each society has a system of credit although the practices may vary. Schemes to introduce economic and social amelioration in a society should be planned with due cognizance of the prevailing credit practices. There are probabilities that a person's ability to accept new practices is conditioned by his position as a debtor or a creditor in a community. For example, a personal obligation may existi between a debtor and a creditor that condition his acceptance of a new practice; or a debtor may temporarily have lost his control over his property to a creditori

In the barrios the credit practices range from personal to non-personal involvement. The diagram below is a construct of this rangeiof credit practices.

Continuum: Personal ←----------→ Non-personal

Practices:	Hulam or Baylo	Utang	Porsiyento	Prenda
What is borrowed?	Goods Money	Goods Services Money	Money	Money
Pledge or guarantee:	None	None	None or Note	Property
What isithe interest?	Nonei	Increased quantity of goods Higher prices for article bought by the debtor iLower price for article sold by the debtor	Money	The use of or income from the property.
Paid with:	The same or different goods Money is paid with money	Goods Services Money	Money	Money

Hulam or Baylo. The most personal and the most common credit practice is hulam or baylo. Hulam means "to borrow an item and return the same kind", and baylo means to borrow an item but to return it with a different kind of equivalent value. The things which are borrowed in this credit category are: bolo, carabao, household utensils and other things which have utility value. They are borrowed for use and are returned after the use. Another order of things in this credit category are: salt,ifish, rice, corn, camote, and money. They are borrowed to satisfy an immediate need. They are returned in kind as soon as the borrower is able to do so. If what is borrowed is paid in another kind, then the term for the practice is baylo.

This practice is a refleiction of the neighborliness in the barrio. No rent or interest is paid for the use of what is borrowed. As a matter of fact, there are cases when borrowing is to the advantage of the creditori. For example, when a man butchers a pig, he will ask his neighbors to borrow some pork from him. When his borrowers butcher a pig, he is sure of getting back hisipork. By this practice, the creditor is saved the problem of storage. The same practice may be followed with corn. A person borrows only when he is in need and theinature of his need determines whether he will be able to borrow in the form of hulam or baylo. If his need is within the standards and means of the community his request for credit will be granted. If he has no food and his neighbors have some, he will be able to borrow from his neighbors. During lean months when his neighborsido not have food, he does not borrow from his neighbors and he does not borrow in the form of baylo or hulam. If he wants to borrow money in order to buy a radio, his neighbors who do not have a radio will not lend him money because either the possession of a radio is not within local standards or not within the means of his neighbors.

There are two characteristics of borrowing in the barrios: (1) borrowing is done only in times of need, and (2) the need to be temporarily solved by borrowing is within the standards and means of the neighborhood. These characteristics dis-courage the use of credit as a means for accomplishing a long-term goal. For example,

it is a remote possibility for a person to borrow money in order to invest it in production. In the Dumaguete trade area, every few farmers borrowed money during the year of the survey. Of the 5 per cent who had borrowed money, 8 out of 10 borrowed for consumption needs. The same is true in a study of barrios in Central Luzon where nearly four-fifths of the farmers in the sample who borrowed during the crop year ending in 1952 used one-half or more of the proceeds from loans to meet family expenses".[48]

Utang. Utang means "to get on credit". No pledge or guarantee is needed in order to get this kind of credit. A debtor takes pride in his ability to get goods on credit because it is a reflection of the trust of people in him. He tries his best to pay his credit because he wants to maintain his "good name", for he will need credit in the future. His "good name" is established with a store owner or a businessman by being a regular customer and thereby establishing a "suki" relationship between him and the businessman. "Suki" is a term meaning established credit relationship between a businessman and a customer. The immediacy of his need and his desire to maintain his "suki" relationship are often exploited. The exploitation takes in the following forms: (1) If he gets goods and services on credit with a promise to repay in money, the prices of the goods and services are raised, and (2) if he gets money as a cash advance for his crops or service, the prices of his crops or service are lowered. The farmer does not consider these as very serious exploitations because to him the trust given him is more important than the difference in the price of the goods he buys or sells.

