The Peasantry as a Class in the Philippine Context

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This paper attempts to use a modified definition of the peasantry based on (1) a non-traditional reconfiguration of the concept based on a more flexible and less rigid definition of the category, and (2) field data from three rural villages in the Central Luzon region in the Philippines. This more nuanced definition is the result of an interrogation of the various interpretations of class among scholars and thinkers from various Left traditions with respect to the agrarian sector in general and the peasantry in particular. The proposed configuration of the peasantry as a class covers not just the relationship to the means of production but also taking into account the political, social, and cultural aspects of intra-class and inter-class relationships in agrarian societies. The paper then proceeds to apply the redefinition of the peasant class within the context of the field research area's socio-historical narrative.

THE NATURE OF PEASANT SOCIETY

Scholarly work on peasant societies is generally divided into two major traditions: the "essentialists" and the "non-essentialists." The "essentialist" school is represented by the works of Alexander V. Chayanov who (in 1925) developed "a theory of peasant behavior at the level of the individual family farm" that gives rise to an economy "with its own growth dynamic and economic system" and driven by subsistence needs rather than by profit (Kerblay, 1987, p. 177; Bryceson, 2000, p. 11). His approach was to claim for the peasant economy

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the characteristics of "a general (and generic) 'type,' akin to a mode of production (MOP) …," the core elements of which "produce (or express) a distinctive *internal* logic or dynamic, whether cultural, sociological, economic, or in some combination" (Bernstein & Byres, 2001, p. 2).

The concept of mode of production (MOP) can be taken in a strict socio-economic sense, i.e., to denote "a particular set of social relations between the direct producers and a class of non-producers who appropriate the surplus product, and the basis on which the surplus is extracted"(Alavi, 1987, p. 186) or a more inclusive one, i.e., "all social relations which include political, ideological, as well as economic relations" (Fine & Harris, 1979, pp. 12-13). This paper adopts the latter more inclusive definition of mode of production.

Non-essentialists deny the concept of a specific peasant mode of production pointing out that peasants actually constitute a class or a fraction of a class that can be found in both pre-capitalist and capitalist modes of production.[2] For orthodox Marxists, the peasant economy is "a form of incipient capitalism, represented by petty commodity production" (Kerblay, 1987, p. 177).

For the essentialists, peasant society, as a distinct and relatively stable socio-economic system that has persisted throughout human history, consists of the following interdependent and mutually reinforcing facets:[3]

a. family-based labor; production for basic needs (use value) and not for profit (exchange value), but not entirely isolated because of involvement in markers for goods and labor;
b. simple divisions of labor and low specialization;
c. kinship social organizational patterns (reciprocity);
d. self-sufficiency and capacity to reproduce itself;
e. the feeling of community in relation to external forces appropriating the farm surplus product and exercising political hegemony over it; and,
f. distinct cultural norms, cognitions, practices (world view), and experiences that breed an "us" vs. "them" cultural divide.

To the above characterizations, one can superimpose the MOP concept, but used in an all-inclusive sense. Marx after all often referred to a "peasant mode of production" (Marx, 1969, p. 478) but did not give a precise and exclusive definition

of the MOP concept using it to refer to either "the manner of material production, to the broad organization of society; as a concrete historical object (or) as an abstract model (De Janvry, 1981, p. 96).

For Fine and Harris (1979, pp. 12-13) Marx's use of the MOP in an all-embracing sense, i.e., as the "broad organization of society," is what is most useful. For this paper, the use of the MOP concept in this manner enables one to (1) partially refute the charge of "economic determinism" that is often leveled at Marx and his followers, (2) bring the notion to bear on a generally essentialist view of the peasantry, and, (3) enable one to ascribe to peasant society a specific and unique mode of production.

Also, this usage is flexible enough to allow the use of non-essentialist alternative approaches for analyzing peasant society, e.g., tendencies to peasant differentiation," and "linkages of peasant production and wage labour, … and its implications for peasant class formation and location in social divisions of labour" (Bernstein & Byres, 2001, p. 8).

The existence of peasants in various social formations throughout human history can be accounted for by the concept of "articulation and coexistence of modes of production" which is defined as the relationship between a capitalist economy on the one hand and productive units organized along pre capitalist relations on the other (Wolpe, 1980, p. 41). This is particularly relevant in developing societies where the colonial experience superimposed capitalist modes on basically non-capitalist societies but with shifting dominant roles.

PEASANTRY AS A CLASS

A similar all-inclusive standpoint is taken with respect to the concept of the peasantry as a "class." Contending that "Marx did not see class in the mechanical way that many Marxists do," Roseberry (1983, pp. 74-75) pleads for a broader inclusive notion of class to cover not just production relations but also "the formation of a feeling of community" the latter being considered as "basic to Marx's definition of class."

Chayanov contrasted peasants "with proletarians on one hand (and) market-oriented and entrepreneurial 'farmers' on the other" (Bernstein & Byres, 2001, p. 10). Relations with external groups such as landlords, large capitalist farms,

merchants, the state and urban forces are marked by "subordination and exploitation." But these relations lie outside the sphere of the essence of peasant society.

