



UNIVERSITI PUTRA MALAYSIA

**CAPITAL, THE STATE AND THE EMERGENCE OF CLASS
RELATIONS: THE CASE OF A RURAL COMMUNITY IN SOUTHERN
PHILIPPINES**

PUTE @ RAHIMAH MAKOL-ABDUL

FEP 1992 2

**CAPITAL, THE STATE AND THE EMERGENCE OF CLASS RELATIONS:
THE CASE OF A RURAL COMMUNITY IN SOUTHERN PHILIPPINES**

By

PUTE @ RAHIMAH MAKOL-ABDUL

**Thesis Submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty
of Human Ecology, Universiti Pertanian Malaysia**

November 1992

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author greatly owes debts of gratitude to several institutions and individuals who have contributed in many ways in the completion of this study. Grateful acknowledgements are especially due to the Government of Malaysia, for the financial support under the Malaysian Technical Cooperation Programme (MTCP), which enabled her to pursue doctoral studies at the Universiti Pertanian Malaysia (UPM), and to the University of Southern Mindanao (USM), through the then President, Dr. Jaman S. Imlan and the current President Dr. Kundo E. Pahm, for allowing her to pursue further studies in Malaysia.

The author is also grateful to the residents and officials of Barangay Ramcor for their cooperation during data collection, without which this study would not materialise. She is also thankful to RAMCOR's management for the accommodation extended to her and her husband during the fieldwork and for making available all the records needed for the study. In particular, she wishes to acknowledge the valuable assistance she received from Miss Celia C. Tayong, Mrs. Ofelia D. Sumera, and Mr. de la Cruz.

Associate Professor Dr. Abdul Halin Hamid, her chairman, has unselfishly shared with the author his wisdom, expertise

and experience which contributed enormously to the completion of this work and to her understanding of rural society. The author is also indebted to Associate Professor Dr. Nazaruddin Hj. Mohd. Jali and Associate Professor Dr. Ghazali Basri, her committee members, for their valuable suggestions and comments throughout the execution of this work and for all the knowledge which also contributed greatly to her intellectual development. Likewise, the writer also wishes to thank Dr. Zahid Emby for his guidance during her early days as a graduate student in UPM and for sharing his anthropological insights, and to the many individuals, Muslims and non-Muslims, who became her patient and generous informants, yet refused to be named. They know who they are.

Sincere appreciation is extended to the office of the Dean of the Graduate School at UPM for admitting her to the university and for attending promptly to her academic needs. The author is also thankful to the lecturers and staff of the Faculty of Human Ecology at UPM, most especially, Dr. Maznah, Hanisah, Normah, Khamsiah, Rahimaton and Rohaida, as well as her fellow students at the faculty, Linda, Neeraj, Weerachai and Shyam, for their warm friendship and moral support.

The writer also wishes to acknowledge her gratitude to all friends in Malaysia who have been instrumental in one way or

another in the completion of this work and who have offered her and her family Islamic brotherhood in its fullest sense. In particular, she would like to thank Haji Zakaria Abdullah and his family, Dr. Mohd. Azam Khan and his wife Dr. Fauziah Othman, Mr. Ismayating Ibrahim and his family, Brother Yusoph Suner and his wife Jamaliah Suner, Brother Muhammad Aris Said and his wife Sarah, Rupasinghe (Alif) and his wife Lina, Brother Penandatu Ontok and his wife Dr. Medin Ontok, Engineer Haji Paysal Aliuden and his wife Aida, Brother Ben Dumato, Hajah Siti Mariam Malinumbay, Safiya, Taha, Nafisa, Mazita, and Filipino students at the International Islamic University in Malaysia whose names are too numerous to mention. She is also grateful to the late Haji Ibrahim (Tiago) and his family, Mr. Shamsheer Singh and his family, and Ganesan for their support and encouragement.

Mr. Fadlullah Wilmot and Mr. Kamaruddin Mohd. Nor were instrumental in assisting the researcher in getting the MTCP scholarship grant. The author also wishes to thank Aleena Sanusi for editing the text, Engineer Casan Mala for drawing the maps, and Dr. Asmah for translating the English version of the thesis abstract to Malay Language. To her parents, brothers, sisters and in-laws for their unending love, encouragement and financial support, she is also grateful.