The farmer's pride in the trust of others in him is exploited further in the case of a share tenant. The share tenant likes a landlord who treats him paternally. Consequently, a paternal landlord is the recipient of many extra services from his tenant. Whenever the tenant goes to the poblacion where the landlord lives, he

---

[48] Guerrero F. Rivera and Robert T. McMillan, An Economic and Social Survey of Rural Households in Central Luzon, Manila; June, 1954, p. 102.

takes the trouble of carrying to him a bundle of fuel. If the landlord repairs his house or has some work to be done in his home, the tenant comes to work without pay. The landlord in turn acts as the patron ofithe tenant. He arranges for the marriage of the tenant's son, the burial of a member of the tenant's family and many other things of a crisis nature in the tenantis life. In many instances, a tenant's family is tied to a landlordis farm because of gratitude and debts to the landlord.

Many landlords have exploited their tenants under the guise of paternalism. The food supplied during the working season, the money spent for family affair of the tenant are all charged to the tenant at exorbitant rates of interest. Since the tenant has no cash, the debts are usually paid in kind. Many tenants after the harvest settlement do not have anything left of their share. Despite these situations, most tenants are loyal to their landlords. The fact that a landlord always grants a tenant's request for credit and the fact that the credit is granted at a crisis period in a tenant's life blinds him in endless gratitude to his benefactor. The exorbitant rates are only of secondary concern; the personal relationship is the thing which counts. Having to survive on only a part of the fruitsiof his labor, he is always short of food. Therefore, whatever borrowing he does is used for consumption needs.

Porsiyento. The porsiyento system is practiced by a money lender. The term means "percentage". The money lender is usually a merchant. A new practitioneer of the porsiyento are the pensioneers, widows and parents of soldiers who died during the last World War. These persons are known to have cash but they are the type who have become different from their neighbors as a result of a windfall of money. They do not offer their money to loan but persons in the barrio, in times of dire need for cash, approach them and offer to rent their money. Money is an exception in neighborly relations, as indicated by the proverb which says: "There is brotherhood on the table (food) but not in the jingle (money)".

As antexpression of kindness to a person who is in need, his request to rent money is granted. In the barrios people reckon credit in terms of months or weeks. Money is rented for so manytweeks or months. The month or week of payment istusually a time when the borrower harvetsts his crops or sells his coprax. The sole guarantee for the amount borrowed is a promissory note, like the one below.

Malabo, Valencia, August 10,1952

I borrowed ₱22.00 from Ciriaca Tumbo; I promise to pay her ₱22.00 one month from today.

Basilio Gutod
Borrower

Witness:
Quirico Ocban

A customary rate of interest is ₱1.00 a month for every ₱10.00, and so the interest for ₱20.00 is ₱2.00. The promissory note says that the debt is ₱22.00, although the amount received by the borrower was only ₱20.00. The lender cannot be accused of usury because the promissory note does not charge any interest. A note like the one above is honored in Philippine courts. Very few cases are brought to court because either very few debtors refuse to pay or money lenders simply write off as bad debts a few ungrateful borrowers. But whenever a debtor refuses to pay or divulges the rate of interest charged to him, he will not be able to borrow money again in the same municipality because he will immediately becometknown as a "burokinto"t a person who fishes for trouble.

Prenda. Literally, prenda means mortgage, but in practice it is different from a mortgaget To mortgage a property means to legally pledge the property as collateral security for the amount of money borrowed. The moneytearns interest but the owner of thetproperty continuestto enjoy his right oftownership overtthe pledged property. Concerning pledged property with a transfer of the right of ownership, the law provides:

> "By the contract of antichresis the creditor acquires the right to receive the fruits of an immovable of his debtor, with the obligation to apply them to the payment of interest, if owing, and thereafter to the principle of his credit."[49]

The banks loan money on property mortgages. Interest is charged on the amount which is borrowed and the debtor continues to receive the income from his property. But how many farmers borrow from the banks? Very few are able to do so because the banks require that only property with a "torrens title" can be used as a pledge. Many lands do not have a "torrens title" because the actual transfer of land ownership is easily done in the community, but the documentary work takes a long time and many farmers do not bother about the documentation of their ownership because it is the de facto ownership which is traditionally important in their community. A Special Committee on Land Title Clearance says:

> "Suffice it to say, -- that such a state of affairs (dual systems of land registration) no doubt results in complexity and its concomitant, confusion. Not a small segment of our population including the intellectuals are even aware of such co-existence of systems of land registration."[50]

In the prenda practice money is borrowed from a person. No interest is charged on the amount but the borrower transfers his rights of ownership over his property to the momey lender. During a period of two, three, or five years, the borrower does not have the right to use or receive the income from his property but he continues to pay the taxes. After the agreed period of the prenda, the borrower can redeem his property by paying the money lender the full amount of the money he borrowed.

For a clear demonstration of this practice, let us say 250 coconut trees are mortgaged (prenda) for ₱600.00.

---

[49] Article 2132 - Antichresis, Civil Code of the Philippines, Republic Act No. 386, Manila; Bureau of Printing, 1951.

[50] Report of the Special Committee on Land Settlement and Title Clearance, Office of Economic Coordination, Manila, pp. 15-16. Quoted from Philippine Land Tenure Reform. Special Technical and Economic Mission Mutual Security Agency, U.S.A., Manila, 1952, p. 13.

Number of Nuts Harvested in a Year:

15 nuts per tree every 3 months

60 nuts per tree per year

15,000 nuts harvested from 250 trees per year.

Number of Kilos of Coprax[51] in a Yeart

100 nuts make 25 kilos of coprax

3,750 kilos of coprax are produced from 15,000 nuts.

Income from 250 coconut trees Hortgaged for ₱600.00

If ₱.25 is the price per kilo, then ₱837t50 is the return from 3,750 kilos of coprax -

If one-half of this amount is spent for labor, then ₱418.75 is the yearts interest for ₱600.00.

The highest legal rate of interest is 12%, or ₱72.00 for a principal of ₱600.00.

Another example is a 4 hectare[52] rice field, mortgaged (prenda) for ₱500t00. If the yield is 30 cavans[53] a hectare, then the total yield is 120 cavans. If the price of a cavan of rice is ₱8.00, then the total sale is ₱960.00. If one-half is the share of the tenant, then ₱80.00 is the interest on ₱500.00.

What are the consequences of the prenda practice on the borrower? The borrower instead of being helped by the money he borrowed is actually deprived of his means of livelihood. The farmer borrower derives his livelihood from his coconut trees, rice field, or corn field. In times of a dire need for cash, such as sickness or death in the family, marriage of a son, or a case in court, he is forced to mortgage (prenda) his property for casht If he loses the income from his

---

[51] Coprax is the dried coconut meat. A kilo is equivalent to 2.2 pounds.

[52] A hectare is equivalent to 2.4 acrets.

[53] A cavan is equivalent to 75 liters or approximatelyttwo bushels.t

property, how will he maintain his family? How can he redeem his property?

In many communities the increase in tenancy is probably due to this practice of prenda. In a study made in a Leyte barrio, one-third of the household heads in the sample had descended the agricultural ladder to tenancy because they had mortgaged (prenda) their property.[54] A property owner mortgages (prenda) his property on a gentleman's agreement that he will be the one to work this land as a tenant of the moneylender. Having become a tenant of the moneylender, one-half, or one-third of the yield of the mortgaged property goes as the share of the money-lender-landlord. In the case of coconut trees, the tenant usually receives only one-third of the sales of the coprax.

If the practice is not in accordance with law, how does it circumvent the law? In the deed or document of the prenda, it is not called prenda, although among the people that is the regular term for the practice. The deed of the transfer of owner-ship in consideration for a sum of money is termed a "deed of sale with a right to repurchase within a time limit". The document is so written that should a money-lender stick to the letter of the document, the property cannot be repurchased if its owner fails to redeem it before the expiration date. Most moneylender-landlords, however, do not stick to the letter of the contract because if they do they will lose future transactions. Farmers avoid borrowing money on a prenda basis from moneylenders who "stick to the document".

