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THE PHILIPPINES IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: Social Change In Recent Decades

A Thesis

Presented to

Faculty of the Department of Sociology
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

by

Juan Vidal Q. Aguas

1987

APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Approved, December 2, 1987

Mario D. Zamora

Department of Anthropology

DEDICATION

To Bienvenido and Josefina, Telly, Oscar, Jovi and Connie, and Grandma Salud - my family.

Though 15,000 miles distant, you are the inspiration of this work. I know, you too, have deep thoughts of me and in prayers, we're kept together. The Almighty has always blessed us with His bounties.

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I would like to take this opportunity to express my profound thanks not only to those who have directly helped me in writing this manuscript, but as well as, to those who have made my graduate studies at the College of William and Mary possible.

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There are two countrymen on campus to whom I owe deepest appreciation. Dr. Mario D. Zamora has been a guide and friend, as I acculturated myself to American campus life. On the other hand, I found in Albee B. Benitez, the Filipino value of "pakikisama" (cooperation), who shared with me his thoughts and resources.

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As we say it in Philippine language, "sa iyo'y ay ang aking taos pusong pasasalamat". My sincerest thanks.

ABSTRACT

This study is an account of the major developments in the Philippines for the past four decades since its independence from the United States. It provides a glimpse of the country's geographical, economic, political, social and cultural characteristics. decades of the sixties, seventies and eighties have been the most significant period in the country's development. Modernization and industrialization under a democratic form of government hit full stride in the Twenty six years after independence, Ferdinand Marcos, the first Philippine president to be re-elected, declared martial law on September 21, 1972 and put the country under autocratic rule for almost fourteen years. With the assassination of his popular opponent, former Senator Benigno Aquino, Jr. on August 21, 1983, the Filipinos' resentments were galvanized. In a snap elections, in February, 1986, Aquino's widow - Corazon, pitted against incumbent President Marcos and was eventually proclaimed as winner by the Filipino people in a bloodless and peaceful revolution.

Development of the Philippines, a Third World nation, is examined through the measures provided by Goldthorpe, where economic indicators (income and sources of employment) are analyzed and related to the conditions of life such as infant mortality, life expectancy and the availability of social services. Hardiman and Midgeley's measures of health, education, nutrition, housing and other social conditions were also used in this study.

The role of class forces in Philippine politics and in the provision of social prestige as formulated by Chirot was also analyzed in understanding the evolution of the elite in Philippine society. Furthermore, the changes during the Marcos years were clarified by using Frank's analysis of the global economic crises that affect development in Third World countries.

A historical background of the country is also provided together with some sociological commentaries on the influence of both Spanish and American colonization. Philippine values, culture and social class structure were also integrated in the study.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

On June 12, 1898, the Philippines was the first nation in Southeast Asia to gain independence from colonial rule. Though this was short lived with the coming of the Americans six months later, the country's hope for progress was not aborted. Instead, it gave the country more and better opportunities to build the basic foundations to become Asia's most famous home for democracy.

The United States, after having established the necessary political institutions, form of government and economic system, declared the country's second independence on July 4, 1946. The country moved on towards modernization and industrialization as it continued to gain world recognition, as well as the support and patronage of its colonizers. It had become the most progressive developing country in the Asia-Pacific region after World War II, but more recently, the Philippines is one of the world's most desperate countries, saddled with huge foreign debt, insurgency attacks and low economic performance.

Territorial, cultural, economic and social affinities, along with common historical origin and political aspirations,

alternately sustain common pride in the achievement of a nation on one hand, and its tragedies, on the other.

(Romulo, 1965:56)

According to Herbert Spencer, the development of human society is evolutionary. In February, 1986, the world looked on the Philippines, as its people fought peacefully to restore their democratic rights. Iyer described the event where history turned into a clash of symbols. It was a morality play being enacted with the forces of corruption and redemption, where extravagance and modesty collide in perfect symmetry. A widowed housewife deposed a modern day dictator. (Iyer, 1986)

The snap elections called by President Ferdinand Marcos, cutting short his term of twenty years, surprised fifty six million Filipinos who reacted with full vigilance and participation, supporting his opponent, Corazon C. Aquino. Iyer writes:

Then suddenly the implausible began to happen. Thousands of volunteer poll watchers, singing hymns and burning candles, formed a human barricade against the armed goons and carried their ballot boxes through the streets to counting stations. Thirty of the government's vote tabulators walked out in protest against the fraud. Soon the implausible turned into the improbable. Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, the architect of Marcos martial law and Lieutenant General Fidel Ramos, the deputy chief of the armed forces, broke away from the government, claiming that Aquino was the true winner. As the rebels barricaded themselves inside two military camps, first hundreds, then thousands, then tens of thousands common citizens poured into the streets to offer food, support and protection, if need be with their bodies, to the maverick soldiers and Aquino backers. As civilians, bearing only flags and flowers, took up positions to defend the military men, the world knew that it was watching more than just an electoral upheaval. (Iyer, 1987:21)

What happened in the Philippines was not a mere passing phenomenon. It was an act where citizens defended their basic individual rights in order that the democratic principles may continue to live in their particular society. Such display of courage and unity was a result of the evolution of events in the country's history. It was the outcome of an inter-play of socio-cultural, economic and political characteristics through the years.

It is the intent of this study to present a chronology of facts and events of the past four decades in the Philippines, so that future students or researchers will be guided in having a comprehensive understanding of Philippine society. They will be provided the much needed knowledge about the different sources of information and available data related to development in the Philippines. Development varies in developing countries because of differences in the availability of natural, human and capital resources, as well as their history.

On the other hand, social change - the Philippine case will be evaluated and analyzed in terms of economic indicators, availability of social services, the influence of global forces and the role of social class structure in development. The measures formulated by Goldthorpe, Hardiman and Midgeley, Chirot and Frank were used in this research.

It will also serve as a source of information to sociology students who are working on Third World countries. There is a need for social science to examine societies which now form the Third World. There had been of course, a great deal in the way of anthropological investigations of parts of some of these societies, but the social structures which were to emerge in the new nations in the 1950s and 1960s had generally not been studied as social wholes, with the exception of Latin America. (Roxborough, 1979:13)

Those countries which are generally regarded as being less prosperous than the industrialized states of Europe and North America have been given many different designations. After the Second World War, with the dismantling of European imperialism, the former colonies were often referred to as the "newly independent" or "emergent" nations. evolution towards full statehood required modernization of their predominantly subsistence economies. These countries were then usually described as "underdeveloped", but later more polite forms such as "less developed" or "developing" gained currency. This latter term was generally thought to be more attractive because of its optimistic tenor. However, by the 1970s, a new term, "Third World" became popular. possible origins were French social scientists who used the term to distinguish developing countries outside the two power blocs - the capitalist and the socialist systems during the Cold War between 1947 to 1949. Mao Tse Tung would define the term as the primary producing nations which the

superpowers of the First World seek to contol.

Although it has since acquired an economic meaning synonymous with developing country, the notion of non-alignment and economies have now been combined to describe Third World countries. (Hardiman & Midgely, 1982:10)

To differentiate between the rich and poor countries, social scientists have been using economic, sociological and social welfare criteria. National income data and key economic indicators point usually to the differentials in the structure of production, level of consumption, labor force commitment and the nature of trade. Sociological indicators show significant differences in levels of urbanization and population growth. Sociologists also employ various economic and demographic measures which allude to differences in the social structures of developing and industrial countries and to differences in lifestyles and attitudes. Social welfare indicators emphasize differentials in levels of living, nutrition, income inequality, health and educational standards, and access to social services and basic amenities such as clean drinking water and sanitation. Although data about social welfare in the Third World are limited and often unreliable, standard empirical measures of health, education, nutrition, housing and other social conditions correlate highly with each other and with other economic and social indicators. (Hardiman & Midgeley, 1982:12)

This particular study will present both social and

economic indicators in the Philippines covering three periods; first, the sixties - an evaluation of the country fifteen years after it gained its independence, a period when the country moved towards modernization and progress; the seventies - better known as the Marcos years, a period characterized by autocratic and military rule; and the eighties - an era of discontent when people clamored for change, which eventually led to the peaceful revolution in February, 1986.

The national trend will first be described through gathered social and economic indicators, as well as an account of salient facts and events that occured during each period under study. The performance of the country's twelve regions and Metropolitan Manila will also be compared to note its diverse character.

The progress the Philippines made toward the attainment of long term objectives of sustained economic growth and improvement in the quality of living for the future population will be examined.

Chapter 2

AN ARCHIPELAGO BECOMES A COLONY

The Philippines is an archipelago of some 7,100 islands extending about 1,850 kilometers from north to south separating South China Sea from Philippine Sea and the Pacific Ocean beyond. It occupies 496,400 square nautical miles and it has a total land area of 300,000 square kilometers, of which the two largest islands, Luzon and Mindanao, make up about 65 percent of the total land area. Its topography is largely mountainous, creating narrow coastal plains and interior valleys and plains. Major plains include those of Central Luzon (Region III), Northeastern Cagayan Valley (Region II), and Agusan Basin in far south (Region X). There are two seasons in the country, the wet and the dry, which are determined by monsoon conditions. The mean annual sea level temperature rarely falls below 27 degrees centigrade. (Bunge, 1983)

The population is estimated in mid-1986 at about fifty six million, which is predominantly Malay stock and largely Roman Catholic (85 percent), although a politically significant Muslim minority is concentrated in the south.

The history of the Philippines is reflected in the

general character of contemporary Filipino culture. The Islamic and Hindu cultural influences (trade and religion) that still loom so large in present-day Southeast Asia are relatively insignificant features of Filipino culture, which is prevalent only among a minority in the southern island of Mindanao that is near Malaysia and Brunei. The archipelago lies at the northeastern terminus of the long route from Arabia to India. The peninsular countries of the mainland likewise effectively served as protective screen against the southward expansion of political ambitions and migration from China. Although the Chinese elements are notable in many Filipino families, the Chinese component of the population is less than in the other countries of the region. (Corpuz, 1965:3)

Almost every other country in the Southeast Asia has a wealth of annals or dynastic histories upon which to rely in a reconstruction of its past. This is because some degree at least of political or administrative integration had been attained in these countries before the arrival of the westeners. But in the case of the Philippines, it was not so. Up to the mid-sixteenth century the inhabitants of the archipelago lived in widely scattered and almost isolated communities. The communities were called barangays, named after the boat that brought the original migrants from their homes in Malaysia and Indonesia. Each boat carried an extended family group, consisting of the head and his immediate family group, his brothers and sisters and the aged

kinsfolk. Interpersonal or social relations in such a community tended to be informal, and government was based on kinship rule and custom rather than on enacted laws or administrative regulations. Moreover, the values governing social relations and individual behavior were the values of the kinship group. The barangay, essentially a group of extended families, proved to be a durable institution. It was preserved intact as the basic unit of local administration until the Spanish occupation. (Corpuz, 1965)

In the 16th century, "core societies", which were the rich European nations like Great Britain and Spain, moved outward towards Asia. They were interested in discovering poor societies and making them dependent for the production of cheap goods. (Wallerstein, 1977:9)

After having been freed from the Mohammedan wars, Spain was claiming possessions by right of discovery. The Spaniards were now ready to risk life and treasure in quest of riches abroad. At the same time, the Church was also encouraging conquest as part of her strategy in extending missionary work.

Spain discovered the archipelago in one of its expeditions to prove that the Moluccas could be reached by sailing west and that an Atlantic passage to the Pacific could be found to prove that the world is round. Thus, on March 17, 1521, Ferdinand Magellan landed on Philippine shores by miscalculating the great distance of the Pacific. The expedition anchored on Homonhon Islands in the Visayas

and named the archipelago after King Philip of Spain. (Agoncillo, 1977:76)

Magellan was killed by the natives when he took sides in an inter-tribal war near the island of Cebu. Five more expeditions were dispatched by the Spanish crown to reap the fruits of Magellan's epochal voyage. The first four were disastrous failures. The last sailing from Nueva Espana (Mexico), late in 1564, reached Cebu in February of the following year. It was under the command of Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, who was appointed governor and capitan general of the expedition, as well as of the territories, which he annexed to the Spanish crown. (Corpuz, 1965:25)

Legazpi sailed northward and settled in a town called Manila¹. On June 3, 1571, the Spaniards declared Manila, a Spanish city, giving it the name of "Distinguished and Ever Loyal City". Colonization of the Spaniards then began. The native settlements were brought under the Spanish rule. The Filipinos were organized, for the purposes of local government, into towns (pueblos) and provinces (alcaldias, sometimes called corregimientos or commandancias, when they had military officers as provincial governors). But municipal organization was a sharp and radical change from the pattern of dispersed settlements of the pre-Spanish period. It required a drastic, often painful, wrenching of the natives from their old homes. The new pattern was based on the requirement that the Filipinos were to be resettled and brought "debajo de campanas" or "under the bells". This

referred to the process and spirit of the Spanish colonial town-making, which required that in every town, in addition to the civil administration, there is a system of ecclesiastical administration. A parish church for the new townsfolk was therefore in the heart of the town plan, and residential sites of the subjects were laid in a regular grid pattern, which was defined by streets radiating from a town plaza² or square in the center. The Filipinos were now gathered together, to live within hearing of the great church bells that tolled the hours of worship, prayer and even community meetings. (Corpuz, 1965:27)

The consequences of Spain's political regime upon Philippine society were fully matched in importance by those of the ecclesiatical regime. It is commonly assumed that the Philippines became Christian through the medium of Spanish rule. Thus, the Philippines became the only Christian nation in all of Asia³.

The impact of Christianity, on life in the Philippines was not only spiritual. It was a powerful vehicle of social and economic change. The old, massive stone churches that covered much of the archipelago, constituted interesting Filipino artistic and engineering traditions. The religious orders had roads built to open up new mission territories, and to facilitate travel from parish to parish. Many economic plants⁴ came to the Philippines through the clergy. With the friars' control of the pueblos, which consisted of agricultural lands, they played an important

role in the development of commercial agriculture⁵. Absentee-landlordism and other problems of agrarian reforms arising from these estates will continue to persist into the next century. The Church played a major role in the urban resettlement of the Filipinos and the friars, as the most widely distributed Spanish nationals over the archipelago, were the primary contacts between the natives and the Hispanic culture. (Corpuz, 1965:42)

The Philippines was a colony of Spain from 1571 to 1898. It is probably one of the longest colonial period in the history of Southeast Asia. Corpuz writes why it took so long:

The social and technological change was slow and The burdens imposed on the people by the political regime and the abuse by officials for personal gain, were mitigated by a morality between the two peoples which arose from the fact that the colonial rulers were superior in civilization. situations of violence, Spanish firearms prevailed over the knives and bare hands of a divided people. The impositions of the ecclesiastical regime were softened by a judicious and systematic show of solicitude, and especially by the system of instruction, which gave the friars hegemony over the natives' minds. The potentially violent competition between Christian dogma and folk belief was resolved through the process of selective acceptance and mutual accommodation. The political and economic demands of the colonial regime upon the masses were moderated through partial compliance and occasional evasion, chiefly through the efforts and devices of the principalia. Where their behavior would be visibly contrary to the colonial requirements, they complied in order to avoid punishment. (Corpuz, 1965:55)

The December 10, 1898, Treaty of Paris, which concluded the Spanish-American War, transferred control of the Philippines from Spain to the United States. On January 20,

1899, President Mckinley appointed the First Philippine

Commission to investigate conditions in the islands and make recommendations. In the report that they issued to the president, the following year, the commissioners acknowledged Filipino aspirations for independence. Almost from the very beginning, United States presidents and their representatives defined their colonial mission in terms of tutelage: a process of preparing the Philippines for eventual independence. Thus, political development in the islands was rapid and particularly impressive in the light of the complete lack of representative institutions during the Spanish rule.