Finally, she would like to express her gratitude to her husband, Dr. Teng Abdul, and son Mohammad Shaharil, who have shared with her the difficulties and challenges of seeking academic excellence.

While it is true, however, that many institutions and individuals have helped the author in various ways in the completion of this text, none of them is responsible for any errors, interpretations and conclusions presented in the text. These are the sole responsibility of the author.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	ii
LIST OF TABLES.....	xiv
LIST OF FIGURES	xvi
LIST OF PLATES	xvii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xviii
ABSTRACT	xix
ABSTRAK	xxi
 CHAPTER	
I INTRODUCTION	1
Background of the Study	1
Statement of the Problem	13
Objectives of the Study	15
Limitations of the Study	16
Importance of the Study	17
Definition of Concepts	20
Organisation of Chapters	25

II	LITERATURE REVIEW	29
	Studies Conducted in the Developing Countries.....	30
	Capital, the State and Peasant Differentiation	30
	The Destruction and Persistence of Pre-capitalist Mode of Production Under Capitalism	44
	Capitalism, Ideology and the Persistence of Pre-capitalist Relations	48
	The Destruction of Village Economy Under Capitalism.....	54
	Studies Conducted in the Philippines	55
	Summary	66
III	CAPITALIST PENETRATION, THE STATE AND STRUCTURAL CHANGE: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	69
	The Marxist-Leninist Approach	70
	The Dependency Perspective	73
	The World System Analysis	76
	The Mode of Production Analysis	79
	Alternative Framework	83
	Summary.....	89
IV	RESEARCH PROCEDURES	94
	Locale of the Study	94

	Data Collection Procedures.....	98
	Establishing Linkages With Influential Individuals	98
	Methods of Data Collection	99
	Problems Encountered During the Fieldwork	115
	The Presence of Government Troops.....	115
	Accommodation.....	116
	The "Gangsters".....	117
	Sampling	119
	Method of Analysis.....	120
V	THE PLACE AND THE COMMUNITY.....	122
	Physical Description of the Village	122
	The Population	123
	Socio-demographic Characteristics of Household Heads	126
	Age.....	126
	Marital Status.....	126
	Family Size.....	128
	Level of Education.....	130
	Economic Characteristics of the Household Heads.....	133
	Annual Household Income.....	133
	Household Possessions.....	137

	Farm Size.....	137
	Agriculture.....	141
	Ramie Cultivation.....	141
	Rice and Corn Cultivation.....	145
	Fruit Trees and Vegetables Growing.....	145
	Livestock Raising.....	146
	The Village Social Conditions.....	147
	Health and Medical Care.....	147
	Housing Conditions.....	148
	Public Facilities and Other Household Amenities.....	154
	The Village Politics.....	156
VI	MAGUINDANAON CLASS STRUCTURE AND CLASS RELATIONS: THE PRE-PLANTATION PERIOD.....	158
	The Village Economy	159
	Land Ownership and Peasant Differentiation	161
	Class Structure During the Pre-plantation Period.....	163
	The <u>Datu</u> Class.....	164
	The <u>Sakop</u>	166
	The <u>Olipen</u>	168
	Class Relations	171
	<u>Tabangnga Galbeksa Datu</u>	171
	<u>Panginen na Datu sa Sakop</u>	174

	<u>Tabangnga Datu sa Sakop</u>	176
	<u>Kabpangulipen</u>	178
	<u>Kabpagamunga</u>	180
	Summary.....	182
VII	COLONIAL AND POST-COLONIAL GOVERNMENTS' LAND LAWS AND CAPITALIST PENETRATION IN MINDANAO-SULU.....	185
	The Spanish Land Law	185
	The American Land Policies and the Beginning of Capitalist Invasion of Mindanao-Sulu.....	187
	The American Land Laws.....	188
	The Beginning of the Capitalist Invasion	195
	Post-Independence Land Laws and the Rapid Development of Plantation Agriculture in Mindanao-Sulu	198
	The Pre-1966 Land Laws and the Continuing Capitalist Penetration.....	198
	The Post-1966 Land Laws and the Rapid Development of Plantation Agriculture	200
	The Penetration of RAMCOR Farms.....	208
	Summary	217
VIII	LAND OWNERSHIP AND TENANCY RELATIONS	221
	Land in the Post-colonial Period	221
	Concentration of Land ownership	222