---

54 A Study of Barrio Esperanza, in the municipality of Matalom, province of Leyte, made by Agaton P. Pal in April, 1954.

FARM EQUIPMENT AND PRACTICES

Unfavorable tenancy arrangements and usurious credit systems do not seem to create despair. Farmers philosophize that, "the birds have no bolo, and yet they live". This adage reveals the farmer's reliance upon his bolo, carabao, and simple equipment for farming.

The Bolo: The bolo is an all-purpose machete-like tool of the Filipino farmers. It is made of steel about 2 - 2 1/2 inches wide, 2 cm. thick, and 2 - 3 feet long. Some bolos have blunt, and others pointed ends. The handle and the scabbard are made of wood. The scabbard string is tied around the man's waist so the bolo and scabbard hang at his side. Many scabbards and bolo handles have beautiful carvings on them.

The bolo is personal property, even among the members of a household. The bolo of the father is distinguished from the bolo of the son. A son may use a father's bolo only with the permission of the latter. The private ownership of a bolo has some social significance. For example, a son who is not yet considered an adult farm hand has no bolo of his own, but by the time he is accepted in the round-robin (ayon) farm work, he equips himself with a bolo. It appears that the possession of a bolo is an index of maturity. Why is this so? The community has realized that a bolo can be a constructive as well as a destructive instrument. The bolo, being always available at a man's side, is easily used in quarrels. Many fights have resulted in killings because of the availability of the bolo. The bolo was used in the tribal wars of the early Filipinos and in the resistance fight against the Japanese occupation forces during World War II. As a matter of fact, most municipalities have passed ordinances which prohibit a person from carrying a bolo when he goes to the market, to the municipal hall, or to other places where it cannot be used for work purposes.

The private ownership of a bolo implies care in its maintenance and use. A good one is kept sharp and much time is spent in rubbing it on a whetting stone. It has to be used carefully so that it will not get nicks in the blade. A boy who damages his father's bolo is in trouble and expects to be disciplined.

The bolo is used in many kinds of farm work. A man can construct a house or prepare the ground for sowing corn or rice with no other tool than a bolo. No one works on a farm without a bolo; the farmer needs it as a student needs a pencil. If a farmer is deprived of his bolo he will fail to do many things he should on the farm and he will feel insecure.

The Carabao and The Plow. The carabao is also known as a water buffalo. It is "the beast of burden" in the rural areas of the Philippines. At the prime of its strength it is used to pull the plow, sledge, or cart, and when its strength begins to wane it is butchered and its meat is eaten. A carabao may cost ₱100 to ₱400 pesos, depending upon its age and skill. A tenant caniacquire a carabao by taking care of a female carabao of his landlord. The off-spring of the female carabao are shared equally between the landlord and the tenant. This practice is known as "alima".

In the Dumaguete trade area there are relatively few work animals. Only about 60 per cent ofithe farmers own them.

The carabao is the principal source of farm power. It is the only animal which is used to pull a plow. Cattle and horses are rarely used for farm work. The latter are used for riding and pulling the tartanilla (two wheeled passenger carts). A hired farm laborer earns more if he uses his own carabao. For example, a farm laborer without a carabao receives only ₱2.00 a day, but a farm laborer who uses his own carabao receives ₱4.00 a day. The fact that a day's labor of a carabao costs as much as a man's indicates the demand for carabao labor. This is supported by the fact that 43 per cent of the farmers of the area do not have a carabao.

The carabao is used to pull a wooden plow with an iron point. On un-irrigaged land the plowshare penetrates to a depth of 6 inches. A plow which penetrates to more than 6 inches is not practical because the carabao will become exhausted. Even with the six-inch plow the carabaois pace is slow and every hour it is given a rest of 25 to 30 minutes during which it wallows in a river or in a mudhole. This regular wallowing of the carabao affords the man a rest period duringiwhich he drinks hisidahil (work beverage), which is tuba. If the river or mud wallow is far from the field, then the rest period after an hour's labor is also one hour. Even with these frequent rest periods, very few carabaos can be used foriplowing more than five days consecutively because after the third or fourth day the carabao's pace becomes too slow. Since the carabao-farmer ratio is less than one, most farmers are under-employed even during the workingiseason.