The Philippine Organic Act of July 1902, stipulated that upon the achievement of peace, a legislature would be established composed of a lower house - the Philippine Assembly, which would be elected popularly and an upper house - the Philippine Commission, which was to be appointed by the United States President. The Act also provided for the extension of the United States Bill of Rights to cover Filipinos and the sending of two Filipino resident commissioners to Washington to attend sessions of the United In July, 1907, the first elections for the States Congress. assembly were held and it opened its first session on October 16, 1907. A major step was taken in the direction of independence when the United States Congress passed a second organic law in 1916, commonly known as the Jones Act. By this Act, the Philippine Senate, which was popularly elected

by the people, replaced the Philippine Commission. The Jones Act remained the basic legislation for the administration of the Philippines by the United States, until the United States Congress passed a new legislation in 1934 establishing the Commonwealth of the Philippines. On July 4, 1946, full independence was granted by the United States to the Republic of the Philippines. (Bunge, 1984)

The influence of America to the Philippines are best described by Corpuz:

Beyond the political leadership, and among the masses of Filipinos, strong bonds of cordiality, even affection for America, developed as a result of the colonial experience. It is common for some individuals in a dependent population to be drawn into a sense of community with the sovereign "mother country". In the Philippines, however, the enchantment with America had almost national epidemic proportions. It was an enduring enchantment, lasting long after the independence and sustaining residual ties between the former sovereign and the colony. The situation may be described with equal validity by either of two propositions; first, that the United States occupation had built up a massive reservoir of goodwill for America; and secondly, that American cultural imperialism outlasted and survived the era of political imperialism. The goodwill and the cultural imperialism were the product of a familiar process. The colonial relationship is not merely a political and economic one. The colonizing society exports to the dependent people more than just its political institutions and practices. In the Philippines, the political vocabulary, electoral practices, system of party government, jurisprudence, doctrines of constitutionalism, and theories of administrative management, reflect an American origin. The same was true for a long time with channels of trade, credit, and investment But more than these, the United States, financing. exported its language, its ideas of education and educational administration, its currency, manufactures, and other less tangible but equally significant aspects of its way of life, such as

reading materials, consumption and purchasing preferences, dress fashions, movies and to a great extent, its hierarchy of social values. (Corpuz, 1965:69)

Chapter III

THE EAST AND THE WEST IN THE ORIENT

The historical development of Philippine culture is a mixture of the East and the West. It is made up of many elements of widely different provenance. Archaeological remains, linguistic analysis and findings of anthropologists confirm the indications that the earliest peoples of the islands were considerably influenced by the cultures of the Hinduized empires of Southeast Asia and their Muslim successor states. The Spanish influence is evident in religion, legal system, social institutions, literature, art and music. The Anglo Saxon influence is found in the school system and the ordinary language of social intercourse. Philippine culture was further augmented by many sources from outside its borders, from Europe, North America and Asia. Andres defines the Filipino as;

The imponderable unity and uniqueness of diverse races, richness, and idiosyncracies. The Filipino is the legacy of the multi-racial humanity. The Filipino is the monument of the Malays, the Spaniards, the Americans, the Japanese, the Chinese, the Hindus, the Dutch, and the Englishman, all united into one. The Filipino is the Christian formed by Spain who has a centralized government, the Roman Law, and Latin alphabet. The Filipino is the Chinese who knows the art of mining, metallurgy, gun-powder making, porcelain and pottery productions. The Filipino is the American who drinks beer, plays basketball, has democratic

temperament, went to the public school system, speaks English and sees Hollywood films. prior to all of these, the Filipino is the Malay who had a village government ruled by oral and written laws promulgated by the datu, recognized a supreme being and lesser deities in his animo-deist religion, used juices, herbs and oils for medical purposes, and was expert in carvings and handicraft The Filipino toda The Filipino today, industries. is a Malay-Indonesia negrito distilled with European and American cultures and races; individual well gifted in friendship, understanding, letters, arts and sciences, sports and the pursuit of excellence; a Christian gentleman and avid lover of democracy and a personality gradually discovering his identity. (Andres, 1981;3)

To summarize, the roots of the Filipino are Malay and Chinese, the heart of the Filipino is Spanish Christian through the introduction of Catholicism and the mind of the Filipino is American through the system of education and a democratic form of government.

Philippine culture did not evolve rather it kept accumulating due to external contact and colonialization. An analysis of Philippine culture indicates that it underwent three general processes, namely; that from the very earliest times to the present the islands have been subjected to an almost continual stream of cultural influences from without; secondly, that Filipinos reacted to these influence not by rejecting them nor simply imitating them but by assimilating them more or less successfully into their cultural heritage; and thirdly, that the process of acculturation varied horizontally from region to region, and vertically from class to class, resulting in significant differences within a recognizably common culture. (de la Costa, 1965:25)

Geographical fragmentation, caused by the dual barriers of the sea and the mountains, is accompanied by a high degree of linguistic diversity in the Philippines. Population mobility and a high degree of literacy are increasingly blurring linguistic boundaries and minimizing the significance of the less common dialects. Nevertheless, language remains one of the more significant regional variants of the nation's social structure. (Burley, 1973; 128)

Some seventy languages are spoken in the Philippines in the early eighties eight of these - Tagalog, Cebuano, Ilocano, Hiligaynon, Bicol, Waray-waray, Pampango and Pangasinan - are native tongues for about ninety percent of the population. All eight belong to the Malayo Polynesian language family and hence are related to Indonesian and Malay, but no two are mutually comprehensible. Each has a number of dialects, and all have impressive literary traditions, especially Tagalog, Cebuano and Ilocano. the languages have closer affinity than others. Thus it is easier for Ilocanos and Pangasinans to learn each other's language than to learn any of the other six. Likewise speakers of major Visayan islands languages - Cebuano, Ilongo and Waray-waray, find it easier to communicate with each other than with Tagalogs, Ilocanos or others. (Bunge, 1983;72)

Pilipino or Tagalog was designated the national language in 1937 while English became not only the language of commerce and of the professions, but as the medium of

instruction and the language of newspapers, magazines and other publications.

The government in 1974 initiated a policy of bilingualism having the purpose of gradually phasing out English in schools, business and government and fostering the use of Pilipino in its place. Pilipino has spread throughout the nation, the mass media and the school system; expected to be in general use over the archipelago by the end of the twentieth century. By that time, it may have enough grass-roots support in non-Tagalog speaking regions to become a national language. This was not the case in mid-1983, however. Filipinos have not quietly accepted one national language at the expense of their regional languages. fact, the policy promoting Pilipino has come under attack, instead the language being used now in the public school system, mass media and in the formal institutions is still (Bunge, 1983;71) English.

Section 6 Article XIV of the 1986 Philippine

Constitution provides for Pilipino and English as the

official languages of the Philippines for communications and
instructions. The regional languages serve as auxilliary

official languages in their respective places.

Chapter IV

FILIPINO VALUES

In understanding a particular society, there is a need to know its dominant values and norms. And in Parsons' concept, change is always initiated in the cultural system, in the realm of ideas or values. The following section provides a description of what are the values that guide Filipino behavior and motives.

The great majority of the Philippine population is bound together by common values and a common religion. Social organization generally follows a single pattern as well, although variations do occur on this pattern, reflecting the influence of local traditions.

Fr. Frank Lynch (1973) identifies social acceptance, economic security, and social mobility as the three basic aims that predominantly motivate and control the behavior of the Filipino. Of the three, he considers social acceptance to be the most important.

Social acceptance is defined as being taken by one's fellow for what he is or is believed to be and being that image in accordance with his status. The Filipino does enjoy overt signs of approval and liking. For him, acceptance is

especially sweet when it includes an outward manifestation of approval that makes clear to the individual that he is liked by those with whom he deals or more important by those to whom he is subject in one way or another.

Attainment of social acceptance is assisted by two intermediate values which are recognized as important and satisfying goals. There are smoothness of interpersonal relations (SIR) and sensitivity to personal affront.

SIR is the facility of getting along with others in such a way to avoid outward signs of conflict; glum or sour looks, harsh words, open disagreement or physical violence. It connotes the smile, the friendly lift of the eyebrow, the pat on the back, the squeeze of the arm, the word of praise or friendly concerns. It means being agreeable even under difficult circumstances and of keeping quiet or out of sight when the word needs to be discrete. It means a sensitivity to what other people feel at any given moment and a willingness and ability to change track (if not direction) to catch the lightest favoring breeze. (Lynch, 1973:10)

There are three ways to maintain and preserve SIR, which include "pakikisama", euphemisms, and the use of go between. Pakikisama refers to giving in or yielding to the wish of the leader of the majority, even when at times, it contradicts one's ideas or the common good.

Euphemism is defined as the art of stating an unpleasant truth, opinion or request as pleasantly as possible. Fr. Lynch considers it as "an art that has long been highly

prized in Philippine society and is no less highly regarded today".

The go-between serves to prevent a direct confrontation between individuals or groups. He is used to assuage a bruise, heal a wound or prevent an injury. The intermediary is used preventively in a number of common situations; the embarrassing request, complaint or decision, is often communicated through a middleman to avoid the shame of a face to face encounter.

Social acceptance is also made possible through sensitivity to personal affront. The loss of social acceptance is guarded against two sanctions, discouraging behavior descriptive of those relations. First, is the sanction of "hiya" or shame and secondly, is "amor propio".

Hiya is a painful emotion arising from a relationship with an authority figure or with society, inhibiting self assertions in a situation which is perceived as dangerous to one's ego. It is a fear of abandonment, of "loss of soul", a loss not only of one's profession or even of one's life but of something perceived as more valuable than life itself, the ego, and the self. (Bulatao, 1973)

On the other hand, amor propio functions to protect the individual against the loss of social aceptance or to arouse in him the feeling to regain it, once it has been lost or diminished. It is sensitivity to personal insult or affront.

For the average Filipino, economic security as a goal, means the desire to possess the essentials for a decent human

life and the opportunities for improving oneself. implies the economic ability to satisfy one's material needs with the fruits of one's own efforts without borrowing from Instrumental to this goal value of economic security is the value of reciprocity. There are three types of reciprocities, namely; contractual reciprocity, quasi-contractual reciprocity and "utang na loob" (debt of gratitude) reciprocity. Contractual reciprocity supposes a voluntary agreement between two or more people to behave toward one another in a specified way for a specified time in the future, while quasi-contractual reciprocity regulates balanced exchanges where the terms of payment are not explicitly stated before the contract is made; rather, the terms are implicit in situations which the culture recognizes and defines as calling these terms. Utang na loob reciprocity is most consciously generated when a transfer of goods or services takes place between the individuals belonging to two different groups. Since one does not ordinarily expect favors of anyone, outside of his own group, a service of this kind throws the norm into bold relief. It compels the recipient to show his gratitude properly by returning the favor with interest to be sure that he does not remain in the other's debt. (Hollensteiner, 1973)

Lastly, the Filipino seeks social mobility for advancement to a higher class or position for the improvement of one's lot and one's family, as well as for the enjoyment of accompanying rewards, influence, power, and prestige.

There is the Filipino laborer who works hard to earn a living. He is an industrious worker, always keeping in mind the success and happiness of his children; the wife dreams of her husband eventually becoming a successful businessman, their children, on the other hand, prefer to enrol in exclusive schools. It is their greatest desire to be economically stable and to be socially recognized. (Andres, 1981:20)

Chapter V

THE EVOLUTION OF THE PHILIPPINE SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE

In understanding change in the twentieth century, the first aspect of society that needs to be studied is social class structure. Class positions are based on occupations, and they determine a good part of how various individuals perceive their interests. Peasants, merchants, bureaucrats, big landowners, manufacturers, factory workers, teachers, and all other occupational groups have a view of the world which is heavily, though certainly not entirely, determined by the work they do. Groups of occupations may have enough in common to form specific classes with joint political interests. One of the key differences between various societies at any one time and within the same society over a long period of time is the various constellations of class forces which exist, and how these influence the distribution of political power, as well as social prestige. (Chirot, 1986:3)

Pre-Hispanic Philippine villages contained three social classes, namely; the chiefs or datus, the freemen or timaguas, and the slaves or alipins. The datu's position is the highest in the barangay and this is gained through

heredity. He also determined when planting and harvesting were to take place, served as military leader and was judge in most cases not involving himself. His position is the most powerful one in the village.

Below the datus were a group of people known as the timaguas. Aside from certain responsibilities to the datu during the agricultural season, the timaguas were allowed to pursue their individual objectives. They had the right to own property amd marry freely, within the legal bounds set by the datu or the council of datus.

Beneath the social class structure were the alipins, who primarily served as debt peonage or punishment for committed crimes but theirs was not a permanent state. Slavery was hereditary and the children could be separated from their parents.

In pre-Hispanic Philippines, agricultural land belonged not to the individual but to the community (barangay) and was under the supervision of the datu. Shares were based on the number of people working the land, which meant that a slaveholder received more of the harvest than an individual farmer. Economic position was based more on slave ownership where wealth resulted not from the number of slaves owned, but rather from the amount of rice the slaves could bring in from the annual harvest of the village fields. (Larkin, 1972:37)

During the Spanish period, land territories were classified into political divisions as alcaldias or

provinces, which were subdivided further into enconmiendas or districts and headed by Spanish officials, who at the same time assumed the upper class. The enconmiendero was in charge of the collection of taxes for the government, which was derived from the agricultural produce.

However, in the 16th century up to 1768, a Spanish law was adopted, prohibiting Spanish personnel, such as alcaldes and enconmienderos from living in the province. Towards the 18th century, the enconmiendas were eliminated. This gave birth to the pueblo or municipality, headed by a gobernadorcillo, who was the highest ranking native in the Spanish bureaucratic system. (Larkin, 1973:29 &30) The gobernadorcillos were in-charge of tax supervision and they had extensive executive and judicial responsibilities in the local level.

Meanwhile, the datu or cabeza de barangay as he was now called, became the Spanish government official responsible for the delivery of rice and taxes to Manila and for the maintenance of his barangay's loyalty to the new order. The cabezas were appointed by the government and no longer depended on any superior ability to hold office. The position was made hereditary (always with the approval of Manila) and a ruling family could now be assured of a place of power through many generations. (Larkin, 1972:34)

Social status was attached to land ownership during the Spanish regime. Filipinos gained entry in the upper strata, then known as the municipio level (which was almost

exclusively Spanish) through land purchases or acquisitions. To own land was a status symbol. (Beverly, 1973:236)

Similarly, through the processes of intermarriages and land acquisitions, a new breed of social class evolved.

Mestizo children were borned and their parents sent them to schools in Manila or abroad. These children became the ilustrados (enlightened ones) who grew into maturity with a high level of education and a nationalist self-awareness.

They were among the first modern Asians who were sophisticated even in the twentieth century definition. Jose Rizal, the greatest nationalist leader in the 19th century revolt against Spain and presently the national hero of the Philippines was a fifth generation Chinese mestizo.

(Steinberg, 1982:27)

The Spaniards went even further in establishing local offices. When the office of the gobernadorcillo was established, tenure was limited to cabezas only. The voting franchise in the annual election of the gobernadorcillos had originally included all male heads of families in the pueblo. But in 1696, it was reduced to twelve appointed cabezas and the outgoing gobernadorcillo. The political elite also achieved an elevated social status; cabezas, gobernadorcillos and those who had formerly held either office, became collectively known as the principalia and were addressed individually by the title of don. Within each pueblo, political power and the accompanying social prestige remained the prerogative of small numbers of native families.

(Larkin, 1972:35)

In 1692, the Spanish government abolished slavery. It ended all economic, legal, and probably social differences between the pre-Spanish freemen and slaves. By the beginning of the 18th century, the two lower classes became one. Thus, Philippine social class was limited to the high and low. The wealthy, educated and influential natives were classified as "illustrados" and the poor and the uneducated as the "gente baja".