For Hobsbawm (1998, pp. 198-199), the peasantry, in a historical sense, is not just a class "in itself" but also exhibits the traits of a class "for itself" having formed the greater part of humanity for the greater part of history and who were "aware of their distinction from, and… oppression by, the minorities of non-peasants, whom they did not like or trust."

"Class" can also be taken in a political sense as when peasants, during crisis situations, are driven to struggle against "capitalist landowners, various groups of capital-related townsmen, and the state" no matter that these are often characterized by "inescapable fragmentation … into small local segments" and "diversity and vagueness of political aims" (Shanin, 1987b, p. 357). For Roseberry (1983), a historical analysis would show that multiple roles and various economic activities (other than farm work) have long characterized peasant societies and that the totality of these functions is what makes for a peasant class.

In our typology of the "peasantry" as a class, the term can now be used to refer to small and medium-sized rural producers who are either share tenants, leaseholders, owner-cultivators, or any other similar type as well as to rural wage workers or rural semi-proletariat who either still maintain their smallholdings or their ties (kinship or otherwise) with small scale rural production units or a rural community in general.

AGRARIAN CHANGE AND THE "DISAPPEARING PEASANTRY"

The classical Marxist notion of rural change derives from the view that when capitalism is on the ascendancy, it sweeps aside all previous modes of production and transforms them into the new mode. In agriculture, this change may take the form of two complementary stages: (1) the separation (forcible or otherwise) of the smallholding peasant from the means of production (land) and their transformation into either a rural or urban wage-earning class (proletariat)[4] and/or, (2) along with (1), the concentration of land in the hands of large capitalist farms utilizing wage labour and advanced machinery where production is purely for profit; thus replacing the small household-run farms.[5] The following passages illustrate these transformations:

> Just as the capitalist mode of production in general is based on the expropriation of the conditions of labour from the labourers, so does it in agriculture presuppose the expropriation of the rural labourers from the land and their subordination to the capitalist, who carries on agriculture for the sake of profit (Marx 1967b:614-615).
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> … the historical movement which changes the producers into wage-workers appears, on the one hand, as their emancipation from serfdom and from the fetters of the guilds … But on the other hand, these new freedmen became sellers of themselves only after they had been robbed of all their means of production and of all the guarantees of existence afforded by the old feudal arrangements. And the history of this, their expropriation, is written in the annals of mankind in letters of blood and fire. … The expropriation of the agricultural producer, of the peasant, from the soil, is the basis of the whole process. The history of this expropriation, assumes different aspects in different orders of succession, and at different periods (Marx 1967a:715-716).

Lenin (1956:68) echoed Marx's analysis on "the separation of the direct producer from the means of production" as signifying "the transition from simple commodity production to capitalist production." He looked at the process of rural transformation in a backward and largely underdeveloped Russian agrarian society in the last decade of the 19th century and pointed out that "peasant differentiation" had taken place thus dividing the peasantry into three types: the rich well-to-do peasants, the middle peasants, and the poor peasants (Lenin 1956, pp. 71-192). The rich peasants become a rural capitalist class while the poor peasants are transformed into a wage-working rural proletariat. As for the middle peasantry a great majority of them will end up among the ranks of the rural proletariat and only a few will become part of the rural bourgeoisie. Lenin calls this whole process, "depeasantisation," which result in "the dissolution of the old patriarchal peasantry" (Lenin 1956, p. 177). [6]

Departing significantly from classical Marxist notions of agrarian change, Karl Kautsky, as cited by by Alavi (1987, p. 192), sees the development of a symbiotic and complementary relationship between family farms and large capitalist holdings with the former providing the latter with a supply of cheap labor which enables the big farms to maximize profit as labor reproduction is borne entirely by the peasant household. Thus the rise of large capitalist farms and their domination over small peasant farms does not cause the dissolution of

the latter. Lacking enough land to sustain themselves, peasant households are forced to sell their labour but are not dispossessed of the means of production (Hussain & Tribe, 1981, p. 107). Despite Kautsky's faith in the efficiency of large farms, he acknowledged that "there is no tendency for them to replace the small farms."

From Kautsky's analysis, one may conclude that the peasantry may not disappear at all given that in the interactions with external forces, the "various forms of appropriation" are all "*external* to the inner essence of peasant existence, which can thus not only survive … but subsequently, and consequently, flourish" (Bernstein & Byres, 2000, p. 7). In Southeast Asia, persistence of the family farm has been a feature of rural change and this phenomenon is sustained precisely by "the involvement of farm families in non-farm industrial activities" (Rigg, 2000, p. 17).

Even in conditions where the majority of rural labour is now wage-earning and landless, many still "retain their quality of peasants" by virtue of their "ties with the peasant form of existence of their rural communities" (Harris, 1978, p. 8). The maintenance of these ties enables many rural inhabitants to straddle the line between the self-sufficient smallholder and the rural proletariat. This can be interpreted as a form of "resistance against capitalist penetration" and "being totally dependent upon wage earnings for their subsistence" given the precarious conditions of wage labor - job insecurity, low wages, seasonal labor demand, and the constant threat of unemployment.