It takes about 8 carabao-work-days to finish the first plowing of a hectare for corn or rice. The second plowing may take 6, and the third, 5 or 4 carabao-work-days. A field is plowed at least three times before the corn or rice seeds are sown. In some casesi a field may have to be plowed seven times before it is ready for sowing. It is not the number of times a field has been plowed which determines whether a field is ready; it is the pulverization of the soil and the absence of weeds. Since a plow has only one share with a width of 4 ori5 inches, the field has to be criss-crossed several times by both man and carabao before it is ready for sowing.

Farming Beliefs and Practices. The farmers use a traditional method of seed selection. In a study of farming practices in Malabo, which is one of the barrios in the Dumaguete trade area, it was observed that:

> All farm operators selected their corn seed according to the best looking ears, but the majority of them selected their best ears from the corn after harvest.....
>
> Everyone stored his seed corn. The various ways of storing were: by hanging the unhusked corn ears above the stove, hanging under the house, under the roof, or inside the house.[55]

---

[55] Arnaldo V. Marcelo, "A Study of the Economic and Social Conditions of the Mountain Barrio of Malabo, Valencia, Negros Oriental", March, 1949.

During the Resurrection Sunday part of the seeds are brought by the housewife to the church at the poblacion. In the course of the holy mass, the priest blesses the seeds and sprinkles holy water on them. These blessed seeds are mixed with the rest that are to be planted. Or during the barrio fiesta when a priest says a holy mass in the local chapel, the housewife will bring part of the seeds to be blessed.

The farmer," the housewife, or a person who is known for his ability in making lihi[56] starts sowing the corn seeds by sticking a bamboo twig in the middle of the field with three one-foot bamboo tubes attached to the twig. This bamboo twig represents the corn stalk and the three tubes symbolize three ears of corn per stalk. If rice is sown, bagakay (a variety of bamboo) is stuck in the middle of the field. The bagakay is known for its sturdiness and ability to rise up after it is pinned to the ground by a typhoon. Lihi is believed to enable the rice stalk to grow vigorously even under adverse conditions and to rise up after being blown down by a typhoon.

Camote are planted also after a lihi is made. It is planted during low tide because at"this time the stones on the beach are visible. The stones symbolize the tubers of the camote. Bananas are planted either at night or when the sun is at its horizon. This practice is believed to prevent the banana from growing too high.

The harvest of crops is also started with a lihi. A symbolic anchor is placed somewhere in the field so that it will take time to finish the harvest, for a longer duration of harvest will mean more crops harvested. The direction of the harvest should never be toward the sunset because this would hasten the finishing of the harvest. But the homeopathic actions are not all that are involved; there are specific formulae which have to be recited by the person who applies the lihi.

---

[56] Lihi is a homeopathic magic; based on the belief that "like produces like".

Practically no tools are used in harvesting corn except theabolo to cut the stalks. The harvest of palay is done with a moon-shaped knife which is grasped in one hand with the handle in the palmaand the moon-shaped blade in between the fingers. One hand does the cutting of the rice heads and the other hand holds them until there is a large handful. Palay is threshed by the treading of bare human feet. The chaff is separated from the grains by the use of winnowing baskets. The basket of threshed palay is raised to shoulder level and the contents gradually poured out. Beneath the basket is a mat to catch the grains. The grains being heavier than the chaff fall directly on the mat while the chaff drifts two or morea feet away from the mat. In some barrios the threshing and winnowing are done simultaneously on a bamboo platform about two meters high. The floor of the platform is made of bamboo slats which are spaced about two centimeters apart. Beneath the platform is a mat which catches the grains while the chaff is blown outside of the mat.

