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Social-Problems Research, Philippines

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PERLA Q. MAKIL

This article presents a survey of the major research dealing with social problems in the Philippines for the period 1970-80. The major social problems in our country have been and continue to be those associated with poverty; thus the article looks into poverty research in the past decade, including research on squatters together with the related problems of housing, nutrition, employment, income, and the like.¹

Other social problems, however, have engaged the attention of researchers and funding agencies in the Philippines, such as those associated with rapid population growth and women. Thus research on these will be presented as well. While these research areas may be considered separate categories of the social environment, they are not mutually exclusive but in fact, are often closely interrelated.

Yet this article is not a documentation of all major research on social problems in the past decade. Indeed it does not come close to such an impossible task. What it tries to do instead is to present as many selections as feasible under the major subtopics of the presentation; moreover, it includes some post-1980 research in order to indicate the general direction of research already being pursued in the current decade.²

This paper was read at the Association of Christian Universities and Colleges in Asia (ACUCA) Workshop on Social Problems in Asia, Kwansei Gakuin University, Tokyo, 29 November-2 December 1982.

1. The author has been rather deeply involved in the urban problem of squatters, particularly the families whose houses are under threat of demolition by the government, and the problems associated with it. This threat has become a reality through government demolition squads; this "cleaning-up" activity continues to date.

2. Three annotated bibliographies have served as starting points for this essay. The first is Ricardo G. Abad, Nora S. Villanueva, and Oscar F. Picazo, *Philippine Poverty*

POVERTY STUDIES

In a developing country like the Philippines, it is not difficult to see that when one speaks of social problems, what comes to mind rather quickly are those that relate to being poor. While there is no agreement among observers as to how many Filipinos are indeed poor, there is agreement that the vast majority of us are. A controversial World Bank report in 1980 stated that the incidence of poverty in the Philippines rose from 38 to 45 percent of the total population between 1971 and 1975. The gauge was a poverty line of ₱500 in 1971 and ₱827 (₱1,103 for urban) in 1975.³ Indeed, the pervasiveness of poverty is such that any research done in the country, whatever its focus – education, family planning, migration, women, irrigation, forestry, development and others not intended to come directly under the rubric “poverty research” – will show some aspect or manifestation of the poor and of being poor.

URBAN STUDIES

Research on urban problems seems to have generally focused on the Metropolitan Manila (MM) area.⁴ At least three reasons may be offered for this orientation. One, MM is the biggest and perhaps the most complex of Philippine urban centers (it is the country's primate city). It thus presents a most fertile ground for the examination of the multitude of social problems encountered by its residents of infinitely varied backgrounds. Two, the researchers who

Studies in the Seventies: A Preliminary Annotated Bibliography (Quezon City: IPC, Ateneo de Manila University, 1978); the second, Mildred Bernido-Hoghe, *Social Policy Implications of IPC Research Findings, 1960-74*, 8 vols. (Q.C.: IPC, AdeMU, 1979), and the third is Anna Miren Gonzalez and Mary Racelis-Hollnsteiner, *Filipino Women as Partners of Men in Progress and Development* (Q.C.: IPC, AdeMU, 1976).

Two other sources were also useful: Karina Constantino David and Ofelia Regala-Angangco, “Studies in Urban Poverty in the Philippines,” *Asian Studies* 13 (1975): 17-35, and Perla Q. Makil, “Philippine Studies of Women: A Review,” *Silliman Journal* 28 (1981): 32-42.

3. Cited in Philip Bowring, “The Poverty Puzzle,” *Far Eastern Economic Review* (1981): 125; see also *Aspects of Poverty in the Philippines: A Review and Assessment*, vol. 2 (World Bank, 1980).

4. Metropolitan Manila (MM) includes four cities (Quezon, Manila, Pasay and Calo-oacan) and thirteen municipalities (Makati, Valenzuela, Navotas, Malabon, Pasig, Marikina, Pateros, Taguig, Las Piñas, Parañaque, Mandaluyong, San Juan, and Muntinlupa) around the “old” Manila section. It has a population of 4,970,000 (NEDA Philippine Statistical Yearbook, 1978).

have shown interest in the subject are generally located in the MM area. Three, the government's urban development program has been centered in Metro Manila.

Of significant research interest have been the poor residents, staying legitimately or as squatters in public or private property, in the slum neighborhoods of Tondo, Sampaloc, Pandacan, Makati, Malate, Caloocan, Quezon City, and other places in the metropolis. As in the preceding decade, the problems investigated have been those associated with slum life, in general, and squatter resettlement, in particular.

Undoubtedly, Mary Racelis-Hollnsteiner has been the most prolific of those who have studied Philippine urban problems, but only a few of her writings directly resulting from her Tondo studies will be reviewed here.

Hollnsteiner's study of Velasquez street in Tondo presents a description of that low-income neighborhood.⁵ As might be expected of any slum and squatter area, this neighborhood was congested, largely migrant in membership, and sorely lacking in the basic necessities of food, money, and services. Looking at the data in light of the assumption that the city is cold and depersonalized, one was surprised that, in fact, there did exist community spirit among members, forged largely by their shared poor living conditions. The physical layout of the blocks was such that closeness was inevitable. Beyond that, however, the social characteristics accompanying life under high-density conditions encouraged this closeness: elder people, children, mothers — they were everywhere, whether sitting around, playing, or doing their various tasks in public, for example, housewives washing around a public faucet.

Interviewing a sample of 250 households in Vitas, Tondo, Hollnsteiner rejects two popular notions about urban poor residents, namely, one, that provincial migrants to the city decided irrationally when they chose city to provincial life, and two, the "unitary notion of the poor."⁶ On the first, data showed that the migrant slum dweller moved because of a rational perception of the city as providing opportunities of improving family levels of living, for instance, through the job opportunities available. The majority

5. Mary Racelis Hollnsteiner, "Becoming an Urbanite: The Neighborhood as a Learning Environment," in *The City as a Center of Change in Asia*, ed. D.J. Dwyer (Hongkong: Hongkong University Press, 1972), pp. 29-40.

6. Abad, Villanueva, and Picazo, *Philippine Poverty Studies*, p. 10.

of those interviewed felt that more opportunities for advancement were present in Tondo than in their hometowns. Moreover, the majority also judged their lives to have changed for the better since moving to Vitas; though still far from ideal, their Vitas homes were better than their homes in the province. Given these perceptions, it was not surprising that the respondents generally had no desire to move back to their places of origin, much less move out to government-designated resettlement areas.⁷

Sylvia Guerrero consolidated findings from previous research on MM low-income communities.⁸ These are some salient findings on the living conditions in these communities: (1) income levels were low, the average weekly income being about ₱40 or approximately ₱2,080 annually; (2) the respondents were generally service and manual workers, a fifth being hawkers/vendors; (3) households, the majority of which were nuclear, ranged from five to seven in membership, with about 39 percent having seven or more members, and of which 18 percent had at least nine; (4) except in Barrio Magsaysay, houses were generally rented, in poor state of repair, highly congested, and lacking in facilities, especially water and electricity, and essential services, such as garbage disposal.

The poor living conditions notwithstanding, respondents preferred to stay in their communities because of low rent, their proximity to the place of work, the presence of relatives and "good people," and the quality of social relationships they had developed for each other over the years. To most residents in these neighborhoods, Manila was the place to realize their dreams.