Certain changes had also taken place in class structure. A two-class society now prevailed as slaves became equals with freemen under the Spanish law. Both groups were required to meet the demands of the head tax collectors and the corvee, and to accept the authority of the cabeza, gobernadorcillo and parish priest within their pueblos. The old datu's position has changed as well. Where formerly, he had looked entirely inward upon his village, he now found himself linked with the Spanish civil administration. The datus depended on Spanish recognition for the legitimization of their positions. (Larkin, 1972:40)

With the opening of Manila to non-Spanish Western commerce in 1790, the role of both foreign and domestic merchants became visible in the Philippine social setting. Europeans, Chinese, Portuguese, and other Asian traders started marrying the natives which gave rise to more mestizos who with their skills, energy and resourcefulness, capitalized upon their assets and became an intricate part of

the landholding elite. (Larkin, 1972:57)

On the other hand, with the cash crop economic system, where farmers had to have money to switch from rice to sugar and indigo farming, the mestizos provided the capital for new machinery, cane cuttings and indigo seeds. When lending money to native landowners, the mestizos received the land titles to their property as security and would take possession of any property whose owner defaulted on his loan through improvidence, economic loss in a fluctuating market or destruction of his crop. And by virtue of their increasing control of the economic life into the community, the mestizos were able to solidify their political and social positions. (Larkin, 1972:54)

Wielding power and the symbols of authority, the upper class during the late Spanish period accepted the responsibility for establishing and maintaining local institutions and bringing innovations in the community. Some became involved in government initiated programs like road improvements. The number of services to the community demanded of the elite was enormous. Being the possessors of power and wealth, they could not but comply with each new demand in order that the community remain in equilibrium. To protect their position in society, the upper class accepted the inevitability of change, and by being the first to adapt, maintained the reins of power. (Larkin, 1972:93)

With the coming of the Americans in 1900, party politics was introduced in the Philippine social system through the

local elites. It was through the landholding elites that the United States started recruiting members for active participation and support. The Americans applied stringent qualifications for the voting privilege. It was given to male persons twenty three years of age, who had legal residence in the municipality for a period of six months immediately preceding the elections and who were not citizens nor subjects of any foreign power, and who were comprised within one of the three classes: a) those who prior to August 13, 1898 (date of American occupation of the city of Manila), held certain municipal offices; b) those who owned real property to the value of two hundred and fifty dollars or who annually paid fifteen dollars or more of the established taxes; and c) those who spoke, read or wrote

Only the elite, landowners and professionals, could meet these requirements. The list of names of major office holders between 1901 and 1910 further confirms the impression of elite domination of politics. (Larkin, 1972:196) This dominant role of the elite in Philippine social life would become the pattern even a decade after independence was granted by the United States.

On the other hand, with the free trade betwen the United States and the Philippines, sugar and coconut products came to dominate the economic picture. It provided the underpinning for the rise of the powerful and cohesive sugar interest group, a development that was facilitated by the

fact that sugar was based on large-scale plantation agriculture. Because coconut agriculture was largely dominated by small owner-operated farms, coconut interests were never as effectively organized as sugar planters, but they received substantial support from the sugar bloc because of their larger community of interest and access to the American market. A new industrial class heavily dependent on a protectionist policy emerged as a result of government promotion of industrialization. (Power and Sicat, 1971:61)

Given the pattern of distribution of power and wealth, one would expect, income also to be very unequally distributed. In fact, the Philippines has a greater inequality of income distribution than other developing countries. The top 5 percent of the income earners among Philippine families receive more than the bottom of 60 percent. What is considered an extreme degree of inequality in income distribution is usually attributed to the pattern of land ownership, the dominant economic position of a few families and the regressive character of the indirect tax system. On the other hand, so long as labor is very abundant in relation to capital and land, labor services are bound to be cheap in comparison with what the owners of property can command. (Power and Sicat, 1971:64)

There has been a significant shift in the composition of the elite as a result of political and economic policies followed by the Marcos administration from 1965 up to 1986. Families enjoying power, privilege and prestige in the early 1980s were not always the same as those enjoying similar status a decade earlier.

The basic reason for the formation of new elites is because the elites either lead and facilitate change or oppose and hinder new developments. Their talents and initiatives are crucial in getting new ideas accepted in the society, yet their function is also to maintain a continuity with the past and to preserve social integration. They are mediators and communicators, interests articulators and aggregators, creators and dissemintors of culture, preservers of values, change leaders and standard makers of the great population. (Nadel, 1956) Thus to support his program of government, President Marcos saw it fit to form an elite consistent with his goals and policies.

Similarly, the avenues to wealth and power have changed, the military offering the single best example. Owing to the halting of regular elections after 1972, military officers replaced many old and politically powerful families as local and regional conduits of the national government patronage. Traditional patron-client relationships have not ended since the imposition of martial law in 1972, they have just shifted to include military personnel as well as wealthy civilians. Because of close contacts between the central government and the new economic elite as well as the military, the newly powerful were less dependent on local power bases than were pre-martial law political and economic leaders. (Bunge, 1983:60)

In 1983, the new elite which was a tiny minority of the population, controlled an extremely high percentage of the nation's wealth. It comprised between 25 and 90 families with lavish lifestyles of members, which usually included owning at least two homes (one in Manila and one in the province where the family originated), patronizing expensive shops and restaurants, belonging to exclusive clubs, and directing a retinue of servants. Many counted among their social acquaintances a number of foreigners, especially Americans, Spaniards and other Europeans. Children attended exclusive private schools in Manila and were often sent abroad, usually to the United States, for higher education. (Bunge, 1983:91)

Presently, the traditional elites are gaining back their positions in Philippine social strata. These were the prominent families who were shunted to the outer edge of power during the last twenty years of Marcos, who built up his own non-traditional and wealthy business elite, called "cronies" based on corruption and government protected monopolies.

Philippine elite has been economically and socially prominent and closest to the political center even in Spanish times, from it the ideas and struggles of nationhood had first emanated; and now, with its western education, at least formal commitment to western political models, and ties with the administration, it became, not unnaturally, most closely associated with the process of transition.

(Weintraub, 1971:14)

To many Filipinos, the return of the traditional rich families in 1986, gives cause for optimism. Their reemergence shows the importance of family networks. Extended families are held together by debts of gratitude and tight bonds of kinship, even among distant relatives, creating creating a political and social system that is distinctly Filipino. (Richburg, 1987:A31)

In 1985, of the total 22.3 million families surveyed in Philippine society, a minimal sum of 9,000 families had the highest income bracket of P500,000 and above, while a total of 17.6 million families have an average family income of P20,000 and below. (Appendix A) The upper class was or has been at the same time the most powerful political class. Members of the elite certainly did not have all the political power, far from it, but their attitudes and interests were disproportionately influential and these individuals tend to occupy many (though again, not all) of the top administrative and political positions in government. Even where such positions were not directly occupied by members of the elite, many of the actual occupants were dependent on elite support for their positions. Members of the elite were also the ones who profited most from foreign investments, for they controlled the banks, mines, railways, import-export business and agricultural enterprises that dealt in the peripheral world. (Chirot, 1977:61)

Chapter VI

SOCIAL CHANGES: THE FIRST DECADE OF INDEPENDENCE

On the eve of its independence in 1946, the Philippines was devastated by the Second World War. The Japanese Occupation left Manila, the nation's capital the dubious distinction of being the most devastated city in the world next to Warsaw. On the other hand, the national economy was also stricken with not a single coconut oil mill that was operable and all sugar mills had been destroyed.

Inter-island shipping was non-existent and concrete highways had broken down.

The destruction caused by the war affected also the productivity of the people and their standard of living.

With financial help from the United States (\$400 million from the Philippine Rehabilitation Act, an additional \$120 million was also appropriated for rehabilitation of public roads, ports and harbor facilities, and public health services among others, \$174 million from the US Alien Property Custodian representing proceeds from the sale of alien enemy properties, and \$12 million worth of machine tools, laboratory apparatus and equipment and miscellaneous items which were distributed to vocational schools as "advance"

reparations"), the government in the first ten years of the Republic, had succeeded in partially solving the basic economic problems. (Vellut, 1963:497)

Crop production from 1946 to 1956 increased from 3,507,200 metric tons to almost double the amount of 6,274,900 metric tons. This increased production was the upshot of the expanded area planted to food crops and the application of improved means of increasing the yield per hectare, such as the use of fertilizers, irrigation, better seeds, and the effective use of chemicals against plant pests and diseases. Production of export crops also increased tremendously from 315,500 metric tons in 1946 to 2,770,000 in 1956 with copra and sugar leading all export crops. Fish production increased from 96,000 metric tons in 1956 resulting in reduced fish importation, which amounted in 1946-1950 to 36,540 metric tons and to 31,690 metric tons in 1951-1954. The livestock population which numbered 3,596,200 in 1946, increased to 10,297,600 in 1956 and poultry from 7,516,000 to 49,632,600 in the same period. In 1946, timber and lumber production amounted to only 91 million board feet and 29 million board feet respectively. These numbers soared in 1964 to 2,530,582,711 board feet of timber and 499,942,180 board feet of lumber, making the industry, the third biggest in the country, next to copra and sugar. (Agoncillo, 1977:555)

By 1960, the Philippines was among the top developing countries where side by side with a dominant traditional

sector in which conventional techniques and communal self-sufficiency, there exists a rapidly growing exchange sector. Technology tended to be modern, where expansion has taken place through shift of indigenous producers into small-scale crops.

The exchange sector consisted of important, large, modern, expatriate or government activities and significant indigenous small-scale commercial enterprises. (Adelman & Morris, 1967)

However, post-war economic growth was being accompanied with rapid population growth. Since 1918 to 1948, population increased to 90 percent from 10 million to 27 million with an estimated annual growth rate of 3.2 percent. Population growth is taking the country's ability to translate national economic expansion into higher standards of living for its citizens. The value of all goods and services produced each year rose to 88 percent from 1955 to 1967. National income representing total pay and profits rose to 83 percent during the same period. But per capita income climbed upwards slowly by only 25 percent. (Concepcion, 1972:5)

The decade was also relatively peaceful. There were no socialists in the Philippines and no significant social protest movements which seriously question the nature of the economic organization. The vicissitudes of the post war period of rehabilitation have been obscured by a decade and a half of successful management of the disequilibrium in external trade and payments, as well as the sustained

economic growth and industrialization. (Golay, 1968: 212)

A society's economic structure must be understood and compared with others in order to have any grasp of how that society survives and changes. (Chirot, 1986:3)

In the sixties, the current level of economic and social activity can be established by reference to Japan as the trendsetter in Southeast Asia. There were two favourable socio-economic indicators for the Philippines, which were the increased agricultural output and exports, as a percentage of (Appendix B) These represent two spheres in which the GNP. Philippines as a developing nation, might be expected to outshine a country like Japan, whose much more advanced society consumes most of its output. The number of physicians at 81 per 100,000 persons and also road density at 195 kilometers per 1,000 square kilometers approches Japanese standards. In terms of investments and savings as related to GNP, literacy level and electricity consumption, the Philippine records are above average, compared with its neighboring countries (Burley, 1978:5)

The decade of independence was aptly summarized by Weintraub as:

The Philippines has the smoothest transition to independence. The United States - the departing colonial power - not only left behind a modern institutional structure, but had also nurtured and handed over to a central elite and a complex administration. The fundamental ideas of political freedom and civic rights were written into the constitution, and actually incorporated into the functioning of the system; and together with such broadly diffused values as free enterprise and

educational achievement, did much towards providing collective consensus and national identity and symbols. Its political center had been endowed by legitimacy, stability, and strength; and it provided national integration and forged a sense of national identity in a context of decolonization and in a situation of extreme geographical dispersion, great linguistic diversity, considerable social and cultural heterogeneity and the presence of significant religious and ethnic religious minorities. The political and governmental processes have in general operated within the constitutional framework and safeguarded civic rights. The overall rate of economic growth and social development has been impressive, averaging 5.2 percent between 1952 and 1962 (and reaching the high level of 9.5 percent in industry); and already by 1963, the country's trade deficit was converted into a surplus. (Weintraub, 1973:9)

Chapter VII

SOCIAL CHANGES: THE MARCOS YEARS

As the country moved towards development and modernization, problems accompanying social change emerged. Among these were; the rise of new groups and the crystallization of new interests brought about by education and occupational diversification; and the increasing rural impoverishment, polarization and proletarization that brought about the resurgence of agrarian unrest and violence, focussing on the problem of the land 10. And this resurgence included both querilla warfare proper, organized on revolutionary lines, as well as localized and non-ideological but sharp and violent tenancy struggles. the other hand, mutual obligation networks were breaking up due to the erosion of the traditional alliance system. Likewise, new elites and innovative groups with varying interests and ideologies emerged. Among these were the urban intellectuals, economic entrepreneurs, senior administrators and political figures. (Weintraub, 1973:17)

Simultaneously with these domestic challenges, the country was coping with a global crisis that took the form of reduced rates of profit and a renewed increase in recessions, particularly in developed countries. There was a recession

in 1967, where unemployment in industrial capitalist countries rose from 5 million to 10 million.

The imposition of greater exploitation in the Third World as instruments of exports promotion and participation in the international division of labor during the world economic crisis was enforced through political repression. During the seventies, martial law, states of emergency and military governments have suppressed labor movements and union organizations and repressed large sectors of the population through systematic violation of their political, civil and human rights. In countries where there are free-production zones and world market factories, like the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, South Korea and Egypt, strikes were prohibited. (Frank, 1984:188&189)

By 1985, three free-production zones were operating in the Philippines. From 1981 to 1987, the infrastructure development for future zones in the country, was projected to \$27 billion.

In November, 1969, President Ferdinand Marcos, the sixth president of the Philippines, became the first president to win a second term. He assumed his second term, against a background of continuing change and malaise. The political power of the elite was being challenged and violent demonstrations erupted in early 1970. Insurgency was a growing problem, particularly in the Muslim regions of Mindanao and the issue of agrarian reform remained unresolved 11. (Bunge, 1984:49)

In proclaiming, martial law on September 21, 1972, President Marcos stated that:

We will eliminate the threat of a violent overthrow of our Republic. But at the same time, we must now reform the social, economic, and political institutions in our country. The time calls for removal of inequities in society, the clean-up of government of its corrupt and sterile elements, the liquidation of the criminal syndicates, and to encourage the systematic development of our economy. (Statement of the President, 1972:245)

By declaring martial law, Marcos created the hope that disiplina¹², the watchword of that era - could accomplish what democracy had not. Many authoritarian rulers argued that national discipline and strong centralized leadership are essential to economic development. (Hawes, 1987:16)

Most Filipinos anticipated that well-planned economic development on a massive scale, primed by foreign capital and deficit financing¹³, could spin the struggling nation through a time ways from feudalism into the modern industrial age.