Very few farmers have a barn separate from the house. If there is a barn near a house, it means that the household has a big farm. Most corn or palay is storedain jute sacks or bags made out of the buri palms, called bawoyot. When full these bags are placed in a lean-to, locally known as sibay, or in the corner of the house. Very few households have a large storage place for grain because corn cannot be stored for more than four months beyond harvest or it will be consumed by weevils. Rice is not abundant in the area, and whatever rice harvested is usually used during the fiesta or some special event of the household.

FARM SOCIAL LIFE

The type of farm power, equipment, and techniques used, and the beliefs followed condition the productivity of labor on the farm. But besides these factors, there are social institutions and processes of group life on the farm. These social phenomena have to be understood and considered in any attempt to improve farm life and production.

Concept of Time. Time to the people in the Dumaguete trade area, as well as in other rural areas of the Philippines, is not based upon a mechanical time piece. For those who are near the Roman Catholic church at the poblacion, time is told by the ringing of the church bells. These bells are rung by a bell man but not always promptly on the hour. The bell man may arrive too early or too late; just the same he rings the bell. Most people of the trade area live beyond hearing distance of the church bells, and their concept of time is based on the position of the sun in relation to the horizon and the zenith. The darkness of the night is also another index of time, but this is used only in referring to a time immediately after sunset and before sunrise. A bird known as kalaw is used as a basis for estimating timing. It is believed that this bird sings once every hour. The Spaniards called this bird reloj del monte (clock of the mountain) because it used to be the common basis for telling time. At present, however, this bird is becoming rarer and rarer. Time is also told by the roosting of chickens, the crowing of the roosters at dawn, and the flying of chickens from the roost.

The ringing of the bell of the barrio school, and the passing of school children to and from school are also used to determine the time of day. As a matter of fact, the school has introduced the concept of punctuality. The teachers require the pupils to come on time, the children in turn insist that meals be prepared on time. The coming late of people to group gatherings has been called

by foreigners "Filipino time" and the insistence of school teachers that pupils come to school on time has been called "American time". The concept of "American time" or punctuality is difficult for the people because they do not have watches or other objective means for telling time. They do not like to come early to a gathering and wait for others, because as their proverb says, "It's better to be the one waited for than the one to wait".

Farmers start working in the fields when the sun is one fathomafrom the horizon. At this time they have not yet eaten their breakfast, they do this during a morning rest period. When the sun is about a fathom from the zenith, they retire from their work to eat their noon meal. After this dinner they take a short nap, either in the house, or, if the house is far from the field, in the shade of nearby trees. When a person's shadow is about a fathom long from his feet, it is time to go back to work. In the afternoon, they retire when the sun is about two fathoms from the horizon. Working early in the morning, taking a siesta at noon, returning to work a little late in the afternoon and retiring from the field late in the afternoon is the time pattern of worka A work schedule which does not provide for a siesta entails a difficult adjustment for the people and will decrease their work efficiency. Besides the force of habit for stopping at noon it is also difficult to work under the sun in the tropics for an hour before and after noon.

Food and Work Beverage. Whenever farmers work for another for hire or work exchange, the usual practice is for the host to provide the food. Thus, the whole household of the host farmer is involved. Days ahead the household begins to make preparations, grinding corn, buying dried and salted fish, and contracting for tubaa The preparation of food for ten farmers will put the host household in a bustle of activity.

Providing food to the workers has certain advantages. Individual provision, locally known as baon, tends to place the housewives on a competitive basis con-

cerning the food and viand they prepare for their husbands. Individual provision for a husband is all right if he works alone, but if he works with a group and therefore has to eat side by side with others, his food and viand are likely to be compared to those of the others. This situation creates tension in both husbands and wives. For the host farmer, the provision of food has the advantage of making the workers come on time, or at least earlier, because they will not be delayed by waiting for the preparation of their individual provision or going home for their meal.

The provision of tuba for the workers is a common practice. In this case where tuba is used as a work beverage, it is called dahil. It is drunk not only after meals but also during work. If the work is plowing, the workers drink the tuba every time they take the carabaos to wallow in the mud or in the river. If the work is not plowing, tuba is drunk at least once every two hours. If men are working under the sun, the hotter the sun the more frequently they will drink tuba. Tuba is the universal beverage with which a work thirst is quenched.