The problems of urban living experienced by those who are poor are numerous and quite overwhelming. Focusing on what she called the "visibly impoverished," Decaesstecker through parti-

7. Mary Hollnsteiner, "Poverty and Progress in Tondo," outline of a talk given at the International Rice Research Institute, Los Baños, Laguna, 1972; "Socioeconomic Themes and Variations in a Low-income Neighborhood," paper read at the Workshop in Manpower and Human Resources, University of the Philippines, Los Baños, Laguna, 13-15 October, 1972; and "City, Province or Relocation Site? Options for Manila's Squatters," *Philippine Sociological Review* 21 (1973): 207-13.

8. Sylvia H. Guerrero, "The 'Culture of Poverty' in Metro Manila: Some Preliminary Notes," *Philippine Sociological Review* 21 (1973): 215-21. The studies included were: (1) an IPC study of three slum neighborhoods in Manila conducted by the author; (2) IPC Vitas study by Hollnsteiner; (3) survey of Manila and Baguio hawkers and vendors by the author and the University of the Philippines' Institute of Social Work and Community Development (UP-ISWCD); and (4) two 1966 surveys: the U.P. Manila Complex study of Broadway, Q.C. slums and a Presidential Assistance and Community Development (PACD) survey of barrio Magsaysay, Tondo.

participant observation, survey, and unstructured, in-depth interviews, studied families in MM who lived below what she considered a "minimally adequate socioeconomic level" for subsistence or survival.⁹ The general objective was to "understand fully the urban impoverished family within its natural habitat, the home and the depressed neighborhood." The state of impoverishment of the families studied is illustrated by these findings: (1) the breadwinner had irregular employment in the low-profit sector or the "economic underworld"; (2) family income was spent primarily on basic needs, especially food, often before it was received because of debts incurred (essentially for food) with their employers prior to pay day; (3) food was severely limited, many families eating only twice a day; neither was there much choice in the other necessities such as clothing, medicine, utensils, or furniture; (4) a third lived in alleys, vacant lots, or in the cemetery because they could not pay rent. The two-thirds who rented were more insecure than those who did not because default in their rent payment threatened the stability of their living arrangements.

A specific focus on the children of low-income families in Quezon City revealed that the children were frequently suffering from pulmonary and respiratory diseases.¹⁰

Perceptions differ about the problems of the urban poor, depending on who perceives them. The elite urban residents and the poor urban residents may have similar problems yet differ in their experience of these problems. The problem of availability of resources is illustrative. To the poor resident, the problem may be the total absence of resources (no money, no jobs). To the well-off, it may be how to use the resources more wisely, or how to add to them. The issue to the well-off in other words, may be not so much that the resource is not there, as what to do with the resource or how to increase it.

A 1972 study by the Institute of Philippine Culture compared two views about problems in urban living, the first by the elite and the second by the slum dweller.¹¹ The elite respondents, pre-

9. Donald D. Decaesstecker, I.C.M., "Impoverished Urban Filipino Families" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Santo Tomas, 1974).

10. See Teresita N. Naval, *Coping and Motivational Patterns of Urban and Rural Children in Poverty Areas* (Q.C.: IPC, AdeMU, 1979).

11. See Jose V. Abueva, Sylvia H. Guerrero, and Elsa P. Jurado, *Metro Manila Today and Tomorrow* (Q.C.: IPC, AdeMU, 1972).

sumably knowledgeable about MM conditions, were interviewed and later engaged in roundtable discussions of the preliminary findings. Also interviewed were low-income household heads around MM.

While the two views that emerged were not entirely unrelated, the priorities each presented differed. Further, as other studies have suggested, the elite often had a wider perception of problems, in scope or number, than the non-elite.

These were the problems as viewed by the elite: (1) inadequate, unsafe, congested and uncontrolled traffic and transportation systems; (2) peace and order (criminality, drug addiction, gang wars, robbery, arson); (3) environmental pollution; (4) poor urban planning and administrative inefficiency; (5) government neglect and squatting; and (6) others (garbage, slums and squatters, floods, drainage, and housing).

The low-income respondents saw their problems as largely economic: no money, no food, no jobs, no water, poor health. Community problems included quarrels, brawls, drunkenness, criminality, lack of basic needs and essential services (bad roads, no light, no water, poor housing, and sanitation).

A study of a southern provincial city followed a similar research design, that is, interviewing two respondent types in succession, the city knowledgeable first and then the general population.¹² As in the Manila study just discussed, these two respondent groups saw the problems of the city partly differently, partly in the same way. The upper-level residents were concerned about noise, pedicab drivers, recreational facilities, and city beautification. The lower-level respondents (generally living in low-income neighborhoods and one squatter area) were more concerned about prices and their children's education. Yet both were agreed on the need for more jobs, a better water supply, and improved hospital facilities.

In all the studies on urban living, jobs and housing are paramount problems. We shall now turn to these in our survey of research.

Employment. A 1972 evaluation of urban data (from National Census and Statistics Office [NCSO] reports and three IPC sur-

12. Perla Q. Makil, *Dumaguete City Urban Priorities Study* (Q.C.: IPC, AdeMU, 1973).

veys) on employment and underemployment by Glicerio Abad indicated that in 1970, 7.69 percent of the urban population was unemployed.¹³ The national unemployment rate was 7.65 percent while the rate for MM was a lower figure of 6.9 percent. By 1971, the MM unemployment rate rose by 3.3 percent to a total of 10.2 percent.

The 1971 underemployment figures were: 7.9 percent (national), 5.3 percent (urban), and 9.3 percent (rural). Clearly, there was greater likelihood for employment in urban than in rural areas.

The data indicated that the problems of unemployment and underemployment in MM have been aggravated (if not also caused) by the population growth rate which was higher than the national average (4.9 vs. 3.5 percent). This is another indication that people flock to Manila for better employment and future for themselves and their families. The findings of the primary research earlier presented are thus reinforced.

Employment in the urban sector is found in industries, the service sector, government agencies, and other establishments in and around the city. Yet because of high unemployment rates, the poor urban dweller often devises other means for survival. Three independent research studies investigated three of such alternative means.

William Keyes investigated the phenomenon of scavenging in Metro Manila.¹⁴ He spent more than one month in a section of Manila interviewing (informally and with only an interview guide) scavengers and their non-scavenger neighbors. He found that the average scavenger had a work schedule which begins from early morning to 10:00 A.M. and resumes at 6:00 P.M. until midnight. He would have been on the job for about five years. Scavengers would prefer regular work but since none is available, they scour the garbage heaps to survive. Ordinarily, the scavenger earns about ₱8.00 a day. But several factors affect the scavenger's income. To begin with, he faces competition, either from other scavengers, the small capitalists who buy from the source, that is, those who go from house to house yelling "bote-diaryo" (used bottles and

13. Glicerio S. Abad, "Urban Unemployment in the Philippines," in *Papers and Proceedings of the Workshop on Manpower and Human Resources* (Los Baños, 1972).

14. William J. Keyes, "Manila Scavengers: The Struggle for Urban Survival," in *IPC Papers* No. 14 (Q.C.: IPC, AdeMU, 1974).

newspapers), or the garbage collectors themselves. Beyond that, the scavenger cannot influence the prices of his "commodities" yet he must put up with restrictive laws passed by the city government which often results in fines, extortion, or imprisonment.