Because political power was centralized and enforced through the support of the military, pre-1972 pluralism was replaced by a more "disciplined" arrangement in which interest groups were not only coordinated but also controlled by the center. In this manner, programs of development can easily move from top to bottom without being blocked by sectional political interests especially in the old Congress. (Bunge, 1984:53)

However, to many students and intellectuals in

Philippine society, President Marcos was less concerned with protecting the country rather than to ensure his own position and political future 14. In 1981, when he lifted martial law, President Marcos retained in force most of the edicts he had passed and real power remained totally in his hands. Steinberg analysis of Marcos actions are described as:

Human motivation is never easily analyzed and motives are rarely explained. Marcos was approaching the end of his legal tenure as president - one man being limited to two terms or eight years when he declared martial law. He saw democracy not only wasteful but licentious, as not only corrupt but paralyzing. He manipulated it with great skill and had himself appointed the redeemer. (Steinberg, 1982:100)

The year 1975, three years after the declaration of martial law, began badly from an economic standpoint brought about by the global crisis and world-wide recession. Oil prices/[-15] kept increasing and there was a drastic decline in the prices of several Philippine exports 16, particularly timber, copper and sugar. By October, there was a balance of payments deficit 17 of \$345 million and the acute budget deficit necessitated cuts in all programs except those related to food production, low cost housing, and foreign funded building and infrastructure projects. (Noble, 1975:183)

The National Economic Development Authority estimated an overall growth rate of 3.6 percent down from the rate of 9.9 percent in 1973 and 5.9 percent in 1974. Retail prices in Manila increased 34 percent while wages increased 16

percent for unskilled workers, the relevant price increase was estimated at 36 percent, the wage increase at 10 percent. (Noble, 1975:184)

The world recession which started in 1973 that led to the relocation of manufacturing, agricultural and mining, and even some financial processes in Third World was fueled and oiled by the international financial system. The recessions and inflation (so-called stagflation) in the industrial capitalist countries in the first instance and secondarily the increase in the price of oil (part of the cost of which to the First World has also shifted to the Third World) have sharply aggravated the balance of payments deficits of the non-oil exporting countries in the Third World. To cover this growing deficits, these countries have increasingly turned to the private international capital markets, which have recycled some of the OPEC surplus funds to them and have additionally lent them other funds at high rates of interests that found no borrowers in the industrial countries where investment has been low. The extension of these loans and particularly their roll-over rescheduling to finance growing debt service when the borrowers were unable to pay have become the basis of stringent economic and political conditions that the private banks and/or the International Monetary Fund acting as their intermediary have imposed on Third World countries. The standard "conditionality" to the IMF package that governments are obliged to accept in their "letter of intent" before being certified to receive further

loans always includes devaluation of the currency, reduction of government expenditures, especially on consumer subsidies and popular welfare, the reduction of the wage rate through various levies and more favorable treatment for private and especially foreign capital. (Frank, 1984:213)

Under the above scenario, from \$2.210 billion in 1972, the Philippine external debt increased six times to the 1980 level of \$12.628 billion. By the end of 1982, it had grown eight times to \$16.413 billion and in October 1983, it was estimated to over \$30 billion, which was 15 times since 1972. In June 1983, the peso was officially devalued at P11 to \$1 from a floating rate of P7.50 to \$1. On October 5, 1983, futher devaluation was made at P14 to \$1 with an overall depreciation rate of 86 percent. (Briones, 1983)

With Marcos authoritarianism, his cronies and a failing economy, Weber's conditions for the existence of conflict were undoubtedly present. It was evident that there was a high degree of concentration of power, wealth and prestige which was limited to cabinet ministers, military officers and peple close to the First Couple. This severely distorted the distribution of rewards so that the privileged few enjoyed most of the nation's resources. Given the low rate of social mobility, resentment accumulated. Weber held that charisma is a critical force that galvanizes resentments. And the existence of a rival charismatic leader, which to a great extent a matter of historical chance, is important. But if such leaders do emerge, then structural change becomes more

likely. (Turner on Weber, 1986:147) The assassination of former senator Benigno Aquino in August, 1983, who was President Marcos' most potent opponent accelerated the people's resentment of the Marcos regime. Turbulence and uncertainty continued to characterize the national scene. Anger against the Marcos administration were expressed without hesitation in street demonstrations. Protests were organized where the middle class elements participated and were joined by businessmen and the traditional elite.

To ensure the world of his hold of the nation, President Marcos while appearing on ABC-TV's This Week With David Brinkley, startled almost everyone when he called for snap elections, cutting short his term of office by 16 months.

It was only Aquino's widow who could harness and unite the people's resentments and sufferings in a political exercise to overthrow the autocrat. Iyer described her as the woman in yellow who comes as a Joan of Arc, a religious figure incarcerating her people's hopes as she led them to freedom. Millions of devout Filipinos viewed Aquino as sort of Blessed Mother, a redeemer who came to resolve the passion play that had began with her husband's death. The person known as the "Mother of the Nation" managed to lead a revolt and rule a republic without even relinquishing her bouyant calm or her gift for making politics and humanity companiable. In a nation dominated for decades by a militant brand of macho politics, she conquered with tranquility and grace. (Iyer, 1987:21 & 22)

While the streets were filled with people demanding for the proclamation of their candidate and the preservation of the country's democratic process, President Marcos grasped for his hold of power. Ignoring the people's sentiments he had himself inaugurated as President for the fourth term but in less than 24 hours in office, he was being helped off a plane in Hawaii as a deposed leader. The new president of the Republic of the Philippines was Mrs. Corazon C. Aquino.

President Aquino describes the state of the nation which she inherited from the Marcos regime:

When I took power, I was immediately called upon to deal with the dangerous combination of a severely distressed economy and a growing insurgency; threats which fed on each other and on the hopelessness and confusion which prevailed. Production had contracted by 11 percent for two consecutive years, bringing unemployment rates to double digit levels. Twelve percent of the labor force, nearly 2.6 million workers were unemployed. Real per capita income had been set back 10 years. New investments had dried up and business confidence was at an all-time low. Interest payments on a \$26.3 billion external debt took almost half of our export earnings. In short, an economy in shambles and a polity with no institutions save my presidency to serve as the cornerstone of the new democracy that we set out to (State of the Nation address at the opening of the new Philippine Congress, July 27, 1987)

President Aquino's administration confronts the problem of revitalizing institutions and restoring public confidence in government. During her first year in office, Aquino has set in place a constitution protecting the basic rights which was unanimously ratified by the people in February, 1986. She has reestablished an independent Supreme Court now composed of men and women of recognized integrity. All

presidential legislation will now be subject to judicial review. She also restored the writ of habeas corpus and removed constraints on the media and encouraged what has now become one of liveliest free presses in Southeast Asia. Last July 27, 1986, she inaugurated the opening of a bicameral legislature whose senators and congressmen were popularly elected by the people. Slowly the ruins are being rebuilt and the structures that guide a civilized and progressive society are taking shape.

Chapter VIII

SOCIAL CHANGES: THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Modern states are expected to guide their nations towards desired goals based on reliable information.

Therefore, records are kept both quantitative and qualitative to inform policy makers of the presentation of changes in social and economic characteristics for the past decades evidenced by selected demographic variables.

A. Income

The one most commonly used in measuring a country's collective income, is the gross domestic product or GDP. The gross domestic product or GDP is the value of all goods and services produced in the country, usually valued "at factor cost", that is adjusting for indirect taxes and subsidies. In 1984, the Philippines gross domestic product at current prices totalled P548 billion, which is 43 percent higher from a total of P384 billion in 1983. However, at 1972 constant prices, gross domestic product amounted to P95,498 billion decreased by 5 percent compared to P100,067 billion in 1983. (United Nations National Accounts Statistics - 1984, 1986) The average annual GDP growth rate for East Asia and Pacific countries was 8.8 percent and it has been on an increasing

trend since 1981. (Encyclopedia of Third World, 1987:2237)
The Philippines gross domestic product was the worst in the Southeast Asia region due to unfavorable domestic policies which were aggravated by the growing political unrest.

Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand, registered noticeable positive growth rates. (Campbell, 1987:4)

The per capita gross national product in 1984 at current prices is \$660, with an average annual growth rate of 2.6 percent for the period 1965-1984, which was below the 3 percent average for lower middle income economies. It was lower than Malaysia's \$1,980 and Thailand's \$860. (World Development Report, 1986)

Moreover, the consumer price index soared up to as high as 158 percent in 1980 compared with that of 1973. In 1985, it increased to 154 percent while as of June, 1986, it decreased to .03 percent. (Appendix C) This is attributed on two factors; the increase in oil prices and the subsequent devaluation of the Philippine peso.

Inflation rates in the Southeast Asia region generally declined between the 70s and the 80s with the exception of the Philippines. For the period 1972-1976, it had a 14.4 percent per annum inflation rate which was second to Indonesia's 23.4 percent. While in the period 1982-1985, Indonesia's inflation rate went down to 9.1 percent, the Philippines inflation rate rose to 23.4 percent, the highest in the region. However, by the third quarter of 1986, it has gone down to 1.1 percent which was lower than Thailand's 2.1

percent. Overall, the Philippines had a 10.5 percent increase in inflation rate for the past decade. (Campbell, 1987:7)

Published figures of GNP per head are useful only as a first approximation. They are subject to reservations on a number of grounds. On the whole, they exaggerate the real differences of living standards. It must always be remembered that they are average figures. On the other hand, official statistics persistently underestimate the value of goods produced and services rendered without money transactions in what is variously termed the non-cash, traditional or subsistence sector, which still accounts for a substantial part of the gross domestic product of many poor countries. While GNP per capita may not be a perfect measurement scale, it is still useful as an ordinal scale. It facilitates a quantifiable measure of a gross change in a country under study. (Goldthorpe, 1984:72)

Therefore, in addition to comparing incomes, there is a need to determine living standards. Some of the indicators that can be used for this purpose represent real goods and services, particularly food and energy. Others such as infant mortality and the expectation of life, directly reflect the conditions of life; yet others such as the numbers of people for each doctor or nurse represent the availability of social services. (Goldthorpe, 1984:73)

B. Demographic

According to the 1980 census, there were 48,098.460

Filipinos, a 78 percent increase from the total of 27,086,685 in 1960. (Appendix D) Today, the total population is estimated to be about 56 million. The average population growth rate is 2.2 percent. It has been on the decline from an average population growth rate of 2.9 percent in 1965.

In 1967, the Philippines was among the 17 countries that signed the 1967 United Nations Declaration on Population:

..where the population problem must be recognized as a principal element in long range national planning if governments are to achieve their economic goals and to fulfill the aspirations of their people.

The population program of the Philippines together with South Korea and Taiwan are among the best-evaluated and best researched programs in the world; all have active evaluation units and experienced research and evaluation staff at work. Because of culture and traditions, the Philippines is unusual in offering the rythm method as a major program while South Korea and Taiwan are active in contraceptive supplies. The Philippines and South Korea have government or university institutions engaged in population research. (International Encyclopedia of Population, 1982:46)

The Philippines has a comprehensive family planning program which is not limited to birth control but it also includes primary health care, provision of rural health units and mass media campaign. These activities are substantially supported with foreign loans, aids and grants from the World Bank, United States Agency for International Development, United Nations Family Planning Association, and the Ford

Foundation. About half of family planning expenditures are from foreign assistance.

In 1980, Philippine population was 16 percent lower than Britain's 55.6 million and 13 percent lower than France's 54.3 million. It was 22 percent higher than Korea's 37.4 million and 7 percent higher than Thailand's 44.8 million. The Philippines was among the first twelve countries which alone contain half of the world's population. (International Encyclopedia of Population, 1982:42)

The sex ratio was 100.7 males per 100 females or a total of 24,128,755 males and 23,969,705 females. The average annual population growth rate was 2.7 percent in 1980 as against 3.06 percent in 1960.

In 1980, population density was 160 persons per square kilometer. There was a 77 percent increase compared with 90.3 persons per square kilometer in 1960. (Appendix E)

The Philippines' population density was far below that of Singapore's 4,306 persons per square kilometer and Japan's 316 persons per square kilometer, but higher than Malaysia's 45 persons per square kilometer.

The Philippines is a young population. A total of 6,605,446 (14 percent) are in the age bracket between 5-9 years old; 5,949,904 (12.4 percent) are in between 1-4 years old; 5,255,641 (11 percent) are in between 15-19 years old; and 4,588,224 (10 percent) are in between 20-24 years old. Section 1 Article V of the 1986 Philippine Constitution provides the legal age to be 18 years old.

Life expectancy was 63.1 years in 1985, which has increased by 19 percent compared with 53.1 years in 1960. Females have longer life expectancy at 64.9 years as against the males life expectancy of 61.3 years. (Appendix F) The Philippines has the sixth highest life expectancy among developing countries.

In 1983, the mortality figure totaled to 327,260, 19.6 percent or a total of 64,267 were under the age of one year old. Forty four thousand, three hundred sixteen or 13.5 percent were between the ages 1-4 years old, while 18,686 or 5.7 percent were 85 years old and over. (Appendix G)

The ratio of male mortality was 1.43. There were 192,613 males or 58.8 percent of the national total, who died in 1983.

In 1984, the Philippines was among the lowest in crude death rate of 8 persons per thousand population compared with Angola's 22 persons per thousand population among middle income economies. (World Development Report, 1986:230)

The top ten leading causes of mortality are; pneumonia (19.0 percent), diseases of the heart (13 percent), tuberculosis (11.2 percent), diseases of the vascular system (8.4 percent), malignant neoplasms (6.4 percent), diarrheas (5.9 percent), accidents (3.6 percent), avitaminosis and other nutritional deficiencies (2.9 percent), measles (2.1 percent) and nephritis, nephritic syndrome and nephrosis (1.8 percent). (Appendix H) It should be observed that the Philippines being a tropical country, it experiences both

extreme dry and wet seasons, which is attributed to be among the main source of pulmonary related diseases.

C. Diet

In traditional terms, the Philippines is a country dominated by a rice and fish staple dietary pattern, a pattern regionally complemented by particular variations in the staple or complimentary foods. Traditional complimentary food crops include sweet potatoes, corn, cassava, tomatoes, eggplants, string beans and a variety of fruit crops introduced by the Spaniards like mangoes, bananas, papayas, avocadoes, and pineapples among others.

Filipino dietary preferences especially in urban areas have been changing. A liking for imported products are developing in recent times, like wheat breadstuffs, cereal preparations, dairy products and other modern confectioneries, as well as wine and beverages. In bigger cities like Manila, Angeles, Baguio, Cebu and Davao, international chains of fastfoods like McDonalds, Burger King, Shakey's and Kentucky are in operation.

From 1960 to 1983, there has been an increase of 60 percent in the daily per capita available food supply for Filipinos, with a total of 1,301.6 grams per day. Thirty percent or 385.7 grams consisted of cereals and cereal products while 19 percent or 246.9 grams consist of fruits. Fish and other marine products consisted of 11 percent or 143.3 grams and vegetables consist of 8 percent or 115.1 grams. (Appendix I)

In 1984, the Philippine produced 11,680,000 metric tons of rice and corn or a 7 percent increase from 1982 with a total of 10,857,000 metric tons. Vegetables produced on the same year amounted to 2,089,000 metric tons or a minimum increase of 1 percent from 2,067,000 metric tons in 1982. There was a 3 percent decrease in livestock products with a total of 1,018,000 metric tons compared with a total of 1,051,000 metric tons in 1982. However, fish production increased by 7 percent with a total of 3,324,000 metric tons from a total of 3,093,000 metric tons in 1982. (FAO Report, The Europa Yearbook, 1986:2120-2121)

The increase in cereal production can be attributed to the Rockefeller Foundation and the Ford Foundation which together founded in 1962, the International Institute for Research on Rice at Los Banos in the Philippines, where the IR-8 better known as the miracle rice was developed. It was estimated that by 1971 about 13 percent of the area devoted to rice in southern and eastern Asia was sown with the new variety of seeds. (Bairoch, 1975:46)

The Philippines was the third highest performer in the growth of cereal production among middle income economies with an average annual percentage change of 4.5 percent for the period 1971-1984. (World Development Report, 1986:5)

D. Dwellings

The traditional Filipino house has been a structure of bamboo, nipa (thatch), and matting set off the ground on hardwood pilings, a light and airy single family house,

easily built but not very durable. It could be constructed as a single room and porch, or it could be extended into a rambling structure of numerous rooms and partitioned sections. There are variations from region to region, where in northern Luzon, because of its availability, clay is used as part of the foundation. While in southern Mindanao like Sulu, the houses are built over shallow waters along a coast, river bank or some inland point.

The Spaniards introduced a new form of architecture. Massive stone construction of a lower story topped by a wood and tile second story, produced quite different buildings that were grouped around a central plaza filled with decorative plantings and ornamental sculptures. The houses of the rich had wide ballrooms extending to the balconies overlooking the streets. Carving techniques ornate the wood sections, decorated ironworks was also variably employed, whitewashed plaster became common and stone masonry replaced wooden pilings under native houses. To admit light, window and door construction employed translucent capiz (shells) set in small panels in a wood frame, with the windows sliding to permit wide openings. Sliding wood shutters were added to the better houses to ward off rain without closing up houses. (Wernstedt, 1967:159)

During the American regime, the split level type of homes were introduced with a garage on the side for the family Buick or Plymouth that replaced the Spanish carruajes. Galvanized iron was used for roofing and hinged windows of

wood and glass have replaced the sliding panel windows and varying amounts and kinds of furnitures have been added to the interiors of the houses. As piped water systems have been built, showers, flush toilets and kitchen sinks have been added to the urban housing pattern. Paint has been employed on wooden surfaces, window screens have come into use and cement or solid-wood steps have replaced the bamboo ladder leading to the front porch or entry hall. (Wernstedt, 1967:161)

Th twentieth century modern Philippine house has more rooms and it is modernly furnished. Those of the upper class have lawns and swimming pools, while those of the middle class have flower gardens. Apartments and condominia have also come into Philippine lifestyle, that range from highly furnished with the latest in home appliances and imported carpets to the modest ones with indigenous Philippine arts and crafts.