In the Philippines, "many of the wage-earning proletariat retain access to land through family ties or through sharecropping and tenant farming" (Banzon-Bautista, 1984, p. 174). This is true even of the labor sector that is considered the most "proletarianized" in the country – the migrant sugar workers of Negros province who, between their seasonal work in sugar *haciendas* or a slump in sugar production, cultivate subsistence plots in marginal lands around the plantation or are subsidized by their farming families back home. Larkin (2001, pp. 175-176) describes an entire peasant household in the 1920s "conscripted" to provide labor for a Philippine sugar plantation who have at their disposal "a bit of land" and sometimes farm animals and where division of labor is according to age and gender. Understandably, the ranks of the peasantry have not produced capitalist farmers "despite the development of an agricultural labor market … and of capitalist farmers in some areas" (Banzon-Bautista, 1984, p. 178).

At this point, it is necessary to introduce two sets of concepts that do not belong to the tradition of Marxist thought but which could complement the above discussion and strengthen the view of a distinct peasant mode of production. These are: (1) the twin concepts of peasant moral economy and subsistence ethic and (2) everyday forms of peasant resistance and everyday politics.

THE PEASANT MORAL ECONOMY AND THE SUBSISTENCE ETHIC

In pre-modern, pre-capitalist, or non-capitalist societies, the notion of a peasant moral economy based on the subsistence ethic arose out of poor cultivators "living so close to the margin" and having a consequent fear of food shortages (Scott, 1976, pp. 4-12). The peasant family's main concern was to meet the daily household needs as well as the claims of elites and the state.

This peasant world view also comprised (1) the "notion of economic justice" which included "patterns of reciprocity, forced generosity and communal land and work sharing (to) assure every community member access to resources to perform obligations to the community …" (Moore, 1966, p. 97; Scott, 1976, p. 3); (2) a working definition of exploitation, i.e., "which claims on their product was tolerable and which intolerable"; (3) application of the "safety first" or "risk avoidance" principle in farm production where the principal test is 'What is left?' rather than 'What is taken?'

The social pressures attendant to the moral economy applied to relatively well-off community residents and to relations with "outside elites." Any violation of these concepts of social equity and justice "could be expected to provoke resentment and resistance – not only because needs were unmet, but because rights were violated." Some peasant rebellions have been traced to such transgressions.

In peasant societies where capitalist inroads have been made, poor villagers' demands are not limited to subsistence needs but also involve "a set of cultural decencies that serve to define what full citizenship in that local society means" (Scott, 1985, pp. 236-237). Dignity, respect, and "a fully human existence" are essential themes, the fulfillment of which requires access to "a certain level of material resources" (Scott, 1985, pp. 236-237; Kerkvliet, 1991, p. 17-18).

EVERYDAY FORMS OF PEASANT RESISTANCE AND EVERYDAY POLITICS

Looking at the history of peasant societies from the ground uncovers forms of resistance that are part of the day-to-day struggles of the peasantry against external impositions. Distinct from outward forms such as rebellions and revolutions, "everyday forms of peasant resistance" are "passive, spontaneous, and stop short of collective outright defiance." They include "foot dragging, dissimulation, desertion, evasion, flight, false or passive compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, slander, arson, subtle sabotage, squatting and encroachment, and so on" (Scott, 1985, pp. 28-37)

As authentic peasant rebellions are rare occurences that often end in defeat and violent repression or if successful, offer mixed blessings for the peasantry, Scott deems it more important to understand "the prosaic but constant struggle between the peasantry and those who seek to extract labor, food, taxes, rents, and interest from them."

Also called "weapons of the weak," these actions "rely on individual actions and are aimed more at self-help than in achieving reforms." They are thus "informal, often covert, and concerned largely with immediate, de-facto gains" although they may at times be informally guided by "networks of understanding and practice." In typical peasant fashion they "avoid any direct symbolic confrontation with authority or with elite norms" and thus are an option that can be "safely" undertaken. The intensity and level of resistance are often calculated to minimize risk and retaliation and in some instances, the immediate appropriators are not directly confronted. Scott avers that these "guerrilla" techniques of resistance are well suited to the peasantry due to their "diversity and low-classness, their dispersed locations, undisciplined nature, and lack of leadership."

There is however a link between certain everyday forms of resistance and open rebellion. The most ardent supporters of rebellions were often those who had earlier abandoned the center and withdrawn to the periphery of mainly mountainous areas – the classic flight syndrome as a mode of everyday resistance (Ileto, 1998, pp. 110-113).

Forms of everyday resistance also carry us into the realm of "everyday politics" or "politics in everyday life" (Kerkvliet, 1991, p. 11). This entails looking

at politics as it pervades the daily lives of people as they come together and interact "in different class and status positions." Kerkvliet defines the politics of everyday life as consisting of "the conflicts, decisions, and cooperation among individuals, groups, and organizations regarding the control, allocation, and use of resources and the values and ideas underlying those activities" (Kerkvliet 1991, p. 14). In the context of rural inequalities, Kerkvliet adds, everyday politics depict how "people try make claims on each other and on a range of resources according to their relationships to those superordinate or subordinate to themselves and in terms of their interests and values."

THE STUDY AREA

The three villages (*barangays*) of San Vicente and Santo Niño in Bamban, Tarlac and Calumpang in Mabalacat, Pampanga are located amidst rolling hills and mountains in the Central Luzon region in the Philippines. Collectively known as Sacobia (after a major river that runs south of the area) its history was tracked by this study from its beginnings as a settled peasant community in the late 1940s to the early 1990s.