The neighborhood sari-sari store (small general merchandise store) is a common sight in Philippine neighborhoods, and one of the more common forms of self-employment. This was the object of investigation by Simeon Silverio who studied five sari-sari stores in MM.¹⁵ He spent a week in each of the stores interviewing the storeowners and observing the store's operation. He concludes that the sari-sari store helps both the customer and storeowner to survive. The sari-sari store is a place where the poor resident can buy within his meager means. For instance, one can buy a single cigarette, a piece of *tuyo* (dried fish), drink a cup of coffee with 10-centavo worth of milk, or eat a piece of bread with a slice of margarine for a similarly low price. The sari-sari store is also within easy walking distance of the resident's house.

Certain realities, however, tend to offset these advantages offered by the sari-sari store. For instance, the transportation fare which the resident saved by not going to a regular market is lost in the higher prices he must pay for goods bought from the sari-sari store. What actually happens is that the costs add up as the goods move from one dealer to another so that by the time they reach the sari-sari store, the original cost has risen considerably. Ironically, this price increase is passed on to the end-user who is actually the least capable of paying. A similar principle operates with respect to the claimed advantage of buying in small quantities. While the poor resident does indeed do so, he actually pays more because he cannot afford to buy in bulk elsewhere, which would be at cheaper prices.

Customers can usually get credit from the sari-sari storeowners. However, there is a selectivity in giving credit at the stores. While the steady wage-earner or those with previous "good records" get credit, the high-risk poor do not. Finally, the store is supposed to help customers by selling at regulated prices. In reality, the study found that the store circumvents the regulations with the help of better-off customers and government agents. The poorer cus-

15. Simeon G. Silverio, Jr., "The Neighborhood Sari-sari Store," in *IPC Papers* No. 14 (Q.C.: IPC, AdeMU, 1975).

tomers suffer the consequences of such activity.

An alternative way of selling goods and commodities is by hawking or peddling on city streets. This was the subject of a study by Sylvia Guerrero in the cities of Manila and Baguio.¹⁶ The study was part of a research project covering six Southeast Asian cities in Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines. A total of 1,155 hawkers/vendors were interviewed, 644 of whom peddled in Manila. Case studies of selected vendors and interviews with government officials on policies affecting hawking and peddling were also conducted. From the data, the following general observations were made.

The Manila vendor is likely to be a female, thirty years old or younger, with an elementary or some high school education. She comes from the congested low-income neighborhoods of MM and, city regulations prohibiting peddling in these areas notwithstanding, sells in the busiest commercial areas thickly populated by pedestrians.

The Manila vendor, on the job for three to six years, earns ₱5.10 or less in nine or more hours of work. The greater likelihood is that the hawker has no license and is, therefore, always on the lookout for law enforcement agents.

The Baguio city peddler is usually a migrant, female, and on the job for less than a year. Like her Manila counterpart, she engages in this activity because she knows no other way to earn a living. She works for about seven to eight hours a day and earns about ₱5-₱10.

The official policy towards hawkers in Manila is to eventually eliminate them from the sidewalk and streets. This policy is similar to that towards squatters which also intends to remove all squatters from MM. They are among those considered in the Letter of Instruction No. 43 issued in 1972 concerning "impediments in streets, sidewalks and highways" who obstruct free passage. The banning of hawkers from the busy streets of Manila is justified by these reasons: (1) they obstruct pedestrian and vehicular traffic and (2) they do not pay fees to the city government and thus compete unfairly with regular stall holders who do. Hawkers and ven-

16. Sylvia H. Guerrero, *Hawkers and Vendors in Manila and Baguio: Final Country Report Submitted to the International Development Research Center of Canada* (Quezon City: Inst. of Social Work and Community Development, University of the Philippines, 1975).

dors are viewed as a police problem.

In Baguio, the official policy towards hawkers is less punitive. Through a system of licensing and a generally more liberal attitude among city administrators, hawking in city streets is less problematic both for the hawker and the city. Peddling is an alternative to those with minimal skills. For them, it is a major source of livelihood.

Housing. In his masteral thesis in 1971, Jose P. Dans recommended a mass housing program for what he termed the Manila megalopolis.¹⁷ The program would last for thirty years, from 1971 to the year 2000. This proposal was made after examining secondary sources on housing such as those in government and private agencies like the U.N., and literature on demographic and sociological development of the Manila areas. He also interviewed officers of the Philippine Homesite and Housing Corporation (later replaced by the National Housing Authority [NHA]), and private organizations who showed concern over the housing problem.

The proposal was made in the context of social conditions and problems in the city. The author maintained that Manila had reached a "crisis in urban development," with an explosive population growth, the increase in squatters and slums, and inefficient land use. All this had created an acute and critical housing problem. He observed that despite government slum removal and squatter relocation efforts, the situation had turned for the worse. The government had failed in its responsibility to respond to the housing need with a "total program." He predicted that if the needs remained unfulfilled, they "will be blown into over 2.5 million units by the turn of the century," give or take 10 percent.

He further maintained that resettlement of slum dwellers and squatters could be done only if two objects were achieved: one, that of making the move really for the better, and two, that of making those involved realize that the move is for the better. Providing employment within commuting distance and giving proper training to the relocatees were ways to achieve these aims. He suggested that improvement of the present dwelling environment for example, provision of utilities like light, water and sewerage systems, may be done temporarily until the people could be mov-

17. Jose P. Dans, Jr., "A Mass Housing Program for the Manila Megalopolis" (M.B.A. thesis, Ateneo de Manila University, 1971).

ed to a better location in the future.

Keyes and Roldan for their part looked into the house-building process, the financing schemes, the characteristics of squatter households and their attitudes towards housing.¹⁸ They interviewed a sample of fifty-one household heads, conducted five case histories, and hired an architect to make house visits and estimate the current value of the housing structure of selected squatter dwellings.

Consolidating statistical data, they showed that owing to the inability of the Philippine economy to generate a sufficient number of housing units required by a growing and migratory population, there was (at the time of the study) a staggering backlog estimated at between one and three million units (not too far from Dans' estimate five years earlier). Housing costs were also shown to have outpaced the low-income wage earners' paying capacity, and little or no help could be expected from the private sector or the government-sponsored projects.

From interviews, case histories and house visits, they also found that the poor do not engage in long-term institutional financing schemes. The poor man's house continues to be built after or during occupancy as money becomes available or as dictated by need. This contrasts sharply with the usual presumption that a house should be completed before occupancy. While the cost of a squatter housing unit (built from second-hand or recycled materials with the help of neighbors and relatives) is considerably less than the estimated lowest possible cost of conventional housing, "the house is usually judged by the owner-builder as adequate for his family's needs." Outside of money problems, instability of tenure, which fosters the fear of eviction from their dwelling place, was found to be the major deterrent to sustained improvement of squatter houses and communities.

The authors suggest that nonconventional approaches to housing be adapted. For instance, with respect to the problems of high land values, they suggest that the government control land speculation through an exercise of the power of eminent domain. However, the government must not expropriate for the traditional uses such as roads, airports, and other types of infrastructure; rather it

18. William J. Keyes and Maria C. Clara Roldan Burcroff, *Housing the Urban Poor: Nonconventional Approaches to a National Problem* (Q.C.: IPC, AdeMU, 1976).

should use the land to establish homesites (not houses) as it did Projects 1-16 in the fifties and make them available at affordable prices to the lower-income population.