Ninety three percent or a total of 7,911,102 dwellings²⁰ are single houses, while 4 percent or a total of 320,569 are either apartments, accessoria, condominia or row houses. A total of 84,131 or 1 percent are classified as barong-barongs or make-shift dwellings.

Two thirds of Philippine dwelling has a radio. Sixteen percent or a total of 1,391,941 have television sets, while 13 percent or a total of 1,114,408 have refrigerators or freezers.

Of the eight million dwellings, 60 percent or a total of

5,156,235 are lighted by kerosene. Only 37 percent or a total of 3,217,726 are lighted by electricity. Other sources of light are liquified petroleum gas and oil.

E. Infant Mortality

Infant mortality rate has long and rightly been regarded as the final state of a society's state of material civilization. (Goldthorpe, 1984:77) As of 1983, the Philippines has an infant mortality rate of 42.7 per thousand population which was almost half that of 1960. (Appendix J) The ten leading causes of infant mortality are; pneumonias, respiratory conditions of fetus and newborn, diarrhea, congenital anomalies, avitaminosis, measles, birth injury, bronchitis, septicemea and meningitis. (Appendix K)

F. Health Facilities

Pre-Spanish Philippine culture possessed no complex tradition of medicine, but because of its position apart from the Asian mainland, the archipelago did not suffer the chronic epidemics of serious diseases common to the mainland. Early Spanish influence brought no scourges. As freer contact was permitted, during the nineteenth century, cholera and smallpox did reach epidemic proportions a few times through introduction from the mainland. Late nineteenth century Spanish practices brought the beginnings of modern medicine, and on this base American public and private programs built rapidly and effectively. Controlled water systems, improved disposal of wastes, and general procedures of modern medical practice in both the public and the private

sectors developed widely. Filipinos took easily to the whole of modern medical theory and practice, and the professional level of procedure has been relatively high, as the medical professions have been among the preferred callings among Filipinos. (Wernstedt, 1967:175) In 1985, a total of 10,634 examinees in related medical professions were granted professional licenses. The Philippines has some of the best medical facilitis and best trained medical personnel in Asia.

In 1980, the Philippines had a total of 93,474 hospital beds or 518 inhabitants per bed, which is better than Thailand's 654 inhabitants per bed and Korea's 983 inhabitants per bed. In 1981, its population per physician ratio was at 6,713, dentist - at 1,090, pharmacist - at 9,646 and midwifery personnel - at 9.470²¹. There are more doctors available for the Philippine population compared with Egypt's 6,870 persons per doctor and with Indonesia's 11,740 persons per doctor.

G. Energy

One of the best indicators of real economic resources is that of energy consumed. There is fairly close relation between energy consumed and GNP per capita. (Goldthorpe, 1984:78) In 1985, the Philippines consumed 92.39 million barrels²² of both conventional and non-conventional energy, 55 percent of which was imported oil or coal. The use of hydro-thermal energy increased to 9.39 million barrels in 1985 from 3.34 million barrels in 1977. The second biggest source of local energy is geothermal energy where

8.41 million barrels was consumed in 1985 from .01 million barrels in 1978.

There was a sixty percent increase or a total of 18,757 million kilowatt hours generated in 1985 from a total of 11,336 million kilowatt hours generated in 1977. Local energy is generated from hydro, oil based, geothermal or coal-dual oil fired sources. The island of Luzon generates 77 percent or a total of 14,449 million kilowatt hours.

Of the 18,757 million kilowatt hours generated in 1985, a total of 15,232.4 million kilowatt hours was consumed by industrial firms (34 percent or 5,221.3 million kilowatt hours), utilities (27 percent or 4,045.4 million kilowatt hours), residential buildings (19 percent or 2,829.6 million kilowatt hours), commercial establishments (17 percent or 2,612.6 million kilowatt hours), and others (3 percent or 523.5 million kilowatt hours).

H. Sources of Income and Employment

Agriculture is the principal source of income and employment. Of the total employment of 19,673,000 in 1983, 52 percent are engaged in agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing. Sixteen percent are involved in community, personal and social services, while 11 percent are in trade, restaurants and hotels. For the periods 1975 and 1983, there was an increased change in the transport, storage and communication sector, which was 77 percent, while the shift in agriculture was 34 percent. (Appendix L)

I. Modernization

The modernization of a society and its institutions occur when people are liberated from archaic restrictions and become free to move particularly from country to town - to engage in trade and to enter wage employment; while modernization of individuals occurred as they become mentally free through education, literacy and exposure of the mass media of communications, to imagine things otherwise than as they are and make informed choices. (Goldthorpe, 1984:11)

Filipinos have deep regard for education, which they understand to be a primary avenue for upward and social mobility. As of mid 1983, the educational system was reaching a relatively large part of the population at least in the elementary level. Literacy which includes everyone who has completed four years of elementary school, has reached 89 percent by 1981, up from 83 percent in 1970. (Bunge, 1983:105)

Elementary education is compulsory in Philippine setting and it is provided free of charge in government administered schools. In 1970, the government embarked on a program for textbook development and production; experimented with a revised curriculum and educational radio for elementary education; and launched a regular program for the replacement and expansion of school facilities. A ten year development program in education was kicked-off in 1979 with a sector loan from the World Bank amounting to US\$100 million. It is aimed to eliminate disparities and improve the overall quality and efficiency of elementary education.

The elementary education sector development program is also expected to improve the literacy and numeracy of children and adults alike. (Sarmiento, 1982:24)

As of 1985, enrollment in elementary level was 8,703,273 or 110 percent increase from 1960. Pre-school enrollment increased by 42 percent with a total of 177,593 as against 124,844 in 1980. Secondary level increased to 443 percent with a total of 3,323,063 in 1985 compared with a total of 611,544 in 1960. There was also a corresponding increase of 216 percent in the number of secondary schools on that same period. (Appendix M)

In non-industrial and non-literate societies, the predominant form of communication was by word of mouth. In industrial societies, oral communication tends to be regarded as slow, inaccurate, unreliable and dismissed as rumour. It is well to remember then that in poor countries whose systems of mass impersonal communication are as yet less highly developed, "rumours" may continue to play a more important part in disseminating information. (Goldthorpe, 1984:199)

On the other hand, in Third World countries, newspapers can be disseminated widely, anywhere there are shops and wholesale deliveries, though like other goods, their distribution can be interrupted by bad roads, natural disasters, such as floods and strikes or civil disturbances. They are well suited to local production and distribution and their linguistic adaptability is in principle high, so that there is no reason why even quite small language groups

should not have their own newspaper, weekly perhaps, if not daily. (Goldthorpe, 1984:200)

The seventies and eighties in the Philippines witnessed the full development of mass communication system as part of the government efforts to promote its national objectives and its various programs and projects. However, because of the martial law regime, public opinion was not as free as it should be.

As of 1982, there were 22 national newspapers in the Philippines with a total circulation of 1,972,000, where there is a copy available for every 28 persons. Newspapers increased in number by 30 percent and in circulation by 290 percent since 1970. In addition there are various regional newspapers and magazines in their respective dialects which are not accounted for (Appendix N)

Radio broadcasting began in many Third World countries in the 1920s and the 1930s. In the Philippines, the introduction of radio dates back with the American colonization of the islands in 1900. Radio receivers did not necessarily depend on electricity, some were battery operated. As such of all media, it is the most convenient and it can be reached nationwide.

There were 2,180,000 units of radios by 1985, a 45 percent increase from a total of 1,500,000 units in 1970. Forty three radios are available for every 1,000 inahbitants, who can tune in to 378 national radio stations. (Appendix N)

Along with the advent of modernization in the late

fifties, came the introduction of television. Initially in black and white, today, color television is available to every Philippine household. Likewise, news and important events worldwide are picked up via satellite. The February Revolution in 1986 was being seen account by account on American television due to the satellite feed.

There are 68 major television stations nationwide, which are accessible through a total of 1,250,000 sets, that increased by 212 percent from a total of 400,000 in 1970.

Twenty five units are available to every 1,000 inhabitants.

(Appendix M)

An indicator of the country's degree of physical mobility is determined by the number of motor vehicles. As of 1985, there were 1,120,172 motor vehicles, an 11 percent increse from the total of 1,006,030 registered in 1981. Eighty eight percent of these motor vehicles are privately owned, 8 percent are for public transport and 3 percent are government owned. (Appendix O)

International and coastwise shipping both incoming and outgoing have been decreasing since 1975, at an average of 31 percent. For the period 1970 to 1985, there was a 15 percent decrease of both the number of vessels entered and cleared.

(Appendix P)

Philippine Air Lines, the nation's flag carrier, has flown a total of 4,160,000 passengers in 1985, a 175 percent increase from the total of 1,671,000 in 1965. This can be attributed to the "balik-bayan" promotion of the government,

to attract Filipinos residing abroad to come back and visit their homeland, with discounted air fare rates.

In terms of cargo, PAL carried 79,364,000 kilograms in 1975, a 279 percent increase from the total of 20,920,000 kilograms in 1965. International carriers brought in 3,172,764 passengers in 1985, a 62 percent increase from a total of 1,205,826 passengers in 1975.

On the other hand, in terms of physical facilities, there were 161,708.63 kilometers of roads and 19,738 bridges built as of 1985, that now links the various islands in the archipelago, an increase of 190 percent and 69 percent respectively from the period 1965-1985. (Appendix Q)

With its physical facilities, communication systems and international trade networks, the Philippines continues to keep in phase with world development and maintain its status as one of the modernized countries of Asia.

Chapter IX

THE TWELVE REGIONS AND METROPOLITAN MANILA

Presently, the country is politically divided into thirteen regions. (Figure 1) Each region consists of different provinces, (Appendix R) while the provinces are composed of municipalities - formerly the primitive barangays and the Spanish pueblos.

Region IV has the biggest land area with a total of 46,924.1 square kilometers, Region II comes second with a total of 36,403.1 square kilometers and Region XI is third with a total of 31,692.9 square miles. Metropolitan Manila has the smallest land area, with a total of 636.0 square kilometers. (Appendix E)

Region IV has also the biggest population in 1980 with a total of 6,118,620 inhabitants. Metropolitan Manila ranks second with a total of 5,925,884 and Region III ranks third with a total population of 4,802,793 persons. It should be noted that Metropolitan Manila is bounded by Region III in the north and by Region IV in the south. (Appendix D) The combined regions of Metropolitan Manila, Region III and Region IV provide 35 percent of the country's labor force. At the same time, it comprise a corresponding 35 percent of the total inter-regional migration of the country.

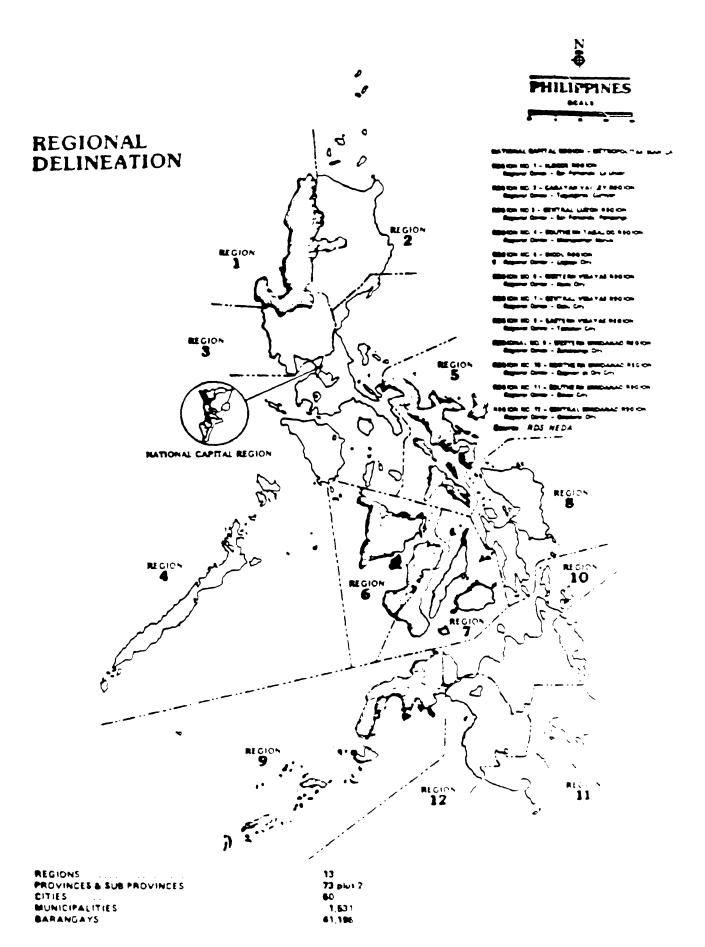


Figure 1

Metropolitan Manila, where the national capital is located, is the most dense region with 9,317.4 persons per square kilometer, followed by Region III with 263.4 persons per square kilometer and Region VII, where Cebu- the oldest city in the south is located, with 253.3 persons per square kilometer. Region II with a total population of 2,215,522 inhabitants, has the lowest density of 60.9 persons per square kilometer. (Appendix E)

For the period 1975-1980, there were 204,778 residents of Metropolitan Manila who outmigrated to the different regions of the country. However, for the same period, a total of 378,878 inmigrated from the different regions of the country or an increase of 85 percent in the number of residents. There exists a dialectical process where inmigrants who don't find employment or who have been laid off from work, leave the city while the unemployed in the rural areas continue to come and hope for better employment.

Region VII had the second highest number of outmigration with a total of 114,987. Unlike Metropolitan Manila, for the same period, it only had an inmigration total of 51,757.

Region II registered the lowest number of outmigration with 36,208, while Region VIII had the lowest in inmigration with a total of 27,605. With its proximity to Metropolitan Manila, Region IV had the second highest number of inmigrants with a total of 75,386. (Appendix S)

The average rate of marriages by region in 1983 is 6.65 per one thousand population, compared to 5 per one thousand

in 1960. The increasing trend in marriage can be attributed to the country's predominant Catholic religion. Section 2, Article XV of the 1986 Philippine Constitution provides that marriage is an inviolable social institution and it is the foundation of the family and shall be protected by the State. Divorce is not allowed in Philippine society, while cohabitation is ostracized. Metropolitan Manila had the highest rate of marriage at 9.4, followed by Region III at 8.7, and Regions I and IV at 7.3. Region XII had the lowest and stable rate at 3.4 both in 1960 and 1970. (Appendix T) All the mentioned regions have a high percentage of Catholic population, except Region XII, which is predominantly Muslim.

In terms of registered live births, Metropolitan Manila had a total of 224,058 in 1983, followed by Region IV with 202,605 and Region III with 161,370. Region XII had the highest increase of live births with 117 percent or a total of 68,277 in 1970, compared with a total of 31,395 in 1960. Region V had the lowest increase of live births with 108,497 in 1983 or a 5 percent increase from a total of 103,702 in 1975. (Appendix U)

On the same year, Metropolitan Manila's live birth rate per 1,000 population is 34.3 which is 16 percent higher than the national rate of 28.9. Regions I and IV have registered a consistent live birth rate from the period 1960 to 1983, at an average of 31.4 and 33.1 respectively. Region XII had the lowest rate in 1983 with 19.6, while Region VI was the lowest with 11.2. (Appendix V) Section 12, Article II of the 1986

Philippine Constitution provides the State to equally protect the life of the mother and the life of the unborn from conception. Abortion is not legally practiced.