The research for this study was divided into two phases separated by time.[7] The first phase was the research planning and field work conducted in 1990-

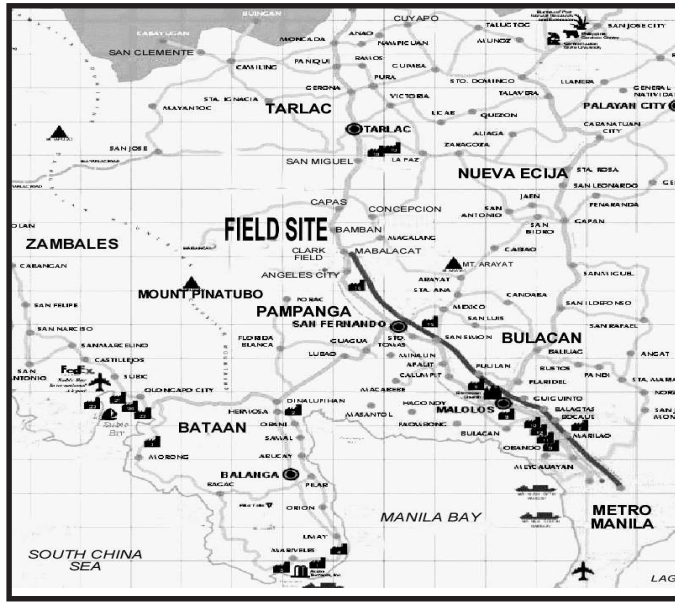

Figure 1: The Study Area

1991. The second phase was the reconceptualization of the original research in 2002 and the subsequent return to the field site to conduct more interviews. Field studies were conducted intermittently from February 2003 to September 2004 as part of my PhD dissertation work for the Southeast Asian Studies Program at the National University of Singapore.

In the first phase, the actual field research work was done between January 1991 and August 1991 and lasted for a total of 60 days with less frequent visits after June 1991 due to the eruption of Mount Pinatubo. I utilized an informal and unstructured interview format with questions revolving around research problems dealing with a state-initiated integrated rural development (IRD) project in the area as well as to the villages' history. I scheduled interviews as well as utilized chance encounters with residents. I also conducted interviews with officials of the Sacobia Development Authority (SDA), the government agency managing the IRD project in their field offices in the area. All in all, a total of 99 respondents were interviewed – 74 village residents, 7 SDA officials, and 18 other government officials and other resource persons. In Manila, documentary research was conducted at various relevant government offices and at university libraries.

I utilized an interdisciplinary social science framework. This required paying attention to all human aspects of the development project. I inquired into the political economy of village society and analyzed aspects of public administration and organizational systems. I reconstructed the area's historical development and looked into social issues and problems. The geography and ecology of the area were important concerns. Anthropological units such as the household were looked at and psycho behavioral patterns observed. The world outlook and consciousness, attitudes, perceptions, and aspirations of the settler residents and the management authorities were chronicled. In the second phase of the study I broadened my research concerns to look at the dynamics of rural transformation and continuity of which the IRD project simply became one of the social forces pushing for change.

In the period from February 2003 to February 2004, I did field research three times – two weeks in February 2003, three months from May-July 2003 and two months from November to December 2003. I also returned to Sacobia at least three times for brief three-day to four-day visits between April 2004 and September 2004.

My purpose in conducting a series of interviews this second time around was to gather the life histories of as many villagers as I could talk to and who would be willing to share with me their experiences. From these personal accounts, I was able to piece together more details of this particular rural area's changing social, economic, cultural and political environment. In doing so I accumulated a large amount of information and insights into the village society's brief history to enable me to document rural change as it takes place at the ground level.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Farmer-settler families from lowland areas moved to the area during the late 1940s and early 1950s due to the deteriorating economic and political conditions brought about by the destruction wrought by the war years, the return of landlordism, and the outbreak of a major armed peasant rebellion. The area, however, has always been classified as a military reservation dating to the time when it was under the jurisdiction of the American-run Clark Air Base up to the first decade of the 21st century. Thus, the settlers were disqualified from owning the lands they tilled or the houses they built and were thus regarded as illegal settlers or "squatters." To get around these legal impediments, the peasant-settler resorted to informal land and housing market mechanisms.

Cultivable area was scarce and this limited farm sizes and created a relatively egalitarian distribution of land while precluding the growth of a full-blown landlord class. Farm sizes ranged from one to three hectares each. A few landholders however had bigger farms and employed seasonal farm labor and occasionally had "tenants." But these were not landlords but middle peasants as they also did farm work, engaged in productive activities, and did not rely on rent for their livelihood. The three villages' relatively inaccessible location and the vulnerability of the established farm households to government expropriation at any time created feelings of solidarity and collectivity among the residents that were probably greater than what can be found in other peasant communities in the lowland areas. The family farms were also relatively self-sufficient and to a large extent production was subsistence-oriented.

The bottom line for the Sacobia peasantry was that having a parcel of farm land (no matter how small the size) still constituted a meaningful safety net that at least assured them that the subsistence ethic would always be upheld. Perhaps

as important as the direct economic benefits in terms of a more or less stable livelihood was the fact that the peasant settlers had been able to reassert control over their own farmlands even if the option of full legal ownership was still unavailable to them.