As to development and material costs, they suggest removal of legal requirements of minimal standards at a threshold that is too high for the poor to reach. The authors wonder why a poor man who cannot afford to spend beyond ₱8,000 or ₱9,000 on his dwelling must be required by law to build a house that will last twenty-five to fifty years.

Resettlement. The urban housing problem is closely interrelated with the government's policy of relocating squatters and slum dwellers in places outside of MM. Squatter resettlement started more than thirty years ago largely because the government could not respond adequately to the considerable migration of people from the provinces to Manila as a result of its city development programs. Early relocation sites were Bago Bantay and Bagong Pag-asa (Quezon City); Kamarin, Novaliches; the San Gabriel Estate and Sapang Palay (Bulacan). Between 1951 and 1963, about 7,274 families were relocated in these sites, the combined areas of which totalled 1,008 hectares.¹⁹ By March 1964, almost fifteen thousand more squatter families lost their homes through demolition and relocation.

Relocation areas were, as a rule, not prepared for the relocatees. Not only were there no facilities, there were no jobs available. Thus many returned to Manila to resume their squatting elsewhere.²⁰

Other relocation sites were subsequently opened. Of the more recent, the site in Dasmariñas, Bagong Bayan, Cavite seems to have received the most attention from the NHA. Factory jobs were created, and planners treated it not just as a resettlement site, but with the end in view of creating a "socially and economically integrated 'total town'."²¹ Keyes points out that aside from the

19. Jürgen Ruland, "Squatter Relocation in the Philippines: The Case of Metro Manila," 1982; citing Morris Juppenplatz, *Cities in Transformation: The Urban Squatter Problem of the Developing World* (Queensland: 1970).

20. Linda Salcedo, *The Carmona Urban Resettlement Action Research Project: Baseline Period 1972-73* (Q.C.: IPC, AdeMU, 1975); and William J. Keyes, "Case Study: Metro Manila, Philippines," in *Policies Towards Urban Slums*, ed. Madhu Sarin (Bangkok: Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, 1980), pp. 44-59, citing Gustav Ranis, *Sharing in Development: A Program of Employment, Equity and Growth for the Philippines* (Manila: NEDA, 1974), p. 217.

21. Keyes, "Case Study."

clear imbalance in the levels of development in Dasmariñas, and other relocation sites, there is also an imbalance between the project's level of development and the poverty of the people who are supposed to benefit from it. The people, still unsure of their land tenure status, feared that the development might create economic pressure that would affect their ability to stay.

The government's record of past relocation efforts is hardly commendable.²² Poor planning and coordination among various government agencies involved in the activity has led to unnecessary evictions and demolitions; more families were evicted than the number of relocation sites available. (Sadly enough, this state of affairs continues to this day.)

Addressing the living conditions and opportunities in the resettlement areas, Ruland presents a similarly dismal situation. For instance, after about eighteen years since the mass relocations began, the majority of the work force from the relocation sites still has to look for jobs in MM because only a few can be absorbed in the relocation areas and vicinity. Moreover, data indicate that companies in the relocation areas are not inclined to hire the relocatees because they are considered by management as a "negative selection of the population."²³ Focusing on data applicable to the Dasmariñas relocation site, Ruland shows that only about 26 percent of the employed population work within Dasmariñas or its vicinity. About 69 percent work in MM and the rest, elsewhere, including almost one percent who have gone abroad.²⁴

Malnutrition, partly a consequence of unemployment and low income, is high, particularly among children, in the resettlement sites. To illustrate, some four thousand malnourished children in Carmona and San Pedro were identified as a target group for a government program in 1977. This is approximately one-third of the number of children below six years of age. In Dasmariñas, the Ministry of Social Services and Development (MSSD) counted 1,431 (27 percent) malnourished children in 1979.²⁵

Poor housing conditions persist in the relocation areas because of a combination of factors but mainly due to prohibitive reconstruction costs. To begin with, building materials were destroyed

22. Ruland, "Squatter Relocation."

23. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

24. *Ibid.*, Table 3.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

at the time of relocation so that most of the dwellings became smaller when they were rebuilt at the resettlement sites. Secondly, since many were rendered jobless because of the relocation process, they had nothing to spend for housing improvement. During the rainy season, their shanties cannot weather the typhoons. Thus house improvement is a painful process that drags on through the years. Speaking of Carmona, Ruland continues: "most shanties have not (substantially) improved during the last ten or fifteen years. Damages have been repaired only on a patchwork basis. The roofs are leaking, the walls are oblique, and the interior is humid. Some houses are even threatened by premature collapse."²⁶ In recently launched projects, a Building Code, patterned after that of cities in industrialized countries and used by the NHA, imposes additional burdens on the relocatees as it hikes costs of reconstruction and subsequent improvements.

Reviewing government policies on squatter settlements and slums, Keyes notes that the Zonal Improvement Program (ZIP) strategy, which advocates on-site slum upgrading or improvement, is perhaps the best of all NHA strategies.²⁷ Letter of Instruction (LOI) 19 issued in 1972 had ordered the removal of all illegal constructions from public and private property, and was followed by P.D. No. 772, or the anti-squatting law in 1975. But LOIs 555 and 557, both issued on 11 June 1977, without any reference to the legality or illegality of landholding, endorsed on-site slum upgrading as "an acceptable approach to meeting the housing need and the primary strategy in dealing with slums and other blighted communities."²⁸ Furthermore, relocation would be a secondary strategy. It might, however, be pointed out that current government policy, demonstrated by its "last campaign" launched July this year, to rid MM of squatters seems to have reverted to a "relocation only" strategy.²⁹

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38.

27. Keyes, "Case Study," p. 49.

28. Letter of Instruction No. 19-A: Illegal Constructions, Squatter Relocation, etc. Amendment to LOI No. 19, 1972; Presidential Decree No. 772: Penalizing Squatting and Other Similar Acts, 1975; LOI No. 555: Instituting A Nationwide Slum Improvement and Resettlement Program, 1977; LOI No. 557: Adoption of Slum Improvement as a National Housing Policy, 1977.

29. See Perla Q. Makil, "No Space in the City for the Country's Poor," *Witness* 2 (1982): 31-44.

RURAL STUDIES

Rural research has focused on rural development, with special emphasis on agrarian issues affecting lowland farming communities affecting landlords, tenants, lessees, and landless laborers. We shall now consider some of these works, beginning with a study of the Bacolod sugar industry in 1970 by the late anthropologist, Frank Lynch, S.J. The study was conducted at the request of the National Federation of Sugar Planters (NFSP) who with other concerned citizens had become disturbed about unfavorable observations concerning the social conditions in the sugar haciendas. The purpose of the research was to "survey human conditions in the sugar industry in Negros Occidental."³⁰ The goal was to identify problems and opportunities and the findings were to be used to produce recommendations for action to be implemented by the NFSP. Interviewed in the study were *hacenderos* (landowners) of various size farms (large, medium, and small), their *encargados* (caretakers), *cabos* (supervisors), *dumaans* (permanent workers), and *sacadas* (temporary workers).

Five major conclusions were evolved from the survey findings, two of which are relevant to this article. One, as a group, workers residing on sugarcane farms of Negros Occidental were among the most poorly educated in the country; temporary workers living nearby were only slightly better off. Two, as a group, Negros sugarcane workers reported diets that were seriously deficient in milk, protein-rich foods, and leafy and yellow vegetables.³¹

A smaller-scale study was conducted in an hacienda barrio in Nueva Ecija, Central Luzon. Fieldwork was done from January to February 1970 to gather data that would "shed light on the socio-economic structure" of the hacienda barrio. Structured interviews were conducted with household members, some selected barrio residents, members of the hacienda staff, and government officers in the area.