	Methods of Land Acquisition	226
	Tenancy Relations.....	232
	Variations in the Duration of Tenancy Contracts.....	233
	Prevailing Tenancy Arrangements.....	234
	Summary	245
IX	WAGE RELATIONS, CLASS ALLIANCES AND CONFLICT, AND CLASS STRUCTURE.....	247
	The Emergence of Wage Relations	248
	Mechanics and Categories of Plantation Jobs	248
	Working Conditions in the Plantation	266
	Manifestations of Dissatisfaction Among Workers and Their Form of Resistance	269
	Class Alliances and Conflict	271
	The Management, the Datus and the Maguindanaon Workers	272
	The Government Troops, the Plantation and the Villagers.....	283
	Worker-Management Relations: The non-Maguindanaon Case	285
	Social Divisions.....	289
	Owners of the Means of Production.....	290
	The Landless Rural Population.....	294
	Summary.....	295

X	SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY.....	300
	Summary.....	300
	Background of the Study.....	300
	The Research Problem.....	301
	Objectives of the Study.....	302
	Data Gathering and Analysis.....	303
	Results.....	306
	Theoretical Implications.....	311
	Policy Implications.....	314
	Conclusion	324
	Suggestions for Further Research.....	327
	Final Remarks.....	329
	GLOSSARY	330
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	335
	APPENDICES	
A	The Interview Schedule.....	348
B	Guide Topics Used During Interview with Key-informants.....	355
C	Resettlement Programmes Carried Out by the American Colonial and Post-colonial Governments in Mindanao	358

D	RAMCOR's Cost and Profitability Per Hectare Basis of Establishing Ramie Farm, Buluan, Maguindanao, 1985-86.....	363
	BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH/VITA.....	366

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1	Distribution of Household Heads According to Age, 1989	127
2	Distribution of Household Heads According to Marital Status, 1989	127
3	Distribution of Household Heads According to Family Size, 1989	129
4	Distribution of Household Heads According to Type of Family Unit, 1989	129
5	Distribution of Household Heads According to Level of Formal Education Attained, 1989.....	131
6	Distribution of Schooling-Age Children According to the Number of Children Attending School and Not Attending School, 1989	133
7	Distribution of Household Heads According to Annual Household Income, 1989	134
8	Distribution of Household Heads According to Philippine Official Poverty Line, 1989.....	136
9	Distribution of Household Heads According to "Expensive" Items Owned.....	138
10	Distribution of Household Heads According to Farm Size Owned.....	139
11	Type of Housing.....	149
12	Land Laws Passed During the American Occupation in the Philippines Facilitating the Development of Plantation Agriculture in Mindanao-Sulu.....	189
13	Legislation Passed by the Philippine Government to Attract Investment in the Agribusiness Sector.....	202

14	Distribution of Land Owned by Household Heads in the Neighboring Barangays According to Size and Method of Acquisition	227
15	Number of Tenancy Agreement Based on the Paltida System Showing the Landlord and Tenant Relations, Tenanted Area, Length of Contract and Location of Land	236
16	Bases for the Division of Crops Between Land- lord and Tenant as Provided by R.A. 2263	238
17	Number of Tenancy Contracts Based on Kinship Showing the Landlord and Tenant Relations, Tenanted Area, Length of Contract and Location of Land	240
18	Number of Tenancy Contracts Based on Sanda Arrangement Showing the Landlord and Tenant Relations, Tenanted Area, Length of Contract and Location of Land.....	244
19	Wages of Seasonal Workers in the Plantation, 1989	250
20	Distribution of Seasonal Plantation Workers in Ramcor According to the Type of Job Performed, 1989	251
21	Distribution of Regular Plantation Workers According to Job Performed, 1989.....	263
22	Wages of Regular Workers in the Plantation, 1989.....	265

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1	A Diagram of the Conceptual Framework of the Study Showing the Relationship Between State and Capital and the Effects of this Relationship on Maguindanaon Traditional Class Structure	88
2	A Sketch Map of the Philippines Showing the Location of Mindanao-Sulu	95
3	A Sketch Map of Municipality of Buluan Showing the Location of Barangay Ramcor	96
4	A Sketch Map of Barangay Ramcor.....	97
5	A Sketch Map of Mindanao-Sulu Showing the Provinces with the Listing of Agribusiness Corporations.....	194