Impositions and harassments, and later, expropriations of the surplus came from forces outside the villages: (a) the American-controlled Clark Air Base, (b) sugar capitalists who intruded into the area in the sixties', (c) a major state-initiated and high profile integrated rural development (IRD) project begun in 1979, (d) a government rehabilitation and relocation program in the wake of the 1991-1992 Mount Pinatubo eruptions, and (e) a special economic zone under the Clark Development Corporation (CDC) established in the mid-1990s. In addition two generations of left-wing guerrillas tried to exert their political influence on the villages but with mixed results.

With the exception of the Clark Air Base, the above external agents tried to transform the villages and wean them away from the peasant mode to a modern capitalist system in the case of the sugar capitalists, the IRD project, and the Mount Pinatubo relocation program and to a Marxist revolutionary base in the case of the left wing guerrillas identified with the Communist Party of the Philippines' military arm, the New People's Army (NPA).

FAMILY-BASED PEASANT FARMS IN THE PHILIPPINES

Except for a brief period in 1979-1980 when a government IRD project through its implementing agency, the Sacobia Development Authority (SDA), took over their farms, families in the three villages hewed closely to the essential features of a typical peasant society and the practice of typical household-run farms as described by Chayanov in Bernstein & Byres (2001, pp. 2-4). As the communities grew over the years, they shed some of their isolation and, as anticipated by Shanin (1987a, p. 4), also engaged in the "daily exchange of goods and in labor markets."

In San Vicente, Apo[8] Lucio Pasion cultivated a piece of farmland slightly less than one hectare in size beside the Cauayan River. During the rainy season, the farm would get flooded as the river would overflow its banks, but the water quickly receded after only a few hours. He took a positive view of the seasonal

flooding of his farm asserting that this was beneficial in the long run because the soil would be enriched by nutrients deposited by the waters.

Rice was the main crop but there was no irrigation so Apo Lucio only harvested once a year. His farm was on a higher ground than the river so he was unable to utilize its waters as irrigation. However, the waters penetrated the ground beneath his field, thus contributing to good harvests. Despite the lack of irrigation, he used high yielding varieties (HYVs) such as IR 70, IR 66, and IR 36 because these were the only ones available. A few years back the fragrant "Milagrosa" traditional variety was still cultivated but had disappeared along with all the other traditional rice varieties. With proper and sufficient use of fertilizers and pesticides, he harvested as much as 70 cavans (3.5 tons). A bad harvest however, netted him only 50 55 cavans (2.5-2.75 tons).[9]

The small farmland appeared to be a model of maximum utilization of every available arable space. At the farm's river edge, Apo Lucio planted red corn, red beans, string beans, tomatoes, and green leafy vegetables. Since these crops grew by the river bank, he simply fetched water from the stream to manually irrigate them. The corn he used as feedstock for his piggery while the red beans were sold to a trader from Mabalacat.

Apo Lucio had another hectare beside this flatland farm but it was sloping and slightly hilly. Here he had planted banana plants, "caimito" (star apple), mango, and "langka" (jackfruit). He used to have more banana plants but these were the tall native variety and strong winds would often blow them down. He did most of the farming activities himself although some of his sons would help him. They owned one carabao. He still had another hectare of farmland in another location in the village. This was on less productive land and he planted corn and peanuts.

Apo Lucio also had a backyard piggery project which he initiated on his own without any help from the SDA. After mating ("pacasta") the fully-grown sows with a boar for which he paid PhP250.00, one gave birth to eleven (11) piglets. A two month old pig would sell for PhP900, a four month old for PhP1,000, while a six month old can go for PhP2,000. He was able to sell two piglets for PhP1,100. His asking price was PhP600 each but the buyer was a neighbor so he gave a discount.

After the SDA gave back the settlers' lands, Zacarias "Apo Carias" Catli resumed farming although his original six hectare landholding in Sitio Balacbac was reduced to less than two (2) hectares. He made maximum use of the land though, setting up an integrated farm where he cultivated palay, operated a fishpond, raised duck layers, and managed a small fruit orchard. His wife Marcelina "Apo Sinang", sons and daughters all helped in the farm. His 1.7 hectare riceland produced an average of 110 cavans (5.5 tons) per harvest. Though he regularly used commercial fertilizers, he experimented with azolla as an organic alternative and was pleased with the initial results.

Apo Carias operated the largest family managed duck farm in Sacobia. He started it in 1987 by purchasing the birds from Concepcion at PhP30.00 a piece. When the SDA started retrieving the Mallard ducks they had distributed to other settlers, the agency gave the returned birds to Apo Carias at a loan value of PhP100 per bird. He paid from PhP900 to PhP1,000 per week to the SDA as loan repayment. The total duck layers soon reached 1,000 in number. His operating cost was PhP1,200 per day (or PhP36,000 a month) which goes for duck feed layer pellets. Aside from the commercial feeds, he also used snails ("kuhol") to harden the egg shells, "kangkong" leaves, and water lilies as duck feed.