In assessing the implications of the employment of farm innovations, specially the introduction of high-yielding varieties (HYVs) of rice, the research noted some adverse aspects. Examples were the introduction of other innovations (costly technological pre-

30. Frank Lynch, S.J., *A Bittersweet Taste of Sugar. A Preliminary Report on the Sugar Industry in Negros Occidental* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila, 1970), p. 2.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

requisites for proper treatment and preparation such as the requirement of irrigation and drainage which was beyond the tenant farmers' capacity to implement) in order to maximize the production of the HYVs. These adverse conditions of modern farm practices severely affected the small-farm operators, who constituted the great majority of the barrio population, but were not so severely felt by those in large-farm groups or the full-time farmers operating superior land. The researcher concluded that the continued introduction of new rice varieties and farm practices in the barrio might promote the growing disparity between the tenant farmers. This is particularly true if the same local conditions, for instance, the inadequacy of irrigation and water, persist.³²

The shift from share tenancy to leasehold was a major objective of the Philippine agrarian reform law (Republic Act No. 3844, 1963) prior to P.D. No. 27 (1972).³³ A study conducted in San Miguel, Bulacan recorded, through participant observation, the problems faced by tenants who attempted to do as the law required. The study, conducted from March to April 1972, focused specifically on tenants' experiences as they worked within the legal framework, while comparing these with the workings of the traditional landlord-tenant relationships.³⁴

Retaliatory measures were taken by the landlords against tenants filing for leasehold, such as denial of privileges that were given prior to filing, such as credit, use of farm implements, and cutting bamboo or firewood within the farm; charging the tenant with theft if he tried on his own to convert nonrice hacienda land to riceland; physical intimidation and harrassment; moving the tenants' farm to another part of the hacienda, and the like. Beyond these, the landowners used the law as a weapon against the tenants. The following paragraph from the research report vividly illustrates how this has been done.

They are men of education, read English in which the law is written, can hire expensive lawyers, and are more familiar with court procedures

32. Hiromitsu Umehara, *A Hacienda Barrio in Central Luzon: Case Study of a Philippine Village*, I.D.E. Occasional Paper Series, No. 12 (Tokyo: Institute of Developing Economies, 1974), pp. 54-56.

33. Republic Act No. 3844: Agricultural Land Reform Code (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1963); Presidential Decree No. 27: Decreeing the Emancipation of Tenants from the Bondage of the Soil, Transferring to Them the Ownership of the Land They Till and Providing the Instruments and Mechanism thereof, 1972).

34. Brian Fegan, "Between the Lord and the Law: Tenants' Dilemmas," *Philippine*

and its manipulations. By laying a long series of even frivolous cases and appeals and gaining postponement everytime a case is called, some courts have managed to haul lessees into court up to six times a year for six years. At every appearance the tenant loses time from farm or job, must pay a lawyer, only to have the case postponed. If he fails to appear, he loses a case by abandonment; in a criminal case, he becomes a fugitive. Under the new law, cases must be settled within 60 days, and a land reform lawyer acts free for the tenants, but from past experience tenants fear the capacity of the owner to use the law against them.³⁵

Another problem encountered by tenants was in obtaining credit from the cooperatives or the rural banks established to help land reform implementation. Let me quote from the report again to illustrate this.

Farms needed many documents, identification photographs, and recommendations because government credit always offered an opportunity for frauds. The clerks were rude, treated farmers contemptuously, and kept them waiting. There were membership and document fees, some of them extorted bribes to speed up an application. Some farmers had to pay agents with contacts "inside" to have papers attended to. The whole process was time consuming, forcing farmers to be absent from paid jobs or urgent farm work. The money often did not come through at all, because the organization had collapsed, funds had been malversed, or funds approved by Congress had not been released. When they did come, it was often too late — farmers speak of not receiving credit for planting until harvest time . . . farmers who opted for leasehold . . . were forced back to share tenancy or had to abandon farming because government credit was not available or slow, and the landlord would not reextend credit to someone who defied him.³⁶

Some farmers preferred landlord credit, despite high interest, because it was reliable, simple, and fast.

A review of rural development strategies in the Philippines using secondary sources reported these findings.

1. The rural income distribution had become unequal — while in 1956, the share of the lowest 20 percent of rural families was 7 percent of total rural income, by 1971 it had declined to 4.4 percent. The same pattern occurred with the next two 20 percent groups but the share of the fourth 20 percent remain-

- ed stable. The beneficiaries of the income shift had been the fifth or top 20 percent whose share rose from 46.1 percent in 1956 to 51 percent in 1975.
2. The impressive portrait of the Philippines as an educated, if not overeducated, country was not borne out by the data reviewed.³⁷ The dropout rates in 1970 are revealing: out of one hundred enrolees in Grade 1, only fifty-six reach Grade 6, twenty-three reach high school, and twelve finish college. According to the same ILO Ranis report, the claim that the Philippines is a highly literate country refers mainly to Manila, Central Luzon, and Southern Tagalog.
 3. There was a marked decline in government expenditures on health (3.4 percent of total expenditures in 1974 compared to 6.0 percent in 1963). Health manpower problems compounded the sad health situation, in part explained by the brain drain and, in part, by the maldistribution of physicians and primary health care facilities. There was overconcentration of physicians in Region 4 (Southern Tagalog), particularly Metro Manila, which has a ratio of one physician to every 1,138 people. Contrast this to Western Mindanao (Region 9), with a ratio of one to 5,870 persons. Region 5 (Bicol), with 2,893 barrios has only ten Rural Health Units (RHU) or a ratio of one to 269 while Central Visayas (Region 7) has one RHU subcenter for every six barrios.
 4. Large disparities in infant mortality rates (IMR) surfaced: 91.2 in rural Mindanao; 88.4 in rural Cagayan Valley; in Metro Manila it was 51.2; and in Bicol, 45.5. The national rural IMR was 70.8 compared to 57.5 for the urban sector.³⁸

Another documentary study of Philippine rural anti-poverty programs traces government rural development programs from the time of the Magsaysay land reform plans in the fifties until those of the "New Society."³⁹ Secondary sources like research reports, government policies and circulars, memoranda, and annual reports issued by the Department of (now Ministry of) Agrarian Reform were used. These are some relevant findings:

37. Ranis, *Sharing in Development*, pp. 304-5.

38. J. Eliseo Rocamora and Corazon Conti-Panganiban, *Rural Development Strategies: The Philippine Case* (Q.C.: IPC, AdeMU, 1975), pp. 15-28.