LIST OF PLATES

Plate		Page
1	A Ramie Plant	142
2	Company Bunkhouses Provided to Non-Maguindanaon Workers	150
3	Maguindanaon Temporary Houses	152
4	A View of RAMCOR Farms Showing the Main Road....	210
5	The Administrative Building of RAMCOR.....	211
6	The Ramie Factory.....	212
7	A View of RAMCOR Farms Showing the Residence of One of the Local Leaders.....	213
8	A 'Dump' Truck Used to Transport Workers to Their Area of Assignment. It is also Used to Transport Ramie Waste	268

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BCGA	-British Cotton Growers Association
COLA	-Cost of Living Allowance
FARD	-Forum for Approaches in Research and Development
HYV	-High Yielding Varieties
MILF	-Moro Islamic Liberation Front
MNLF	-Moro National Liberation Front
NDC	-National Development Corporation
NLSA	-National Land Settlement Administration
P.D.	-Presidential Decree
P	-Peso (Philippine currency)
PNB	-Permodalan Nasional Berhad
PPC	-Philippine Packing Corporation
R.A.	-Republic Act
RAMCOR	-Ramie Corporation of the Philippines
SMC	-San Miguel Corporation
SSS	-Social Security System
TADECO	-Tagum Agricultural Development Company
UP	-Uttar Pradesh
UPEB	-Union of Banana-Exporting Countries
USM	-University of Southern Mindanao

Abstract of thesis submitted to the Senate of Universiti
Pertanian Malaysia in fulfilment of the requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

CAPITAL, THE STATE AND THE EMERGENCE OF CLASS RELATIONS:
THE CASE OF A RURAL COMMUNITY IN SOUTHERN PHILIPPINES

by

Pute @ Rahimah Makol-Abdul

November 1992

Chairman: Associate Professor Dr. Abdul Halin Hamid

Faculty: Human Ecology

The incorporation of Third World countries into the world capitalist system brought about far-reaching repercussions on the social, political and economic structures of less-developed societies. A study of the changes associated with capitalist penetration is therefore necessary to understand the contemporary situation of these societies. The present study was an attempt in this direction to understand the transformative impact of the phenomenon at the village level. Primarily, it aimed at examining the dominating influence of capitalist penetration in the form of plantation agriculture on the nature and dynamics of class formation in the study area. Specifically, it investigated the following: (i) class structure and class relationships of Maguindanaons during the

pre-plantation period; (ii) the process of penetration of plantations in Mindanao-Sulu and in the village in particular; and (iii) the relations of production that emerged as a result of the entry of the plantation.

The data used in the discussions were gathered in a village in Southern Philippines by means of participant observation, key-informant interview, and survey. Reference to secondary data was also made. The data analysis relied heavily on narrative description and interpretation. Statistical information derived from the survey and secondary sources was also used.

This study revealed that the development of plantation in the study area, as facilitated by state policies and internal forces, had resulted in the concentration of land ownership in the hands of a few capitalists, land dispossession among the Maguindanaons, and the emergence of tenancy and wage relations. This was accompanied by a change in the village social organisation and the emergence of a new form of class alliances and conflict.

The study concluded that the nature of development that went to the village was segmental and irrelevant to the needs of the population. The plantation benefited only the few, while relegating many to conditions of instability and deprivation.

Abstrak tesis yang dikemukakan kepada Senat Universiti
Pertanian Malaysia sebagai memenuhi syarat
untuk ijazah Doktor Falsafah