In one day, he could harvest 600 ducks' eggs. A buyer from Bamban came every three or four days to select and purchase the "good" ones and bring them to town for processing into "balut". Out of every 1,000 eggs, about 20 to 30 get rejected. Within the first half of 1991, the buying price had ranged from a low of PhP2.20 to PhP3.00 per egg. The price falls when the supply of eggs increases. Apo Carias says that he sold an average of 2,000 eggs each time the merchant comes. At the buyer's visits of 8 to 10 times a month and less the expenses for feeds and the SDA loan repayments, Apo Carias could either net a high of PhP8,000 a month or lose as much as PhP4,800 a month.

Beside the ricefield was a 3,000 square meter fishpond producing 100 kilos of tilapia and "dalag" every three or four months. He fed them termites ("anay") and other leftover duck feeds. The fish would be sold in Mabalacat for at least PhP45 a kilo. Later however, the fishpond became less of an income generating project. As word spread of Apo Carias' model integrated farm, visitors from neighboring towns and cities often stopped by. Since rural hospitality dictated that these unannounced visitors be fed, the fishpond had become the source of Apo Carias' generosity. He however didn't mind the constant depletion of his

fishpond in this manner. After all he says, he hardly spent anything for operating it. In early 1991, he was planning to expand and develop the fishpond to turn it into a full blown commercial operation.

In Barangay Calumpang, cassava had become the main crop. On Ruben Sison's two-hectare farm, 70 cavans could be harvested which sold at PhP90.00 per cavan. Gross income would reach PhP20,000 in six months. Planted after palay, cassava was relatively easy to cultivate because it entailed practically no costs of production. Harvesting can even be postponed for as long as one year. Ruben sold the cassava to vegetable dealers or flour mill operators from Mabalacat. In addition to cassava, he also cultivated upland rice for home consumption.

Other crops grown on family-farms in the village were vegetables, mongo, ampalaya, tomatoes, and radish. Calumpang was known as the "vegetable basket" of Mabalacat and during good harvests could even supply Angeles City. Unlike San Vicente, it was not dependent on the SDA and most residents got by on their own efforts. Besides, the barrio felt more affinity with the Mabalacat town hall than with the SDA office in San Vicente.

Table 1: Estimated Costs and Returns in Rice Farming, Sacobia, 2003 and 2009; (in Pesos, unadjusted; per hectare; per harvest)

	2003		2009	
	Unit Cost	**Costs**	**Unit Cost**	**Costs**
1. Seeds	P370 x 2 bags	740	P650 x 2 bags	1,300
2. Labor (incl food)				
a. Transplanting, etc		4,000		9,600
b. Harvesting	7 cavans x P400	2,800		9,075
c. Weeding, threshing, etc				800
3. Pesticides	6 sacks @ P480	2,880		1,570
4. Fertilizers		1,000		8,300
5. Thresher (rent)	6 cavans @ P400	2,400		7,425
6. Transport to mill/ hauling		700		1,500
7. Milling	25/cavan	1,750		1,750
Average harvest: cavans/ha.	70 cavans		110 cavans	
Total Costs (1-7)		15,870		40,514
Gross Returns	@ P1,200/cavan milled rice	56,000		90,750
Net Returns per harvest		40,130		50,596

Note: *1 cavan = 50 kg.; palay – unmilled rice

Source: Interviews conducted in Sacobia, 2003, Municipal Agricultural Office, Bamban 2009

Benigno Tiglao and his brothers, Aytas who were long-time residents of San Martin, were able to recover their livelihood mainly through their own efforts when most of the lands taken by the IRD project were returned. However of the total 15 hectares they used to cultivate, they retrieved only eight hectares between them. The brothers had two (2) hectares planted to sweet potatoes, one (1) hectare to "gabi"(yam), four (4) hectares of riceland with two hectares irrigated and the rest rainfed, and one (1) hectare of bananas. The sweet potatoes yielded a harvest of 200 sacks weighing 80 kilograms each which would sell from PhP3.80 to PhP4.80 a kilo. The best price was secured by canvassing among several buyers from Angeles City.

Gabi harvests for a good year would reach 200 sacks priced at PhP1,600 per sack. The best part was that no monetary costs were involved in these two crops and no fertilizers were needed, only family labor ("pagod lang ang gastos namin"). For irrigated palay, a good harvest would produce 100 cavans per hectare while a bad yield would be 60 cavans per hectare.

Benigno's livestock consisted of twenty five (25) goats. These economic activities had produced for him a small savings surplus which were deposited in a Bamban bank. He had been a recipient of the SDA's carabao dispersal program. However, he considered the debt already repaid ("nagsaulian na kami ng SDA") because according to him he had invested a lot of time, money, and effort in caring for the animal. Together with his wife Rosita, and one daughter Bella, Benigno lived in one of the SDA supplied semi brick houses in San Martin.

Alejandro Garcia operated a one hectare riceland in San Vicente and another 1.5 hectares of sugar cane land in Sto. Niño. On the sugarland, he utilized mainly family labor and with two carabaos harvested 60 to 100 piculs per year. In 1991, his average harvest for 1.5 hectares was 70 tons of cane. He estimated his costs at PhP7,000 per hectare. At the selling price of PhP600 per picul, he earned PhP35,000 per year.