39. Germelino Bautista, *Philippine Rural Anti-Poverty Programs: A Documentary Study* (Q.C.: IPC, AdeMU, 1978).

1. Government strategy has been growth oriented in that the programs' objectives were to raise employment levels, to improve productivity, and to align domestic economy with international distribution of labor and resources, in hopes of benefiting the rural poor.
2. The programs have been illusory for several reasons:
 - a. land redistribution can only be implemented (theoretically) over 8 percent of the 9.38 million hectares of total agricultural lands; and only 13 percent of the 3 million tenants are theoretically covered;
 - b. land redistribution has been hampered by other defects, such as the inability of tenants to meet amortization requirements, incapacity of the Samahang Nayon to absorb members' defaults in payments; landowner opposition, and an ineffective cooperative program;
 - c. government farmer organizations have not served farmer needs but have become tools to foster modern technology and achieve productivity goals;
 - d. the subsidized credit program failed because access was generally given to better-off farmers; and the rural banks gained enormous profits;
 - e. credit incentives to small farmers were insignificant compared to those given to private corporate farms and local/foreign business firms who produced for export.⁴⁰

Landless workers are admittedly the most disadvantaged among agricultural workers. They are those who engage in agriculture without any ownership rights whatsoever. While they may have access to the land for eventual ownership, this access is virtually nullified because they lack the substantial and formal requirements for full ownership. The 1971 figures showed that 30 percent of the total farm operators were landless; in 1975, there were 48 percent of them in the total work force, a third of whom were women. They predominated in rice and corn areas and earned less than the national average by about P2.00. They suffered from high IMR, did not have access to medical personnel nor to other facilities like credit, electricity, and water.⁴¹

40. Ibid., pp. 91-94.

41. Lorna Peña-Reyes, Makil and Patria N. Fermin, *Landless Rural Workers in the Philippines: A Documentary Survey* (Q.C.: IPC, AdeMU, 1978), pp. 98-103.

Ledesma supplements the definition of landless workers. "They are landless — they neither own nor have tenants' rights to the land; they are rural — they live in the countryside and are dependent mostly on rural form of employment, particularly farm work; and they are workers — they sell their labor to others, together with the labor of their family, as their principal source of income."⁴² He makes other observations about landless workers such as: (1) they are the worst off among other farmer groups in terms of household economy and socioeconomic indicators; (2) new rice technology is beginning to limit their employment and income opportunities; (3) those in rice-growing villages are not benefited directly, but in fact are affected adversely, by the agrarian reform program; (4) they perceive themselves as being at the bottom of the ladder. The land-to-the-tiller policy of the current agrarian policy is seen as working against the landless workers because while it benefits owner-cultivators, it bypasses the landless worker who actually tills the land. They thus become more dependent on tenant-farmers for employment opportunities, have few alternatives in much the same way as the share-tenants who have become dependent on their landlords.⁴³

An historical documentation and integration of research done on landless workers summarizes the factors which helped heighten inequality. Landlessness was a major factor, but so were the requirements for innovative farming, restricted access to cheap government credit, and very limited capital for farm investment in the face of rising input costs. Small farmers thus get low yields, therefore low incomes, and "the downward spiral continues until, pauperized, they are found to give up their land."⁴⁴

The rural studies we have reviewed were those conducted in the lowland Philippines. More recently, research interests have begun to be directed toward the upland sector of the Philippines. While this research will not be discussed at any length, it suffices to call attention to some of these works.

In cooperation with the Bureau of Forest Development (BFD)

42. Antonio J. Ledesma, S.J., *Landless Workers and Rice Farmers: Peasant Subclasses under Agrarian Reform in Two Philippine Villages* (Los Baños, Laguna: International Rice Research Institute, 1982), pp. 180-81.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 183.

44. Filomeno V. Aguilar, Jr., *Landlessness and Hired Labor in Philippine Rice Farmers*, Monograph 14 (Wales: Center for Development Studies, Univeristy College of Swansea, 1981), pp. 13-29.

and the Ford Foundation (FF), the Institute of Philippine Culture (IPC), Ateneo de Manila University, and the Integrated Research Center (IRC), De La Salle University, have conducted nine case studies of reforestation programs designed to benefit the people, specifically the low-income groups, in the areas covered by these programs. Results of these studies are in the form of various reports which recount the benefits derived by the intended beneficiaries of these programs.⁴⁵ In addition, a research report on forestry policies was also prepared by IPC. It highlights policy provisions (from Spanish-promulgated codes to the present Philippine forestry code) that work unfavorably against the poor forest occupants (kaingineros, tribal groups, landless farmers), posits explanations for these, and makes recommendations for policy improvement.⁴⁶

This trend towards upland research is expected to continue in importance during this decade.

This portion of our review concludes with explanations of inequality discussed by Kerkvliet, based on his research in Central Luzon in 1978-79. In this research, he asked people's opinions on the question "why are some people rich while most others are poor?" Three explanations surfaced, namely, luck, the poor themselves, and the rich, elaborated as follows.

Luck. Luck seemed inexplicable as these responses show: "Some people eventually move up . . . most of us are not so lucky, so we stay poor." Some attribute it to God or quote the Bible. Most villages, however, say it comes from society and the people.

The poor. This explanation points to family size as a factor contributing to poverty, although there are those who disagree and defend having many children by citing benefits derived from it (for example, in case some die, some are left; they bring joy; or they are sources of old age support).

Vices (gambling, drinking, women and foolish spending) are additional reasons. Poor people especially cannot afford these things.

45. See Filomeno V. Aguilar, Jr., *Social Forestry for Upland Development: Lessons from Four Case Studies* (Q.C.: IPC, AdeMU, 1982) for the IPC case studies, and for the IRC studies, see Benjamin C. Bernales and Angelito P. de la Vega, *Case Studies of Selected Forest Development Programs*, 5 vols. (Manila: Integrated Research Center, De La Salle University, 1982).

46. Makil, "No Space in the City for the Country's Poor."

The rich. Some people become rich at the expense of the poor — they charge high interests on loans, take the farmer's land away if he is unable to pay, or take advantage of the farmer's illiteracy.

But the wealthy are the least blamed for inequality. The poor aspire to be like the rich and often look down on those who are worse off than they are. These attitudes prevent the poor villagers from a universal condemnation of the rich, and from a solidarity with the others who are also poor.⁴⁷

POPULATION STUDIES

The burgeoning population was a social issue of continuing concern among Philippine researchers in the last decade. The general direction of earlier research was toward studies which determined the levels of knowledge, attitudes, and practices (KAP) of family planning (FP) methods and the variables affecting these KAP levels.⁴⁸ Of interest are three follow-up studies of the BRAC 1967 family survey.⁴⁹ These studies tried to determine changes in KAP since 1967.⁵⁰ They showed that in terms of awareness of and a favorable attitude toward family planning, tremendous gains were achieved. Greater knowledge about the various techniques and a more open discussion about them were observed. However, this was not the case with respect to FP practice. Results from these same studies showed that practice lagged far behind awareness and approval. The reported steady increase of practitioners from 1970 to 1973 did not match the number of those with increased knowledge and approval.

The continuation rates of family planning acceptors was the interest of the National Acceptor Survey conducted January-March

47. Benedict J. Kerkvliet, "Classes and Class Relations in a Philippine Village," *Philippine Sociological Review* 28 (1980): 43-45.

48. See for instance Wilfredo F. Arce and Aurora S. Go, *Family Planning in Tondo: Housewives, Husbands, and Clinics* (Q.C.: IPC, AdeMU, 1972); Aurora S. Go and Frank Lynch, S.J., *IPC/POPCOM 1971 Mass Media Study* (Q.C.: IPC, AdeMU, 1971); Jesus Dizon and Virginia A. Miralao, *The Hilot in Oriental Mindoro* (Q.C.: IPC, AdeMU, 1973); and Moises S. Diaz, *Factory Workers Acceptance-Rejection of Vasectomy as a Function of Certain Social Characteristics* (Q.C.: IPC, AdeMU, 1974).