MODAL, NEGARA DAN KEMUNCULAN HUBUNGAN KELAS: KES
SEBUAH KOMUNITI LUAR BANDAR DI FILIPINA SELATAN

oleh

Pute Makol-Abdul

November 1992

Pengerusi: Profesor Madya Dr. Abdul Halin Hamid

Fakulti: Ekologi Manusia

Kemasukan negara-negara Dunia Ketiga ke dalam sistem kapitalis dunia telah membawa kesan yang mendalam ke atas struktur sosial, politik dan ekonomi masyarakat yang kurang maju. Satu kajian mengenai perubahan-perubahan yang berkaitan dengan kemasukan kapitalis adalah perlu untuk memahami keadaan semasa masyarakat-masyarakat ini. Kajian ini adalah satu usaha ke arah memahami kesan transformatif fenomena tersebut pada peringkat kampung. Pada dasarnya, ia bertujuan untuk meneliti pengaruh penguasaan kemasukan kaum kapitalis dalam bentuk pertanian perladangan ke atas sifat dan dinamik pembentukan kelas dalam kawasan kajian. Secara khusus, ia mengkaji yang berikut: (i) struktur kelas dan hubungan kelas di kalangan

orang Maguindanao pada zaman sebelum perladangan; (ii) proses kemasukan ladang di Mindanao-Sulu dan khasnya di kampung berkenaan; dan (iii) hubungan pengeluaran yang wujud sebagai hasil kemasukan korporat.

Data yang digunakan dalam perbincangan di sini telah diperolehi dari sebuah kampung di Filipina Selatan melalui pemerhatian ikut serta, temubual informan penting, dan melalui tinjauan. Rujukan kepada data sekunder juga telah dibuat. Analisis data sebahagian besarnya bergantung kepada pemerihalan dan interpretasi naratif. Maklumat statistik yang didapati dari tinjauan dan maklumat sekunder juga digunakan.

Kajian ini menunjukkan bahawa perkembangan perladangan di kawasan kajian, seperti yang digalakkan oleh polisi kerajaan dan kuasa-kuasa dalaman, telah menghasilkan pemusatan pemilikan tanah di kalangan sebilangan kecil kapitalis, perlucutan milik tanah di kalangan orang Maguindanao, dan kemunculan hubungan penyewaan dan upah. Ini disertai oleh perubahan dalam organisasi sosial kampung tersebut dan kemunculan satu bentuk perikatan dan konflik kelas yang baru.

Kajian ini merumuskan bahawa sifat pembangunan yang dibawa masuk ke kampung kajian sebagai tidak sesuai dengan keperluan penduduk. Sistem perladangan telah menguntungkan hanya sebilangan kecil penduduk, sementara sebilangan besar kehilangan hak dan mengalami keadaan tidak stabil.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background of the Study

One of the most significant phenomena that attracts a great deal of interest among social scientists is the impact of capitalism on Third World societies. The spectacular upsurge of interest in this topic is a recognition of the far-reaching implications of Western economic penetration for the course of development and social change in the colonised areas. As a result of capitalist penetration, the social, political and economic conditions in less developed nations are said to have been radically transformed. Thus, the contemporary situation in these areas cannot be understood unless it is viewed in the context of this historical event (cf. Shamsul Amri Baharuddin, 1979:435; Gordon, 1977:ii; and Courtenay, 1965:2).

Plantation agriculture has been one of the chief means by which numerous countries of the world have been integrated into the modern world economy. It was introduced into certain countries of the Third World (particularly tropical America and tropical Asia) by the metropolitan nations of the North Atlantic (Beckford, 1972:xxiv). Unlike the peasant mode of production which has existed since time immemorial, the

establishment of plantations in the tropics is a direct consequence of Western penetration. It serves as the entry point of Western capitalism into the Third World economies by producing raw materials and tropical crops needed by the industrialised countries (Hayami et al., 1990:10).

The word "plantation" has no universal definition. Although it is usually equated with large-scale methods of crop production, as distinguished from small peasant holdings, the term cannot be defined solely on the basis of size. The size of a plantation is dependent on the product grown and the country in which it operates (Sajhau, 1987:3). However, nearly all of the twenty-one definitions of plantations identified by Higman (in Courtenay, 1980:10), stress scale of enterprise (in terms of area size, labour force and capital input), crop specialisation and export orientation. Beckford (1972:252-86) also demonstrated that all types of plantations have certain things in common: they cover relatively large areas, numerous unskilled workers are involved, decision making is highly centralised, the pattern of management organisation is authoritarian, and workers and decision makers are separated by social and cultural differences.

The prevalence of plantations in the Third World countries can be gleaned from the various plantation crops grown in these areas (see Sajhau, 1987:10-20). For instance, cocoa