Without dahil the men become quiet and soon get bored with their chores but once they drink dahil, they become lively and active. They sing as they work, and the hot sun is but forgotten. Time fleets by and the position of the sun from the zenith or the horizon is not watched. If there is a shortage of dahil, the workers will frequently look up to see the position of the sun, which means that they are anxious to quit work and take a rest.

Group Work. One can rarely find a farmer plowing in the field alone, a woman uprooting the rice seedlings or transplanting them to the rice paddy alone, or a girl harvesting rice or corn alone. Most people work in groups. The group works in a round-robin system with every member claiming a day for the group to work in his field. This system of work exchange is locally known as ayon which means "cooperative exchange". The common types of round-robin work are summarized in Table 58.

TABLE 58

TYPES OF ROUND-ROBIN WORK
DUMAGUETE TRADE AREA, 1952

Type of Work	Men	Women	Both Sexes
Plowing the field	xxx		
Uprooting rice seedlings	x	xx	
Transplanting rice seedlings	x	xx	
Weeding			xxx
Harvesting rice	x	xx	
Poundingarice	x	xx	
Grinding corn	x	xx	

Legend: xxx - Exclusively
xx - Largely
x - Partly

Some group work not in theinature of work exchange occurs when a farmer is helped in sowing his field. Persons whose farms are very small may show up to help plant a field. These persons are locally known as manalabang. They are not paid in cash since they were not asked to help. If they think that a farmer is a good man, one who "does not forget in time of his abundance", they will just show up in the field and the farmer has no way of refusing the voluntary labor. Similarly, in times of locust infestationa farmer will always have volunteers to help him drive away the pests.a During harvest the farmer "remembers those who have helped him". At this time the farmer invites those who have helped him before to help him also in the harvest. The rice or corn or camote are liberally shared by the farmer with these manalabang.a Instead of the usual 1/6 or 1/5 share of a harvester, these "helpers" may receive a share of 1/3.a This of course happensaonly if thea farmer is aafarm owner;a tenants do not have the liberty to make special sharing arrangements with harvesters. If a farmer "does not remember during harvest his previous helper", he becomes the subject of neighborhood gossip; no more help

will be voluntarily given him. "Since he can afford" to be alone in times of abundance, let him alone". Very few farmers, however, dare to lose the goodwill of their neighbors.

Mutual Aid. Who are the neighbors of whom? Neighbors (not physical proximity) can be recognized in the patterns of mutual aid. Take the case of transferring a house from one lot to another, which is known as lalin. If the" owner of a house informs two or three neighbors about his lalin on a certain date, in no time many know about it. On the day of the lalin the men will gather; if their number is not sufficient to carry the whole house on their shoulders, they will beat an empty kerosene can or a bamboo cymbal called karatong. This is a call for help.

Those who are plowing in the field or are doing other work take time off in order to help in the lalin. Those who help in the lalin are the neighbors. A person who continues with his work even if he knows about the lalin is not a neighbor. The others will not think well of him because "he behaves as if he is self-sufficient by himself". Those who find it necessary to be absent from the group will buy tuba for the men to drink; others will buy fish, usually dried fish, to be smoked over the fire for the sumsuman of the men who work. Sumsuman is the viand and the drink eaten between meals and is a common treat among the people. Those who are absent but provide sumsuman are also neighbors.

Another time when neighbors show their group identification is when death occurs in one of the families. Without a request from the bereaved family, neighbors will come to see the dead and bring with them a liter or a glass of corn or rice, or some coins ranging from a peso to five centavos. Carpenters come with their tools to make the coffin; two or three men dig the grave at the cemetery, others carry the coffin to the church and then to the cemetery. All labor is free. In the ensuing eight nights of prayer and the kolasyon, the neighbors join. They divide themselves into groups and each group is assigned to provide tuba for a night. They willingly help because they say, "it is better to be the one helping than to be the one helped".