49. Frank Lynch, S.J. and Perla Makil, "The BRAC 1967 Filipino Family Survey," *St. Louis Quarterly* 6 (1968).

50. Frank Lynch, S.J. and Perla Q. Makil, *IPC/POMCH 1970 National Survey* (Q.C.: IPC, AdeMU, 1970); and Virginia A. Miralao, *An Evaluation of DSW Family Planning Services* (Q.C.: IPC, AdeMU, 1973).

1972.⁵¹ This study wanted to determine the effectiveness of using family planning practices, the reasons for discontinuing family planning practice, and the likelihood of failure among family planning users following acceptance. The data showed that IUD acceptors had the highest continuation and lowest pregnancy rates while rhythm acceptors showed exactly the opposite trend. Pill acceptors fell between the two extremes. Reasons given for discontinuing family planning methods were side effects, other medical reasons, and accidental pregnancy.

A subsequent comparative analysis of data from 1968 and 1973 National Demographic Surveys indicated that the population program had accomplished less than one-third of the Commission on Population's target of reducing the crude birth rate (CBR) by 17 percent by 1977. If the goal was to be achieved, considerable improvement in program performance was needed, for instance, by the introduction of new approaches to reach couples who had not been motivated to accept family planning.⁵²

Births and deaths were of interest in the dual-record project of the Mindanao Center for Population Studies (MCPS) during the period September 1971 through June 1973. Five rounds of surveys were conducted during this period, four of which were analyzed. The first two covered a sample population of about forty-nine thousand persons in thirty barrios, while the last two were based on cluster subsamples of the respondent population. Methodologically, the MCPS experience showed that, for various reasons, respondents were reluctant to speak of household deaths when interviewed.⁵³ Data from the four surveys showed that urban birth, but not death, rates declined between September 1971 and June 1973. Rural birth rates did not decline, although rural mortality did show a slight downward trend during the period covered by surveys 1-3 with an accelerated drop during survey period 4. No real decline in infant mortality occurred during the twenty-two months of the MCPS, with urban infant mortality fluctuating more than the rural rate.⁵⁴

51. John E. Laing, "Use and Effectiveness of Family Planning in the Philippines," *Philippine Sociological Review* 21 (1973): 137-51.

52. John E. Laing and James F. Phillips, "Survey Findings on Family Planning Program Effects in the Philippines, 1968-73," *Philippine Sociological Review* 23 (1975): 98.

53. Francis C. Madigan, S.J., et al., "Twenty-two Months of Vital Rate Coverage by a Dual System in Northern Mindanao," *Philippine Sociological Review* 23 (1975): 77.

54. *Ibid.*, pp. 78-80.

The impact of education on fertility reduction was examined in the Seven Provinces Survey conducted in 1977. A total of 2,027 married women aged thirty years and over, were interviewed in Misamis Oriental and Southern Leyte. It was found that there was a clear and consistent inverse relationship between fertility and education, i.e., the higher the educational level, the lower the fertility. The data also showed a consistent decline in fertility with each increment in education, whether those interviewed were from the rural or urban area. However, marked declines in fertility at the points of completing elementary, high school, and college levels, were more characteristic of urban than rural areas.⁵⁵

The study of Natividad Martinez-Esquillo inquired into the implementation of the Cooperative Research Program (CRP) of the Population Center Foundation.⁵⁶ The CRP was created to improve the utilization of population research by family planning action agencies. The research report presents very practical problems incurred when agencies involved in the same program "collaborate" in their work. It also points up the importance of consultations between the makers and implementors of policies because project implementation can be seriously hampered by field conditions, usually known to the implementor but not to the planner. The report also shows how implementation problems encountered in the CRP could have been avoided as early as the planning stage had there been consultations between the planners (who are usually from Manila) and the implementors in the field (who are usually from the provinces).

WOMEN STUDIES

The status of women in Philippine society and the problems related to it have been of pronounced concern during the past decade. Inquiries into women's roles and statuses have been prevalent, some indicating hierarchical arrangements based on sex in the execution of these roles and statuses.

For instance, studies on the status of women under Philippine

55. Alfonso C. del Fierro, Jr., "Education and Fertility in the Philippines," *Philippine Sociological Review* 28 (1980): 19-29.

56. Natividad Martinez-Esquillo, *The View From the Field: Research Report on the Implementation of the Cooperative Research Program (CRP) Family Planning Project* (Q.C.: IPC, AdeMU, 1980).

law have pinpointed areas where sex-based discrepancies in privileges and options occur. The oft-cited example of legal separation, where the wife has the greater burden of proof than her husband in the presentation of evidence, is one such instance. Other examples are the husband's prerogative of choosing the family residence and his "veto power" over a wife's decision to seek employment outside the home.⁵⁷

Other manifestations of sex-based discrepancies are discerned in the Women in Development (WID) project conducted by the IPC, collaborating in part with other researchers, since 1978 to date. Research findings showed women to generally bear the brunt of housework. Pilot study results indicated that husbands spent only about one-third as much time as their wives in house tasks. The double-dose of responsibilities, shown in earlier research, was also demonstrated.⁵⁸ While both husband and wife participated in market activities, the larger share of the working wives in housework resulted in grossly unequal conditions.⁵⁹

Special studies undertaken under the IPC WID research are notable in that they are illustrative of some problems based on sex distinctions.

Aganon and Aganon (1979) studied men and women managers in women-dominated MM establishments.⁶⁰ They found that, in general, no disparities in working conditions existed among men and women workers. However, discrepancies occurred at the supervisory level. For example, women supervisors did not have direct participation in decisions concerning the promotion, discipline and firing of workers; setting wages and fringe benefits; organization and scheduling of work; company plans and programs; and other financial issues. Their role was largely consultative, specially in providing data needed (by the men) for decision-making.

57. See Irene Cortes, "Status of Women," in *Law and Population in the Philippines: A Country Monograph* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Law Center, 1975), pp. 86-89.

58. See Madeleine A. Sembrano and Cynthia C. Veneracion, *The Textile Industry and Its Women Workers: The Philippine Study* (Q.C.: IPC, AdeMU, 1979); and Patricia B. Licuanan and Anna Miren Gonzalez, *Filipino Women in Development* (Q.C.: IPC, AdeMU, 1976).

59. Virginia A. Miralao, *Women and Men in Development: Findings from a Pilot Study* (Q.C.: IPC, AdeMU, 1980).

60. Virgilio C. Aganon and Marie E. Aganon, *A Study of Women Workers in Women-Dominated Manufacturing Establishments in Metro Manila* (Q.C.: Asian Labor Center, University of the Philippines, 1979).

Investigating pre- and post-marital labor force participation of migrant women in southern Mindanao communities, Hackenberg, Lutes, and Angeles found most women to be unemployed, i.e., they were confined to household tasks, and were underrepresented in or absent from administrative and executive positions; they outnumbered men in small-scale sales and teaching; their participation in commercial sales, while equivalent to or higher than men, was generally as occupants of low-paying positions; and women earned less than men in certain occupations.⁶¹

APPROACHES TO SOCIAL PROBLEMS

An important dimension in social-problems research concerns the examination of ways by which the poor might exercise greater control over the solution of their problems. In designing the criteria for social soundness in assistance programs, specifically in the development of the Bicol River Basin, Lynch and his associates in the Social Survey Research Unit (SSRU) of the Ateneo de Naga, advocated the following as important criteria if a program is to be socially sound. The program should be (1) designed *for the poor*; (2) in response to needs emanating *from the poor*; (3) delivering benefits *through the poor*; and (4) in fact, bringing benefits *to the poor*.⁶² Participation by the people in the planning, execution, and of benefits derived were thus essential elements in determining the social soundness of a program.