A typical rice farm in Sacobia produced an average of 70-75 cavans per hectare in the 1990s and early 2000s (one cavan equals 50 kilograms). This dramatically increased to 110 cavans per hectare by 2009. In the 1990s, a rice farmer would net PhP10,183.00 per hectare of riceland per harvest. This increased to P40,130 in 2003. In 2009, however, the increased output netted returns of P50,600 per hectare by 2009.

Another San Vicente resident, Lamberto "Apo Berting" Tanglao, had two hectares of riceland and one hectare of sugarland. Half of his ricelands was irrigated while the other half was rainfed. He harvested two times a year, sometimes three times in 13 months at an average of 100 cavans a hectare. His sugar harvest was 30 tons per year or the equivalent of 30 piculs which he sold at PhP600 per picul. With total production costs of PhP1,155.00 he netted PhP1,845 from his sugar crop. Berting also had fruit trees – mango, coffee, and bananas all of which generated additional income. On his 25 mango trees alone, he netted PhP125,000 a year.

Like other farmers, Emiliano Mendoza utilized hired labor for planting on his 3-hectare Calumpang rice farm. With 30-32 workers (at PhP30 day per person), the task could be completed in one day. For plowing, a carabao could do the work in two days for a one hectare area while a "Kubota" hand tractor rented for PhP450 could do it in one day. Fertilizers and pesticides cost a total of PhP2,000 per hectare. Emiliano rarely bought seedlings, he simply had an exchange arrangement with other farmers. When he did buy, he would spend PhP700 a cavan (50 kg.) for IRRI varieties. The ratio was one and one half cavans of seedlings per hectare.

Throughout most of the Calumpang farm area, irrigation was provided by a natural underground spring ("sibol"). The harvest ranged from 80 to 130 cavans (4 to 6.5 tons) per hectare and for a 14 month cycle, three harvests were made. For harvesting, a typical arrangement with hired workers would be for every cavan harvested, two "salops" would go to the worker (at 25 "salops" in one cavan). This translated into a one cavan payment for every 12.5 cavans harvested. For the use of the palay thresher ("tilyadora"), eight out of every 100 cavans was paid out.

In Emiliano's case, out of a harvest of 80 cavans per hectare, about 66 to 67 cavans (83 to 84 percent) remained with the farmholder. This high retention percentage (or surplus) could be due to the fact that Emiliano also worked on the farm but it also meant that hiring seasonal labor was more advantageous for the farmholder than employing permanent tenants. Tenancy agreements often left no more than half of the harvest to the farmowner.

Aside from rice, Emiliano also had corn, cassava, sweet potatoes, cane sugar, and vegetables. He had the most number of trees planted among all farmers in

Calumpang - caimito (star apple), cashew, jackfruit, mango, oranges, guayabano, coconut, lanzones, and calamansi. Many of these he had bought in Tanauan, Batangas others came from the seed farm operated by the Bureau of Plant Industry. He said that an income of PhP60,000 from his farm he would consider low.

Celestino Tongio, Calumpang resident since 1960, had his original five hectares reduced by the IRD project to only three hectares. Celestino divided his farmland into two equal parts. One and a half hectares were planted to cassava, sweet potatoes ("camoteng baging"), radish, and string beans. The other one and a half hectares were planted to palay. The cassava was sold to visiting buyers at a net price of PhP70 per sack. His produce was sold to visiting buyers and he usually hired a carabao-drawn cart for transport to where the buyer's truck can pick up the products. The rice farm yielded a low harvest of 100 cavans and a high of 120 cavans. Celestino had been paying taxes on the land but only during good harvests. He and his wife Adoracion had twelve (12) children but only five (5) lived with them in 1991.

The relatively successful family farms described above could apply to those with at least one hectare of farmlands and with year-long irrigation. This covered only about one third of the total number of farming families in Sacobia. Only nine percent of farms were in the upper 1.5 hectare to 3.0 hectare farm size category. Two-thirds of farms were below one-hectare with over one third having only half a hectare and below. The greater majority of small farmholders therefore, if solely dependent on rice farming, would barely eke out a decent living from their farm produce. However, intercropping with vegetables, rootcrops, and fruit trees and poultry and livestock raising provided supplementary food and income sources.

Table 2: Sacobia Farm Size Distribution, 1990

Farm Size	San Vicente	Calumpang	Sto. Niño	Totals
1.5 – 3.0 has	3	5	2	10
1 – 1.5 has.	14	12	5	31
0.5-0.99 has.	20	5	7	32
Below 0.5 has.	10	17	17	44
No. of farms	47	39	31	117

Source: Sacobia Development Authority

The bottom line for the Sacobia peasantry was that having a parcel of farm land (no matter how small the size) still constituted a meaningful safety net that at least assured them that the subsistence ethic would always be upheld. Perhaps as important as the direct economic benefits in terms of a more or less stable livelihood was the fact that the peasant settlers had been able to reassert control over their own farmlands even if the option of full legal ownership was still unavailable to them.

PEASANT MORAL ECONOMY AND THE SUBSISTENCE ETHIC

A form of peasant moral economy based on the fulfillment of primary subsistence needs pervaded the Sacobia villages since they were first settled. The subsistence character of production ("living close to the margin") was defined by the limited cultivable area, low productivity due to lack of irrigation, high costs of production and transportation, low market prices, and a scant surplus. The ethic that accompanied this situation forced most of the settler-peasant families to minimize their risks and (except for certain required technologies like high yielding seeds, fertilizers and pesticides) rely on traditional farming modes. The utilization of the new technologies however was not maximized because Sacobia peasants often scrimped on their use of fertilizers and pesticides since the costs were a heavy drain on the finances of farming households.