It is often assumed that urban fertility is lower than rural fertility, but this is not always the case. Recent data from the World Fertility Survey throw more light on the issue. While most African and Latin American countries show lower current urban fertility, the average for the countries in Asia and Oceania does not show any real differences between urban and rural areas. While literacy rate may be an indicator for a possible widening gap between rural and urban fertility which leads into higher contraceptive use, in the Philippines, this may not be so, due to the strong influence of the Catholic Church. (Salas, 1987)

Infant mortality was highest in 1960, at Region VI with 149.9 per thousand population and lowest in 1983, at Region XI with 30.5 per thousand population. Although there have been a decrease of 63 percent from 1960, Region VI still has the highest rate with 54.9 in 1983. Overall, there have been a decreasing rate of infant mortality in the regions from 1975 to 1983. (Appendix W)

Next to Metropolitan Manila with a per capita gross domestic product of P13,397, Region IV ranked second with P6,429 in 1980. Region XII registered the highest increase in per capita gross domestic product in 1985 with a total of P8,958 or 154 percent from a total of P3,526 in 1980. At 1972 prices, per capita gross domestic product decreased in

all regions at an average of 12.6 percent in 1985. (Appendix X)

The per capita gross domestic product in urban areas may be higher compared with those in rural areas but it does not necessarily provide for the individual to cover the basic needs for food, health, housing and education. This can be attributed in disparities of income distribution, rapid population growth and high consumer prices. (Salas, 1987)

Consumer price index in the regions has risen up to 599 percent from the period 1975 to 1986, at 1978 prices. Region XII had the lowest price index in 1986 with 73.2 while Region VI had the highest price index with 372.4. Region III was second highest with 368.6 and Metropolitan Manila was third with 365.6. (Appendix C)

Region IV had the highest number of population 15 years old and over in 1980 with a total of 3,954,000 and 60.2 percent are in the labor force. This is expected to occur in an area with high migration pattern. Of the total of 2,380,308 in the labor force, 94.8 percent are employed or a total of 2,256,532. A total of 1,229,810 or 54.5 percent are employed in non- agricultural activities, while a total of 1,026,722 or 45.5 percent are employed in agriculture. (Appendix Y) Recently, there has been a trend to relocate factories and industrial firms from Metropolitan Manila to nearby regions like Region IV, thus a great number of its labor force are employed.

Region IX had the highest ratio of population working in

agriculture with 73.7 percent or a total of 704,000 in 1985. It was also the only region that registered an increase of agricultural workers with 63.8 percent from a total of 478,000 in 1980. Metropolitan Manila had the highest rate of unemployment with 22.1 percent in 1985, which is 211 percent higher than the national rate of 7.1 percent. (Appendix Y)

It may be true that in the seventies and eighties, the Philippines has joined other newly industrializing countries in the Third World with the establishments of export oriented industries in urban areas like Metropolitan Manila; but apart from being unsteady due to the ups and downs in the world market and/or the market penetration of the particular NIC industry, this employment itself generates unemployment as it interferes with domestically oriented industry and agriculture and draws more labor in the cities than the jobs it creates. This is evident in countries like Mexico, Brazil, Malaysia and the Philippines. (Frank, 1984:218)

Due to the country's deficit on the current account of the balance of payments for 1983, as well as due to the decline in the demand for exports and with no foreign exchange available to finance the import of raw materials necessary for industry, in 1984, 2,134 companies had to shut down and lay off more than 86,000 employees, mostly located in Metro-Manila. ²³

The regions were ranked by using selected socio-economic indicators (per capita gross domestic product, employment, consumer price index, density and infant mortality). Region

XI ranked highest, followed by Region XII and Region X. The other regions are in the following order; Region IV, IX, II, I, VII, V, III, VIII, Metropolitan Manila and VI. (Appendix Z)

To completely understand the performance of the country's thirteen regions in providing a desirable standard of living, it is not enough to rely on the socio-economic indicators which do not establish a common pattern why a particular region ranks high or low. There is a need to refer to the region's topography, land area, size of population, natural resources, cultural background and political stability. A great disparity between social indicators and economic indicators exist in the Philippines. A region that has a high gross domestic product does not necessarily have a corresponding low infant mortality. Moreover urban areas have high unemployment rates and they are saddled with other social problems.

In the case of the Philippines, the most modernized regions ranked among the lowest performers in providing better living conditions. Instead, they were confronted with overpopulation, high rate of unemployment, exorbitant consumer prices and insufficient health, housing and educational facilities. Metropolitan Manila, Region III and Region VII are among the leading regions to become urbanized. The cities of Manila, Quezon, Caloocan, Pasay in Metropolitan Manila; Angeles, Olongapo and Cabanatuan in Region III; and Cebu in Region VII are among the country's top urban centers.

The depressed state of the country's core region is a result of the consequent problems brought about by inmigration. By 1983, because of high unemployment rate, 35 percent live below poverty level which is at \$250 per person per year based on a least cost diet. The region's most pressing problems relate to shelter, health and nutrition, urban transport and institutional capabilities. An acute housing shortage has been caused by rapid population growth, an inadequate existing housing stock and the absence of a coordinated institutional framework to address contruction and financing of housing. About 1.8 million persons now live in substandard structures on unserviced lots with a very low level of environmental sanitation. The inadequacy of sanitation facilities and of health and medical services, compounded by flooding and standing stagnant water, have led to a deterioration in the level of health. The largest slum area and the one in most pressing need of basic urban services is the Tondo Foreshore, which is located in Manila. Tondo was reclaimed from the sea in the late 1940s an squatters moved in shortly thereafter. It covers almost 180 hectares and has a population of 27,000 families or 180,000 persons in 17,500 structures. Majority of the households are first generation migrants. (World Bank, 1976)

On the other hand, the low social and economic conditions of Region VIII can be attributed to the region's topography. It is located in central Philippines which is frequently visited by tropical typhoons and monsoon rains

that usually hinder agricultural productivity that results into low gross domestic product, unemployment and less access to social services.

Regions III and VI being the country's sugar producing regions were badly affected by the government policies and world market trends.

By 1985, sugar, once the source of 20 percent of the Philippine export earnings lost its old economic importance as a result of the policies of the Marcos era. The island of Negros in Region VI is sugar's heartland. It produces two third of all the sugar grown in the country and it is the single major source of employment in Central Philippines. Silvery green cane fields stretch away to the deep mauve flanks of Canlaon volcano, which still rumbles now and then reminding residents what made the earth so fruitful. The specter of famine now haunts this fertile island. In each of the past two years, sugar production has fallen by 30 percent. More than a thousand planters have simply quit the land. At least 250,000 sugar workers or half of the total labor force were laid off. (Zich, 1986:111&112)

In addition to depressing world prices for sugar (which went down from \$222 per metric ton in 1970 to \$90 per metric ton in 1980), government policies during the Marcos regime were not helping in any way the ailing sugar industry.

Instead, a government sugar monopoly was established with planters getting paid 13 cents a pound for their sugar, which the government then resold on the international market for

forty cents a pound. The profits that should have been going to the private planters went instead to the government, so that there was more for Marcos, Benedicto (a crony in-charge of the government established corporation for the marketing of sugar) and others to siphon off. Moreoever, the minimum wage set was \$1.36 a day, barely enough to buy five pounds of rice (compared with twenty pounds a few years earlier) and there were only 180 work days in a year. As a result, malnutrition increased which eventually led to high infant morality rate. (Bonner, 1987:261&272)

Region III was able to augment its loss in sugar with the opening of a free trade zone. Likewise, the presence of the two largest US military installations in the region have provided another source of employment, while others moved to Metropolitan Manila, which is just located south of the border.

Region IV's source of income is a mixture of manufacturing and agriculture. Residents near Metropolitan Manila found employment in factories and commercial establishments while those who lived far from the urban areas, engaged in farming and fishing. It is also in Region IV where the International Rice Research Institute is located that has afforded the farmers access to better farming technology and seeds. In 1978, significant deposits of petroleum were confirmed off the island of Palawan and commercial production began in 1979. However, its contribution to domestic consumption is still minimal.

The performance of Regions X, XI and XII can be attributed to their integrated agricultural production and mining industry. The combined regions produced 50 percent of all the corn and coconut in the Philippines, 20 percent of all the rice, 50 percent of the fish, 40 percent of the cattle, almost 100 percent of all bananas and pineapples exported, 89 percent of the nickel and cobalt, 90 percent of the iron ore, 62 percent of the limestone and almost 100 percent of the aluminum ore. (Constantino, 1984:64)

There is a correlation between agricultural productivity and agricultural area per male agricultural worker. The level of productivity is higher where the availability of agricultural land is greater. (Bairoch, 1975: 33) The decline in agricultural productivity can be attributed largely to population explosion. In 1980, population growth in Regions X, XI and XII decreased about half of its rate since 1960.

Although Regions I and II are considered agriculture based regions, the absence of better agricultural inputs from investments, facilities and seeds had led to their low performance. The regions low agricultural productivity is due to soil conditions which is usually skeletal in nature and even under the most favorable conditions gravelly or sandy material predominates. Due to clearing of forests through burning and cutting of trees, soil fertility was diminished and soil erosion was widespread. The source of water has become rare too, not to mention the region having

the longest mountains in the country.

On the other hand, Region V and Region VIII are within the typhoon belt of the country. Typhoons are very much a common place occurrence. These regions experience 40 percent of the storms carrying high velocity winds in the Philippine mainland and as a result, agriculture production continuously suffer and the fields are usually inundated.

Regions II, V, VIII and IX are the seed-beds for insurgency with the New People's Army based in Regions II, V, and VIII, while the Muslim rebels are in Region IX. The infiltration of the Communist movements and other insurgency activities in developing countries usually find their ways in most depressed areas. Their presence hamper development and economic growth due to the government's priority of providing security than promoting economic programs and social services, in view of limited fiscal resources.

Chapter X

CONCLUSION

Today, as the social structures in Philipine society are being rebuilt, especially the government institution that guides the destiny of a nation and provides better standards of living to its people, there is much optimism and potential for recovery and growth. Within 17 months in office, President Aquino has this to report to her constituents:

I had taken the oath to be President of a country that had lost everything, everything but honor. But with that honor came a renewed faith in national leadership and in the aility of our race to change things for the better, given the will and the courage to do it.

I responded with an economic reform program aimed at recovery in the short and sustainable growth in the long run. It addressed itself to the basic problems of unemployment and underemployment and the consequent mass poverty. Recession bottomed out in late 1986. GNP posted a modest growth of 1.5 percent; significant nonetheless because of the previous two years' negative performance. Exports posted a volume growth of 21.7 percent and provided the much needed boost. Inflation rate was at a low 0.7 percent. Unemployment declined from 12 percent last year to 11.2 percent. The exchage rate remand relatively stable. And gross international reserves at the Central Bank stod at about \$2.4 billion as of June, 1987 or the equivalent of 5 months merchandise imports. of the Nation address at the opening of the new Philippine Congress, July 27, 1987)

If we were to abide by the universal measure of a country's progress and stability through its economic figures and political structure, then we can conclude that the Philipines is slowly restoring its place among the progressive countries of Southeast Asia.

However, to really determine the development of a particular society, there is a need to correlate all factors like the country's historical experience, its various structures and institutions, its values and culture, in addition to the socio-economic and political indicators.

Historical tradition plays a role, as do political outcomes of major disputes and the events that make a society more or less successful in dealing with its problems. Law, religion and science are the products of a society's perception of itself, and they in turn influence the nature and direction of change. (Chirot, 1986:3)

With the improvement of social conditions as the main objective of every economic, political or sociological activity, specifically in Third World countries there is now an obligation for social scientists, especially sociologists, to exert more efforts in the development of integrated measures and indicators, to assess a particular country's performance in providing a better standard of living to the population.

Goldthorpe claims:

The problems of the development of Third World countries and the raising of the living standards

of their inhabitants was always seen as the problem of how they could catch up - by their own efforts or with outside help, or both. If they had not done so or if they responded sluggishly to the efforts of their own government or outside development agencies, there must be obstacles to development. Identifying those obstacles and helping them to remove them should be seen as a contribution where social scientists can be useful in the process. (Goldthorpe, 1984:10)

In conclusion, social change in the Philippines come about through the influence of socio-economic and political factors in addition of the country's historical experiences and topographical conditions. Of these, it is suggested that further efforts need to be looked into on how climatic conditions really affect development in the country.

Similarly, there is a need for a continuous monitoring of the progress of Third World societies in the light of world developmet. No society is ever static and totally unchanging; and at times some changes are more important than others. (Roxborough, 1979)

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

NUMBER OF FAMILIES*
BY INCOME CLASS-AVERAGE
(000 families)

PESOS	1961	*	1971	*	1985	*
Under 2000 2000-3999 4000-5999 6000-7999 8000-9999 10000 and over	3,366 698 184 84 30 63	76 16 4 2 .01	2,617 1,922 791 403 226 386	39 29 12 6 3 6	15 109 286 467 658 8,031	.006 .04 1 2 3
10000-14999 15000-19999 20000 and over			234 71 81	3 1 1	1,761 1,488 4,782	8 7 21
20000-29999 30000-39999 40000-59999 60000-99999 100000-249999 250000-499999 500000 and over					1,843 1,036 983 593 284 34	8 5 4 3 1 .01
TOTAL	4,425	100	6,731	100	22,379	100

^{*}Based on a sample survey

 $[\]mbox{\%*}$ means the percentage of change from the previous year to the next year.

APPENDIX B

COMPARATIVE SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDICATORS
1960

	Japan	Philippines
Per Capita GNP (史)	596	8 8
Per Capita GNP (ann. % increase)	10.0	1.9
Population Increase (%)	1.0	3.1
Life Expectancy (years)	71	5 5
Physician (per 100,000)	111	81
Radios (per 100)	25 0	17
Newspaper circulation (per 1000)	4 82	2 5
Literacy rate (%)	9 8	7 5
Agriculture output increase (index)	158	166
Roads (km per area)	201	195
Electricity (kwh per cap.)	2,110	134
Investments (as % of GNP)	3 5	2 2
Domestic Savings/GNP (%)	3 5	20
Cost of living index	143	145
Exports/GNP (%)	9	14
Exports (annual % increase)	16	8

Source: Based on A.D. Redding "The Philippine Economy: A Newcomer's Prespective", Philippine Economic Journal, Vol. 8, 1969 pp.132-3, as reprinted in Burley, 1973:4.

APPENDIX C

CONSUMER PRICE INDEX
(All families: 1978 = 100)

	1973	1980	% *	1985	%*	1986	% *
Philippines	53.9	138.9	158	352.6	154	351.4	(.03)
M. Manila	57.0	141.5	148	352.7	149	348.6	(1)
Region I	54.1	136.6	152	352.0	158	343.2	(3)
II	55.1	139.0	152	325.4	134	335.4	3
111	51.6	135.6	163	372.8	175	368.6	(1)
IV	54.9	133.8	144	332.6	149	334.9	(.06)
٧	49.7	143.9	170	350.7	144	340.6	(3)
VI	54.3	142.8	163	375.1	163	372.4	(.07)
VII	60.0	140.9	135	365.9	160	352.9	(4)
VIII	49.1	139.8	185	337.3	141	. 327.7	(3)
IX	54.0	130.5	142	338.5	159	327.0	(3)
X	51.9	146.1	182	360.5	147	350.7	(3)
ΧI	55.5	139.8	152	348.2	149	349.5	(.04)
XII	47.2	137.6	192	353.1	157	355.2	(.06)

^{..*} means the percentage of change from the previous year to the next year.

APPENDIX D

POPULATION OF THE PHILIPPINES

**	14 20 8	15 14 17	9 12 8 23	13 10
1980	48,098,460 5,925,884 3,540,893	2,215,522 4,802,793 6,118,620 3,476,982	4,525,615 3,787,374 2,799,534 2,528,506	2,758,985 3,346,803 2,270,949
\$	15 25 9	14 17 8	15 19 19	23
1975	42,070,660 4,943,006 3,269,391	1,933,177 4,210,136 5,213,843 3,193,721	4,146,390 3,387,274 2,599,728 2,047,882	2,314,205 2,714,558 2,070,349
**	35 23	4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4	18 17 38	50 63 40
1970	36,684,486 3,966,695 2,990,561	1,691,459 3,615,496 4,451,008 2,966,881	3,618,326 3,032,719 2,381,409 1,869,014	1,952,735 2,200,726 1,938,457
1960	27,089,685 2,462,488 2,427,897	1,202,750 2,525,379 3,081,227 2,362,707	3.078,305 2,522,802 2,040,966 1,350,731	1,297,361 1,354,023 1,383,049
	Philippines M. Manila Region I	11 111 V	VI VIII VIII	X XI XII

"* means the percentage of change from the previous year to the next year.