Earlier, Hollnsteiner had advocated the importance of community participation, through minority or majority representation in policy-making boards, in the formulation of the kinds of human settlements the people would be made to occupy. This approach proceeds from the view that poverty is "a product of social and economic systems that remain intact precisely because of the 'powerlessness of the poor and the dominance of the wealthy power holders'." For it is only when the poor acquire political power that they can "negotiate as peers with their wealthy coun-

61. Beverly H. Hackenberg, Steven V. Lutes, and Teresita N. Angeles, *Social Indicators and Premarital and Post-marital Labor Force Participation Among Women in Southern Mindanao* (Davao City: Davao Research Center and Planning Foundation, 1979).

62. Frank Lynch, S.J., Jeanne F. I. Illo, and Jose Barrameda, Jr., *Let My People Lead* (Q.C.: IPC, AdeMU, 1976), pp. 3-4.

terparts and themselves change community policies inimical to their state."⁶³

Community organization is another strategy that has been documented in case studies. This process of people mobilization with the help of community organizers was employed in a community in the southern Philippines, renamed Kagawasan for purposes of the research. Briefly, the problem involved the ejection of the people from the land they had been occupying for twenty years at the time the ejection proceedings began. Through the help of their parish priest, community organizers who were brought into the community by him, and a lawyer, the people were able to organize themselves, first, by discussing their problem in group meetings until they finally decided to take action on it by confronting the government officials involved. Through community organization, the people successfully averted being evicted from their land.⁶⁴

Examining the use of law and legal resources as a strategy of enabling people to deal more effectively with their problems is an emerging area of important research. In the Kagawasan case, for instance, the role of the lawyer is noteworthy because he did not see it as limited simply to defending his clients in court. Beyond this, he conducted a legal-awareness campaign through seminars to explain the nature of the law and the people's rights under the law. He gave practical instructions about what the people should do when confronted with real-life situations. While he taught the people to act within the law, he also tried to create what he called a "healthy irreverence" for procedural law and authority, that is, the ability and willingness to question law and authority.

A case study of workers in a mining company shows how the workers, with the help of lawyers and nuns, dealt with legal restrictions in the presentation of their demands for better wages and living conditions. Employing what is called "metalegal" tactics, that is, those neither expressly allowed nor prohibited by law, for example, demonstrations, protest marches, mass prayers, and the like, the workers were able to obtain a court decision in their favor.⁶⁵

63. Mary Racelis-Hollnsteiner, "People Power: Community Participation in the Planning and Implementation of Human Settlements," *Philippine Studies* 24 (1976): 15-18.

64. Benjamin Bagadion, Jr., et al., *Law in the Mobilization and Participatory Organization of the Rural Poor: The Kagawasan Case* (Q.C.: IPC, AdeMU, 1979).

65. Pablito V. Sanidad, "Case Study on a Continuing Struggle for Decent Wages and

CONCLUSION

Having come to the end of a rather lengthy review of social-problems research in the Philippines, the next step is to ask "so what?" Where do we go from here? We have had glimpses, clearer in some cases than others, of the problems facing the various segments of society. What can we do about them? How do we make use of these research results in attempting solutions to these problems?

Coming as we do from various cultural backgrounds, the answers do not come easy. Nevertheless, it may be possible to take common experiences, examine them carefully, and then try to map out applicable strategies to respond to these experiences. Section IV of this article suggests a number of strategies that may be pursued. It is expected, of course, that the nature of each strategy would have to be tailored in the context of conditions prevailing in one's own country or, in the broader context of the region, whichever is the area of application. Certainly, a program of popularizing the law, for instance, designed to help the poor of the land, is expected to vary from place to place. Yet, the purpose would be similar, that is, to enhance the poor people's capabilities in the exercise of their legal rights. From the foregoing review, it would seem that this activity would be one way to utilize the research results of this article.

Popularizing the law may be done in varied ways. One way is exemplified by the lawyer in the Kagawasan study — through a legal-awareness campaign. Another is through training seminars for paralegals whereby simple legal skills, for instance, how to read a contract, how to accomplish documents and file them in the proper offices, what to do in the face of a threat of demolition, and the like, may be transmitted. The aim would be to lessen the overdependency of people on lawyers in dealing with their problems, at least, with respect to the simpler skills. As in the case of paramedics, these paralegals would be able to apply the initial aid prior to the entry of higher-level expert help. Other skills (non-legal) may also be transferred during these training seminars, for example, how to organize, write letters to public officials, or use

other forms of public services, such as the media, to air their problems.

Popularizing the law could also be done through the educational system, as is now being planned at the University of the Philippines Law Center. Part of their popularizing the law (Pop-law) program, which started in 1977, includes teaching high school children a basic understanding of their legal rights and responsibilities so that they can begin, at an early stage, at least to be aware of these.⁶⁶

In the same manner that law can be popularized, so can research results in general. Traditionally, information gathered through research activities is generally accessible only to those who read scholarly journals or are able to attend conferences. Worse, some research results are never read at all, even if they may adorn many an elegant book shelf. We can circularize these results through the popular media, restating them in simpler language, perhaps even translating them into the local language. The IPC has done this with some of its research, such as publishing simple summaries of research results in popular local magazines. More significantly, it has published at least one of its studies in comics form and in three languages besides: Cebuano, the language of the research community, of which copies were given to the community; Tagalog, for wider local distribution; and English, for international circulation. The important accomplishment of this activity was not simply in the presentation of the research in simple and popular form. What was more significant was that the research results were "returned" to the data source in a form that could be easily understood.

These are but a few suggestions, which may help in the continuing process of discerning ways of using the research results.

Before closing, I would like to briefly comment on the role of funding agencies in research that was touched upon in passing at the beginning of this article. When it was mentioned that both social scientists *and* funding agencies are interested in social-problems research (or for that matter, research in general), there was the implication that research interests of social scientists are, more often than not, largely determined or defined by the interests of

66. For a fuller explanation of the program, see Purificacion V. Quisumbing, "Popularizing the Law (POPLAW): A Program of the U.P. Law Center," *ASEAN Law Journal* 1 (1982): 105-14.

the funding agencies. This is particularly true of academic researchers (individuals or institutions) who need funds to stay in the research community. In other words, we often must "pound the sidewalks" to survive, to quote a sympathetic representative of a major funding agency as he commented on the realities faced by academic researchers.

This being the case, the direction of academic research is shaped not so much by the researchers' own priorities (assuming that they have some) but rather by those of the market, which, in turn, are dictated by the funding sources. Fortunately for some, they are sometimes able to respond to these demands in such a way that the research is still tailored to their own priorities. But this may not always be the case. Thus, we find a number of research works that have no bearing at all on either important theoretical concerns or social realities. This is not to suggest, of course, that the concerns of researchers and funding agencies never coincide. They often do. The important point, however, is that because of the constraints of funding faced by research practitioners, the freedom to choose one's own research priorities is consequently limited.