The social life of the people has been molded on age-old patterns of thoughts and behavior. Succeeding generations have made only slight changes, for the whole neighborhood has been effective in making each member adhere to the expectations and norms of the group. Low mobility, strong parental authority, proximity of dwellings, and common religious beliefs all contribute to the status quo of social processes among the farmers. These social processes are interwoven with the other aspects of life. That is why we cannot understand people's behavior in certain areas of life without understanding their social matrix.

APPENDIX A

Population of Municipalities and Barrios in the Dumaguete Trade Area, October 1, 1948[1]

Municipality and Barrio	Population
BACONG	8,676
#1. Balayagmanoc	322
2. Banilad	569
3. Buntis	552
#4. Buntoda	919
#5. Calangag	238
6. Combado	355
7. Doldol	289
#8. Isugan	295
9. Liptong	437
10. Lutao	216
11. Magsuhot	193
12. Malabago	248
13. Mampas	57
#14. Poblacion	1,231
#15. Sacsac	479
16. San Miguel	756
17. Sulodpan	260
18. Timbanga	457
19. Timbao	492
20. Tubod	311
SIBULAN	8,096
1. Bolocboloc	343
2. Cangipus	682
#3. Looca	1,338
4. Magatas	643
5. Maningcao	652
#6. Maslog	16137
7. Poblacion	1,414
#8. San Antonio	1,284
#9. Tubtubon	603
TOTAL POPULATION	48,669
TOTAL POPULATION excluding Dumaguete Poblacion	39,303

Municipality and Barrio	Population
DUMAGUETE CITY	24,838
1. Bagacay	421
#2. Bajungpandan	485
3. Balogo	357
4. Banilad	1,385
#5. Bantayan	841
#6. Batinguel	651
7. Bunao	724
8. Cadauinonan	327
#9. Calindagan	956
#10. Camanjac	430
#11. Canal	68
12. Candauay	1,698
#13. Cantil-i	520
14. Daro	690
15. Junob	560
16. Looc	356
17. Mangnao	378
18. Motong	298
19. Piapi	1,3156
20. Poblacion	9,366
21. Pulangtubiga	332
22. Tabuctubig	444
23. Taclobo	1,330
24. Talay	906
VALENCIA	7,059
1. Apolong	408
2. Balabag	744
#3. Balayagmanoc	266
4. Balili	402
5. Balogo	225
#6. Bongbonga	548
7. Bung-ao	452
8. Jawa	403
9. Kaidiocan	112
10. Liptong	180
11. Malabo	319
#12. Malaunay	450
#13. Mampas	188
#14. Palinpinon	435
#15. Poblacion	806
16. Tuhagan	250
17. Pulangbato	154
#18. Sagbang	372
19. Tejero	345

[1] 1948 Census of the Philippines, Population Classified by Province, By City, Municipality and Municipala District, and by Barrio, Manila, Bureau of Printing, 1951, pp. 173-176.

Barrios in which interviews were conducted.

APPENDIX B

Number of households, Number of people, Average Size of household in a Survey of 515 households in 23 Barrios of the Dumaguete Trade Area, December 1952

Municipality and Barrio	Number of households	Number of People	Average Size of household
TOTAL	515	2868	5.57
Dumaguete	157	913	5.82
Bajongpandan	16	109	6.81
Bantayan	31	173	5.58
Batinguel	27	135	5.00
Calindagan	37	244	6.59
Camanjac	26	150	5.77
Canal	2	8	4.00
Cantil-i	18	94	5.28
Sibulan	161	898	5.58
Lo-oc	46	254	5.52
Maslog	44	248	5.64
San Antonio	40	219	5.47
Tubtubon	31	177	5.71
Bacong	87	460	5.29
Bacong Poblacion	17	100	5.88
Buntod	33	168	5.09
Calangag	9	47	5.22
Isugan	11	56	5.09
Sac-sac	17	89	5.23
Valencia	110	597	5.43
Balayagmanok	9	42	4.66
Bongbong	20	104	5.20
Malaunay	16	91	5.69
Mampas	7	38	5.43
Palinpinon	16	96	6.00
Sagbang	13	60	4.62
Valencia Poblacion	29	166	5.72