APPENDIX E

LAND AREA (sq. kms.) and Density (persons per sq. km.)

	Sq. Kms.	1960	1970	**	1975	*	1980	**
Philippines	300,000	90.3	122.3	35	140.2	15	160	14
Metropolitan Manila	636.0	3,871.8	6,236.9	61 7	,814.5	15	9,317.4	19
Region I	21,568.4	112.6	138.7	23	151.6	6	164.2	œ
II	36,403.1	33.0	46.5	41	53.1	14	60.9	15
111	18,230.8	138.5	198.3	43	230.9	16	263.4	14
ΛI	46,924.1	65.7	95.0	45	111.1	17	130.4	17
>	17,632.5	134.0	168.3	5 2	181.1	œ	197.2	6
IA	20,223.2	152.2	178.9	18	205.0	15	223.8	6
VII	14,951.5	168.7	202.9	20	226.5	12	253.3	12
VIII	21,431.6	95.2	111.1	17	121.3	6	130.6	œ
IX	18,730.0	72.3	100.0	38	109.6	2	135.3	23
×	28,327.8	45.8	68.9	20	81.7	19	97.4	13
XI	31,692.9	42.7	69.4	63	85.6	23	105.6	23
XII	23,293.1	59.4	83.3	4 0	88.9	7	97.5	10

Source: 1986 Philippine Statistical Yearbook

 $^{^\}star$ means the percentage of change from the previous year to the next year.

APPENDIX F

LIFE EXPECTANCY AT BIRTH
(in years)

	1960	1970	% *	1975	%*	1985	% *
Male	51.2	54.2	6	5 6.9	5	61.3	8
Female	55.0	57.2	4	59.9	5	64.9	40

^{5*} means the percentage of change from the previous year to the next year.

APPENDIX G

MORTALITY: ALL CAUSES BY AGE (1983)

Age Group

All ages	327,260
Under 1 yr.	64,267
	44,316
1-4 yrs.	
5-9 yrs.	10,660
10-14 yrs.	5,657
15-19 yrs.	7,347
20-24 yrs.	9,848
25-30 yrs.	10,422
30-34 yrs.	9,852
35-39 yrs.	9,663
	•
40-44 yrs.	10,822
45-49 yrs.	11,786
50-54 yrs.	12,979
55-59 yrs.	13,716
60-64 yrs.	16,183
65-69 yrs.	16,566
70-74 yrs.	20,026
75-79 yrs.	16,736
	•
80-84 yrs.	17,503
85 yrs &	
over	18,686
not stated	2 25
not Stated	225

APPENDIX H

TEN LEADING CAUSES OF MORTALITY (Crude death rate per 1,000 population) 1984

Cause	Number	Percent of Total Deaths
Pneumonias	47,513	19.0
Diseases of the heart	32,426	12.9
Tuberculosis, all forms	28,151	11.2
Diseases of the vascular system	21,047	8.4
Malignant neo- plasms	16,090	6.4
Diarrheas Accidents	14,776 8,946	5.9 3.6
Avitaminoses and other nut-	-	
rional defi- ciencies	7,14 0	2.9
Measles Nephritis, ne-	5,221	2.1
phrotic syn-		
drome & ne- phrosis	4,504	1.8

APPENDIX I

DAILY PER CAPITA AVAILABLE FOOD SUPPLY
(grams per day)

	1960	1970	%*	1975	%*	1983	% *
All Types Cereals & Cereal	813.5	1,001.7	23	1,094.3	9	1,301.6	19
Products	312.0	376.2	21	371.8	(1)	3 85.7	4
Roots and Tubers	116.9	81.2	-	96.8		111.1	15
Sugar and Syrup	29.8	45.2	52	56.2	24	64.3	14
Pulses and Nuts	38.0	15.9	(58)	15.2	(4)	15.8	4
Vegetables	78.4	79.2	1	79.2	0	115.1	45
Fruits	85.0	133.8	57	201.4	51	246.9	23
Meat Products	43.2	42.6	(1)	64.0	· 5 0	8 0.5	26
Milk & Milk							
Products	33.6	43.2	29	31.8	(26)	44.9	41
Eggs	9.3	8.2	(12)	9.4	15	13.9	48
Fish & Other							
Marine Products	56.8	103.3	82	125.7	22	143.3	14
Fats and Oils	6.8	8.2	21	11.6	41	9.2	21
Miscellaneous	3.7	64.7	165	31.2	(52)	70.9	127

 $^{\%^*}$ means the percentage of change from the previous year to the next year.

APPENDIX J

INFANT MORTALITY UNDER AGE ONE YEAR
(per 1,000 live births)

	Number	Rate
196 0	54,968	84.6
1965	57,9 88	72.9
1970	57, 970	60.0
1971	59,730	62.0
1972	65,7 19	67.9
1973	67,881	64.7
1974	63,491	5 8.7
1975	65,263	53.3
1976	74,792	56.9
1977	76,330	5 6.8
197 8	73,643	53.1
1979	71,772	4 9.8
1980	65,700	45.1
1981	64,415	44.1
1982	61,665	41.8
1983	64,267	42.7

APPENDIX K

TEN LEADING CAUSES OF INFANT MORTALITY (1983)

Cause	Totals
Pneumonias	15,390
Respiratory conditions of fetus and newborn	9,379
Diarrheas	6,044
Congenital Anomalies	2,934
Avitaminosis and other	
nutritional deficien- cies	2 545
Measles	-2,545 2,220
Birth injury and dif-	£ , £ £ 0
ficult labor	1,659
Acute bronchitis and	
bronchitis	1,043
Septicemia Meningitis	8 69 84 9
riciting (C15	649

APPENDIX L

LABOR AND EMPLOYMENT
(in thousands)

	1975	1983	% *
Total employment	14,143	19,673	3 9
Agriculture, hunting, forestry, and fishing Mining, manufacturing, gas, electricity, and	7,633	10,250	34
water industries	1,639	2,072	26
Construction	437	627	43
Trade, restaurants and hotels	1,599	2, 257	41
Transport, storage and communications	510	9 03	77
Financing, insurance, real estate, and busines	·c		
services	-	313	-
<pre>Community, personal and social services Unemployed</pre>	2,290 581	3,24 6 84 9	4 2 4 6
onemprojed	301	047	70

 $[\]ensuremath{\mathbb{N}}^\star$ means the percentage of change from the previous year to the next year.

APPENDIX M

PRE-SCHOOL, ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY ENROLLMENT (both in government and private schools)

	196 0	1975	%*	1	980	%*	1985	*
Pre-school Elementary Secondary	4,150,743 611,544	7,597,279 2,240,448		124 8,290 3,018		9 35	177,593 8,703,273 3,323,063	
	NUMBER OF SC	HOOLS BY L	EVEL O	F EDUCATI	ON			
	1960	1975	% *	1980	% *		1985	%*
Pre-school Elementary Secondary Tertiary	20,870 1,704 407	30,760 4,844 691	47 184 70	- 31,393 5,144 1,098	2 6 59	32 5	2,310 2,791 5, 3 88 2,178	- 4 5 7

^{%*} means the percentage of change from the previous year to the next year.

APPENDIX N
DAILY NEWSPAPERS

	Number	Circulation (in millions)
1982	22	1.972
1979	19	.9 72
1975	15	.6 86
1970	17	.502

TELEVISION RECEIVERS

	Number (in 000 units)	Per 1,000 inhabitants
1982	1,250	25
1979	1,0 00	21
1975	7 56	18
1970	400	11

RADIO BROADCASTING

Number (in 000 units)	Per 1,000 inabbitants
2,180	43
2,100	43
1,800	43
1,500	41
	2,100 1,800

APPENDIX 0

NUMBER OF MOTOR VEHICLES REGISTERED

Type of Vehicle	1 981	19 85	% *
Total	1,006,030	1,120,172	11
Private	864,970	988,143	14
Public Use	106,997	90,607	(15)
Government	24,193	36,947	53
Diplomatic	9,870	4,475	(55)

 $[\]ensuremath{\mathbb{R}}^*$ means the percentage of change from the previous year to the next year.

APPENDIX P

INTERNATIONAL AND COASTWISE SHIPPING MOVEMENT

	1970	1975	% *	1985	% *
No. of vessels entered	2,203	2,538	15	1,882	(26)
Net tonnage	8,726	10,110	16	9,569	(5)
No. of vessels cleared	2,206	2,499	13	1,870	(25)
Net tonnage	8,705	10,066	17	6,470	(36)

 ^{*} means the percentage of change from the previous year to
 the next year.

APPENDIX Q

PUBLIC ROADS (in Kms)

*	43 21 49
1985	161,708.63 26,259.11 135,449.52
*	32 8 4 4 8 8 4
1975-1976	112,890.95 21,752.79 91,138.16
*	53 26 64
1970-1971	85,601.02 20,066.08 65,534.94
1964-1965	55,777.95 15,921.54 39,856.41
	Total Kms. National Local

PUBLIC BRIDGES

*	29 23 36
1985	19,738 9,308 10,430
*	18 17 19
1975-1976	15,248 7,578 7,670
*	10 22 04
1970-1971	12,897 6,477 6,425
1964-1965	11,709 5,313 6,396
	Total National Local

 $^{^\}star$ means the percentage of change from the previous year to the next year.

APPENDIX R

CLASSIFICATION OF PROVINCES BY REGIONS

Region V (Bicol)

Region VIII (Eastern Visayas)

Region I (Ilocos)

Quirino

Zambales

Ilocos Norte

Abra

Ilocos Sur

Mountain Province

La Union

Camarines Norte
Camarines Sur
Catanduanes
Albay
Sorsogon

La Union Sorsogon Benguet Masbate Pangasinan

Region II (Cagayan Valley)

Region VI (Western Visayas)

Batanes Capiz
Cagayan Antique
Kalinga-Apayao Ilo-ilo
Isabela Negros Occidental

Ifugao
Nueva Viscaya Region VII (Central Visayas)

Region III (Central Luzon)

Cebu
Negros Oriental
Bohol

Nueva Ecija Bohol Siquijor Tarlac

Pampanga
Bulacan Northern Samar

Bataan Samar
Region IV (Southern Tagalog) Leyte

Region IV (Southern Tagalog)

Leyte
Southern Leyte
Aurora

Quezon Region IX (Western Mindanao)

CaviteZamboanga del NorteLagunaZamboanga del SurBatangasBasilan

Marinduque Sulu Mindoro Oriental Tawi-tawi Mindoro Occidental

Mindoro Occidental
Romblon
Palawan

APPENDIX R (continued)

Region X (Northern Mindanao)

Surigao del Norte Camiguin Agusan del Norte Misamis Oriental Misamis Occidental Bukidnon Agusan del Sur

Region XI (Southern Mindanao)

Surigao del Sur Davao Oriental Davao Davao del Sur South Cotabato

Region XII (Central Mindanao)

Lanao del Norte Lanao del Sur North Cotabato Maguindanao Sultan Kudarat

Metropolitan Manila

City of Manila City of Pasay City of Quezon City of Caloocan Municipality of Makati Municipality of Navotas Municipality of Malabon Municipality of Marikina Municipality of San Juan del Monte Municipality of Mandaluyong Municipality of Pasig Municipality of Las Pinas Municipality of Muntinlupa Municipality of Paranaque Municipality of Pateros Municipality of Valenzuela Municipality of Taguig

APPENDIX S

INTER-REGIONAL MIGRANTS (1975-1980)

	M. Manila	Region I	11	111	Ν	>	VI	VII
tination	204,778	87,524	36,208	92,255	114,683	99,285	105,536	114,987
Manila		42,628	16,002	51,246	75,336	51, 573	44.158	22 990
	12,447	•	6,567	6,761	3,597	1,156	867	871
11	4,881	13,004		8,418	2,093	1,317	826	548
111	42,388	12,937	3,908	. •	13,664	8,708	4.509	3.506
ΙΛ	90,817	9,400	3,596	16,001		27,772	11,370	5,706
>	15,957	1,195	268	3,284	9,648	. •	1,009	1,773
I	11,128	779	465	1,436	3,154	1.544		7,391
111	6,181	975	1,079	721	1,765	2,261	7,730	
VIII	095,6	477	255	839	1,547	1,403	785	6.005
×	1,213	288	726	499	432	313	3,139	8,943
×	3,990	1,333	1,049	929	1,171	1,639	8,485	24,978
Į,	4,383	2,002	1,287	1,051	1,477	1,121	12,248	23,791
IIX	1,833	5,206	206	1,070	749	478	10,410	8,485

TOTAL OUT-MIGRATION 1,148,241 378,824 35,588 33,257 101,844 183,095 36,930 33,523 51,757 27,605 28,141 92,321 89,017 56,326 1,191 257 1,508 2,322 672 38,572 5,353 2,483 11,168 12,247 XII 519 217 635 INTER REGIONAL MIGRANTS (1975-1980) APPENDIX S (continued) 748 481 1,191 2,404 604 12,908 62,080 8,612 2,943 8,721 2,999 2,278 18,191 56,639 6,944 581 1,423 2,134 472 1,339 8,639 6,658 15,127 10,339 37,205 4,933 538 317 813 1,914 326 979 4,148 10,951 5,718 6,004 564 ĭ 98,489 48,999 936 673 8,162 10,790 1,846 857 7,215 869 8,439 8,565 1,138 VIII All regions of des-tination M. Manila Region I

Source: 1986 Philippine Statistical Yearbook

APPENDIX T

RATE OF MARRIAGES PER REGION (per 000 population)

	196 0	1970	1975	1983
Philippines M. Manila	5.2 a	6.9 a	7.1 a	6.8 9.4
Region I	4.7	6.7	6.7	7.3
II	4.1	5.7	6.9	6.3
111	5.9	8.2	8.5	8.7
IV	6.6	9.4	8.3	7.3
٧	4.4	5.6	6.8	5.1
VI	4.6	6.0	6.4	5.9
VII VIII	6.6 4.6	6.9 5.4	7.5 5.8	6.1 4.6
IX	3.3	4.4	4.8	4.4
X	6.1	7.0	6.6	6.4
XII	4.4 3.4	7.0 3.4	8.1 3.6	7.0 3.9

a - included in Region IV

APPENDIX U

NUMBER OF REGISTERED LIVE BIRTHS
BY REGIONS

	1960	1970	%*	1975	%*	1983	% *
Philippines M. Manila Region I	649,651 a 77,102	966,762 a 94,644	49 - 23	1,223,837 a 100,606	27	1,506,356 224,058 120,325	23
II	33,564	48,590	4 5	64,128	32	73,429	15
III	77,157	113,881	4 8	138,770	22	161,370	16
IV	200,647	288,997	44	318,680	10	202,665	5
V	50,996	74,048	45	103,702	40	108,497	
VI	34,574	52,321	51	99,771	91	117,466	18
VII	62,131	91,062	47	104,699	15	119,703	14
ÎX	21,705	39,103	80	52,397	34	60,278	15
Alli	13,388	24,208	81	37,388	54	56,912	52
X	29,179	49,619	63	74,506	56	92,689	24
XI	31,395	68,277	117	95,523	40	120,565	26
XII	17,813	24,012	35	33,667	40	48,399	44

a - included in Region IV

^{%*} means the percentage of change from the previous year to the next year.

APPENDIX V

LIVE RIRTH RATE

(per 600 population)

	1960	1970	1975	1983
Philippines	23.7	26.2	29.1	28.9
M. Manila		•		34.3
Region I	31.5	31.5	3 0.6	32.0
II	27.6	28.6	33.2	30.6
III	29.7	30.5	31.7	31.1
IV	35.9	34.6	31.8	3 0.2
Ÿ	21.4	24.8	3 2.5	29.0
٧I	11.2	14.4	24.1	24.1
VII	24.5	29.9	30.9	29.7
VIII IX	10.6 9.8	16.3 12.9	20.2 18.3	20.3 20.8
X	2 2.8	24.3	32.2	30.8
XI	22.8	3 0.9	35.2	33.1
XII	12.7	12.3	16.3	19.6

a - included in Region IV

APPENDIX W

INFANT MORTALITY RATE BY REGION (per 000 population)

	1960	1970	1975	1983
Philippines	84.6	60.0	53.3	42.7
M. Manila	a	a	a	41.8
Region I	7 0.5	53.9	53.4	44.0
II	95.1	63.8	63.5	49.4
III	64.5	52.4	47.1	34.2
IV	62.3	58.5	55.4	44.1
٧	70.8	58.2	52.5	47.3
VI	149.9	98.9	63.3	54.9.
VII	92.6	54.6	5 5.7	45.8
VIII	135.6	86.4	77.1	50.3
IX	85.7	65.6	58.9	3 8.8
X	108.6	62.8	4 4.3	41.7
XI	51.4	40.9	33.0	30.5
XII	73.5	48.8	39.4	34.7

a - included in Region IV

APPENDIX X PER CAPITA GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT BY REGION (in pesos)

	1980	1985	% *	1980	`19 85	% *
	à	a	ā	Ь	Ь	ь
Philippines	5,477	11,159	109	1,917	1,655	(14)
M. Manila	13,397	25,119	87	4,912	3,893	(21)
Region I	3,017	6,970	131	967	9 89	(3)
II	3,443	7,055	105	1,175	981	(17)
III	5,098	11,088	117	1,615	1,466	(9)
17	6,429	12,847	103	2,100	1,820	(13)
V	2,598	5,292	104	907	7 83	(14)
٧I	4,465	8,9 68	101	1,684	1,422	(16)
VII	4,858	9,943	105	1,769	1,509	(15)
VIII	2,219	4,428	100	823	718	(13)
IX	3,574	7,400	108	1,227	1,130	(8)
X	4,601	9.592	108	1,591	1,368	(14)
XI	5,471	11,063	102	1,863	1.605	(14)
XII	3,526	8,9 58	154	1,305	1,395	(7)

a - at current pricesb - at 1972 prices

^{9*} means the percentage of change from the previous year to the next year.

APPENDIX Y

LABOR AND EMPLOYMENT DATA BY REGION

		PHILS.	PHILS. M.MLA. R.I	R. 1	11	111	<u>\</u>	>	VI
Projected household									
_	1980	28,967	3,862	2,158	1,316	2,880	3,954	2,013	2,70
	1985	33,646	4,575	2,376	1,531	3,405	4,378	2,248	3,07
Percent in Tabor force	1980	59.8	53.3	55.7	62.9	56.4	60.2	63.7	63.1
	1985	63.4	59.5	56.6	68.0	56.5	61.2	70.3	64.7
Percent of labor force									
employed	1980	95	89.5	97.2	96.1	94.0	94.8	97.4	95.8
	1985	92.9	77.9	96.3	94.2	93.1	93.4	97.1	95.5
Percent of labor force									
unemployed	1980	5.0	10.5	2.8	3.9	6.0	5.5	5.6	4.2
	1985	7.1	22.1	3.7	5.8	. 6.9	9.9	5.9	4
Percent of labor force									
စ်	1980	51.4	1.5	60.4	70.7	38.3	45.5	61.9	61.4
•	1985	48.4	1.2	52.4	61.5	38.9	39.3	0.09	57.9
Percent of labor force									
employed in non-agri-									
	1980	48.6	98.5	39.6	98.5 39.6 29.3 61.7	61.7	54.5	38.1	38.6
	1985		98.8	47.6	38.5	61.1	60.7	40.1	42.1

APPENDIX Y (continued)

LABOR AND EMPLOYMENT DATA BY REGION

		VII	VIII	IX	×	ΧI	X11
Projected household population, 15 years							
old and over (in 000)	1980	2,276	1,642	1,496	1,625	1,983	1,324
		2,609	1,863	1,734	1,934	2,417	1,504
Percent in labor force	1980	62.4	9.79	53.0	61.4	65.1	61.6
	1985	6.99	72.8	59.0	67.8	68.0	63.6
Percent of labor force							
employed	1980	96.4	0.96	94.4	94.9	96	96.1
	1985	96.6	94.4	93.4	95.8	94.9	98
Percent of labor force							
	1980	3.6	4.0	5.6	5.1	0.4	3.9
	1985	3.4	5.6	9.9	4.2	5.1	2.0
Percent of labor force							
employed in agriculture1980	1980	56.9	70.0	63.8	57.8	63.1	68.5
	1985	54.0	69.4	73.7	53.7	60.5	57.5
Percent of labor force							
employed in non agri-							
	1980	43.0	30.0	36.2	42.2	38.7	31.5
	1985	46.0	30.6	26.3	46.3	39.5	42.5

Source: 1986 Philippine Statistical Yearbook

APPENDIX Z

RANKING THE REGIONS BY USING SELECTED INDICATORS

	Gross Domes- tic Pro- duct	Employ- ment	Consu- mer Price Index	Densi- ty	Infant Morta- lity	TOTAL	RANK
M. Manila	13	2	2	1	8	2 6	12
Region I	3	10	8	6	7	34	7
II	5	5	10	13	3	3 6	6
III	11	3	3	2	11	3 0	10
IV	12	4	11	7	6	40	4
V	2	12	9	5	4	3 2	9
Ϋ́Ι	7	8	1	4	1	21	13
VII	9	11	5	3	5	3 3	8
VIII	ī	6	12	8	2	29	11
IX	4	4	13	7	10	3 8	5
X	8	9	6	12	9	44	3
ΧI	10	7	7	10	13	47	1
XII	6	13	4	11	12	46	2

ENDNOTES

- 1. Manila was the first capital of the Philippines, until
 Quezon City became its capital in the sixties. Today,
 it is nation's premiere city. The seat of power in the
 national government together with the headquarters of
 different government departments, agencies and bureaus
 including those of international organizaritions are
 located here. Its major ports are the country's link to
 international commerce and trade.
- 2. On July 3, 1573, King Philip of Spain specified the characteristics of pueblo or poblacion:
 - ..the plan of the place, with its squares, streets and building lots has to be outlined by measuring by cord and rule at the main square from which streets are to run to the gate and the principal roads, leaving sufficient open space so as the town grows, it can spread in a symmetrical manner. (Hollensteiner, Mary. 1969. "Urbanization of Manila". Modernization and Its Impact in the Philippines IV IPC Paper No. 7. Ed. Walden Bello et al.. Ateneo de Manila University Press. p.107)
- 3. In 1982, 85 percent of the population were Roman

 Catholic, 4 percent were Muslim, 4 percent Aglipayan (a

 locally founded denomination that rose during the

Filipino priests revolt against Spanish friars), and 7 percent other denominations. (Asean Nations Vital Statistics. World Paper. March, 1987. p. 5)

- 4. Most Philippine fruits, flowers and fauna were brought in from Spain and introduced in the country by the religious missionaries.
- in the strict sense appeared and that land began to systematically be cultivated for the production of surpluses for trade. The occasion was the shipment to Spain in 1783 and 1784 of the first cargo of export tobacco and indigo from the Philippines. Originally, the function of the land in the economy is limited to the culivation of food crops for the consumption of the natives. With the beginning of the Spanish rule, this function was expanded to produce provisions for the Spaniards and commodities for payment of the natives' tribute and other contributions to the Spanish regime. (Corpuz, 1965:31)
- 6. The Negritos are believed to have come 30,000 years ago from Borneo and Sumatra across then-existing land bridges. They are considered the first people of the Philippines.

- 7. Authority in the pre-Spanish barangay had been based to a large extent on the datu. In order for the Spaniards to command the barangay, the datus were incorporated into the Spanish hierarchy of authority.
- 8. In exchange with financial support to government pojects especially those of the First Couple (Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos), top businessmen are given control of a particular trade or business operations. Among them are Roberto Benedicto and Eduardo Cojuangco who monopolized the sugar and coconut industries respectively.
- 9. These families have mostly Spanish lineage and they inherited large tracts of agricultural lands, which are handed from generation to generation. Formerly, the barangays, the estates became haciendas, converted into pueblos or towns for political purposes during the Spanish regime, then into municipalities in the American period.
- 10. As a result of land-settlement policy at the beginning of Spanish rule, a landlord clas evolved. The process of land consolidation came from several sources. The Catholic Church succeeded in consolidating lands from bequests of Spanish settlers whose original property rights came from royal decrees, as well as from lands granted to the religious orders by the Spanish crown. A

class of government servants, many of whom intermarried with Filipinos were awarded land for services rendered to the civil government of Spain. A group of Filipinos, largely from the royal houses upon which early forms of social and political organizations had been bsed, have through the centuries transformed themselves into major landowners. A final class of landowners were the Chinese, who through their money lending and commercial activities were able to amass wealth and acquire lands. This group eventually intermarried with Filipinos.

With the growth of foreign trade, especially after the opening of the Suez Canal in the late 1860s, the merchants and landowning classes became more powerful. Following the transfer of political control from Spain to the United States of the Philippines, the subsequent more rapid expansion of exports especially after 1909, when free trade between the United States and the Philippines ensued, sugar and coconut products began to dominate the economic picture. (Powers and Sicat, 1971:60&61)

In order to increase production of copra and sugar, scientific agriculture was introduced in the country especially in Pampanga and Negros, where the sugar industry is more thriving. By 1909, Ford tractors became standard equipment in farms and estates,

replacing manual labor. (Larkin, 1972:288)

On the other hand, the government adopted a new land policy beginning 1913 to rationalize the landholding system in the country through the use of cadastral survey. With the Philippine Cadastral Act, all the parcels of a municipality were surveyed and then presented to the court in groups of 1,000 as one case. Occupants who lacked the titles were asked to vacate the land. If they could prove their claim of ownership to the satisfaction of the court, they received the necessary titles. Only such a sweeping and drastic program could eliminate the confusion of imperfect titles which the government felt retarded the full development of modern commercial agriculture. (Larkin, 1972:290)

The cadastral system posed a possible threat to an important aspect of the tenant-landlord pattern. The system was entirely associated with the legal side of landownership. On the other side, the tenure system was based on traditions where the basis of the tenants' claims was their strong ties to the landlord and more importantly, their continuing use of that land. Two systems, one legal and one customary, existed side by side and hardly in conflict in the traditional society. Landlords found their claims to ownership strengthened

in legal terms and should they wish to remove tenants from the land, they had the new authorization of their solid titles to justify their actions. (Larkin, 1972:291)

Furthermore, to make the tenant system compatible with modern commercial farming, the planters could only retain the best workers and reduce their share of the harvests as far as possible. To garner profits, planters had these options which they could apply singly or collectively: impose more stringent demands upon the tenant by stricter enforcement of the tenancy arrangement, simply evict the more inefficient and extraneous tenants, or transform the tenant into a daily wage worker and employ him more on a seasonal basis.

(Larkin, 1972:294)

Due to low wages or unemployment, the tenants had little control over their destiny and their economic mobility. As the years went by and every season passed, the gap between the rich and the poor widened. The tenants were slowly becoming alienated from the landlord. By 1939, then President Manuel Quezon was faced with striking farmers and sugar laborers. When the Second World War broke, the landlords moved to Manila or other urban centers for refuge and eventually settling there, thus, the absentee-landlord was born. (Larkin, 1972:331)

The peasant grievances were solidified in the 50s which gave birth to the Huk Rebellion, to become later the breeding ground for communist insurgency. When Ramon Magsaysay became president in 1953, he invited peasants and laborers at Malacanang Palace, the presidential residence and encouraged free communication with In the countryside, a number of small-scale farmers. but highly visible projects had been started including the building of bridges, roads, irrigation canals, wells, establishment of special courts for landlordtenant disputes, agricultural extension services were provided, as well as credit to farmers. In 1955, the Lad Reform Act was passed by Congress which provided for the redistribution of lands. President Magsaysay was known to be the champion of farmers, but this was short-lived with his death in 1957. (Bunge, 1983:45)

President Diosdado Macapagal, the predecessor of
President Ferdinand Marcos, on August 8, 1963 signed the
Agrarian Land Reform Code which abolished the share
tenancy by an agricultural leasehold system, a step
toward eventual goal of ownership by cultivators. The
law provided for an administrative apparatus organized
with legal, financial, technical and law enforcement
support. The first results were encouraging but the
extent of the area affected at the end of Macapagal's

term in 1966 was insignificant; it amounted to some 29,150 hectares of about 405,000 hectares of rice and corn cultivated by sharecropping tenants. (Bunge, 1983:47)

11. The Muslim movement dates back in the 16th century with the natives of Mindanao on southern Philippines resisted to conquest by Spain. This was carried through during the American regime. The Marcos government has used a "carrot and stick" policy in dealing with the problem. The carrot took the form of monetary rewards and commissioned those who gave up their arms in the armed forces and paramilitary units. The government has given wide publicity to land reform and development assistance programs, which is large part were designed to cure some of the problems of economic deprivation and social discontent. It has attempted to accomodate certain Muslim political objectives. It cost the Philippine government the equivalent of \$50 million a year and tied down two thirds of its armed foces, claiming at least 50,000 lives and displacing more than half a million persons before it sputtered to an inconclusive end - or pause, four years later. In 1977 Marcos decreed autonomy for two Muslim groups, but the Muslims still await the keeping of this promise. (National Geographic, July, 1986:104)

- 12. The slogan for the martial law period was "sa ikauunlad ng bayan, disciplina ang kailangan", which translates into "for national progress, discipline is in order".
- 13. By 1982, the total outstanding medium and long term foreign debt of the Philippines is \$13 billion. (Bunge, 1983:117)
- 14. Marcos became president by defeating incumbent president Diosdado Macapagal. In 1969, he became the first president to be reelected in office. When he lifted martial law (which he declared in 1972) in 1981, amidst allegations of electoral malpractices, Marcos was returned to office for a six year term to expire in 1987. (The Europa Yearbook 1986:2115)
- 15. Ninety one percent of energy source in the Philippines is from imported oil. (Estanislao, Jesus P. January, 1983. "Philippine Economic Setting In A Turbulent Economy". Economics and Society. Manila, Center for Research and Communications. p.5)
- 16. Sugar, once the source of 20 percent of the Philippines' export earnings had lost its economic importance as a result of the policies of the Marcos era. The world price for sugar was 5 cents a pound, while production costs were 14 cents. (National Geographic. July,

1986:112)

- 17. The Philippines has recorded a deficit on the current account of its balance of payments in every year since 1974. The deficit was \$3,212 million in 1982, \$2,751 million in 1983 and improved to \$1,253 million in 1984, reflecting a fall of about 20 percent in import costs. Export earnings fell in 1983 for the third successive year to \$4,971 million compared with \$5,012 million in 1982, but rose to \$5,266 million in 1984. The value of imports declined by 18.9 percent in 1984 to \$6,070 million. This contributed to a significant narrowing of trade deficit from \$2,515 million in 1983 to \$804 million in 1984. (The Europa Yearbook 1986:2117)
- 18. The rate of inflation which had reached 42 percent in 1974, fell to an annual average of 12.5 percent in 1981, of 10.3 percent in 1982 (as a result of a price stabilization policy) and was only 6.1 percent in the year to May 1983. By October 1984, however, it had reached a peak of 64 percent and averaged 50.3 percent in 1984. The average rate for 1985 was an estimated 23.1 percent. (The Europa Yearbook 1986:2118)
- 19. Yellow was the campaign color of Mrs. Aquino.
- 20. 1986 Philippine Statistical Yearbook

- 21. 1982 UN Statistical Yearbook as reprinted in the 1986
 Philippine Statistical Yearbook
- 22. 1986 Philippine Statistical Yearbook
- 23. The Europa Yearbook 1986:2117

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