Work sharing and patterns of reciprocity were practiced as applications of notions of economic justice but the lack of peasant differentiation and the absence of internally exploitative class-based relations (e.g., landlord-tenant ties) meant that such notions were applied more to the relations with outsiders and to the latter's interventions in the normal course of village life. The absence of such ties also implied that, compared to other peasant households in Central Luzon and other regions of the country, Sacobia cultivators could retain a higher percentage of the surplus. This advantage may not be as significant as it appears since in general, among Philippine tenanted farms, land rent as a percentage of farm costs had declined considerably as early as the 1980s (Umehara 1983: 33-34).

Technological inputs on the other hand had doubled their share while labor's share increased by 50 percent. There were however instances of "forced generosity" by relatively-well off residents as when Emiliano Mendoza (who

was then the barangay captain) paid for all cable connections to Calumpang households when electric power finally came to the village.

The "set of cultural decencies" that peasant households strongly feel an entitlement to was violated when the IRD project deprived the Sacobia cultivators of their land. Insult was added to injury when they were forced to work for a daily wage in their farms. For several peasants this was the last straw and they took to flight rather than subject themselves to what they perceived to be a humiliating reversal in their social status. A similar reaction came when the SDA attempted to impose rules and exact rent for the use of state-provided housing. For the settlers, the housing project was the least that they were entitled to in "compensation" for the major disruption in their lives that the IRD project had caused. They therefore saw no moral obligation to pay for the units.

PEASANT RESILIENCE

In terms of the economic modes, it would appear that, by 1992, the small peasant mode of production had been undermined. The household surveys showed that relative to workers, the peasant population had progressively decreased its share from a high of 68 percent in 1979 to 32 percent in 1990 and further to 26 percent in 1992. More non-farm activities and sources of livelihood have also been introduced. Residents identifying themselves as laborers or workers have increased their share of the labor force from 30 percent in 1979 to 38 percent by 1990. Despite a decline to 32 percent after the eruptions, they still had a larger share than the farming class.[1] These figures however do not tell the whole story and need to be interpreted and placed in their proper context.

In the Sacobia case, during the 1990s, despite the apparent ascendancy of a working class at the expense of the peasantry, a majority (or 60 percent) of those identifying themselves as workers were actually SDA laborers, positions which were temporary (renewable on the whims of the SDA authorities), extremely unstable as these were dependent on a dwindling budget provided by the state, and a source of patronage relations between favored residents and the SDA administration. A typical work contract carried no benefits and lasted for only three months after which a new appointment had to be made.

The type of work these laborers engaged were not far removed from peasant activities as these were in the agroforestry projects of SDA and consisted in groundsclearing, weeding, trimming of trees, planting and transplanting, general

tree maintenance, and harvesting and transporting of fruit crops. If we factor in the below-subsistence wages received to the above as well as the fact that these workers maintained economic, social and personal (family) links with the smallholding peasant sector, one can make a strong case for arguing that these "workers" were actually still part of the peasant mode of production in Sacobia. The actual separation from the means of production, a prerequisite for capitalist development, was temporary, superficial, tenuous, and reversible. As there were times when work contracts were not renewed for months and retrenchments were common, these workers often alternated between peasant farming and wage work for the SDA. Given these, the SDA laborers could be classified as a rural semi-proletariat whose continuing ties with small farm cultivators fits in with our typology of the peasant class.

Table 3: Summary of Living Conditions for San Vicente, Calumpang, and Sto. Niño Barangays, 1979, 1990, 1992

	1979	1990	1992
Population	1,769	2,492	1,708
Families	294	521	356
Average Incomes	US$40-$45	US$26-$38	n.a.
Labor Force	1,011	1,362	857
Employed	59%	43%	40%
Unemployed	41%	57%	60%
Occupation			
Farmers	68%	32%	26%
Workers	30%	38%	32%
Farmer/worker	n.d.	7%	n.d.
Service work	n.d.	6%	8%
Drivers	n.d.	4%	5%
Petty trade	n.d.	4%	n.d.
Others	2%	9%	28%
Literacy	80%	76%	n.d.

Source: MHS-IACC 1979 and SDA household surveys

For the category "others," these are non-agricultural occupations that include pedicab or jeepney drivers, military servicemen, lottery (*jueteng*) collection agents, paramilitary security, teachers, household help, and handicraft contract workers. As these were mostly service-related work that was highly dispersed and, moreover, were not tied to any particular social formation, in no way can these other occupations be identified with a particular and specific mode of production that can parallel or replace the peasant mode. In many cases these other non-farm income generating activities were often viewed as stop-gap measures or supplementary to farming. Like the SDA laborers, various linkages with peasant farm households have been generally maintained. Pedicab drivers like Manuel Cortez of San Vicente for example (who was also an agent of the grassroots lottery "jueteng") serviced the farming sector by delivering palay (unhusked rice) to the rice mills in town for which he charged PhP100 per trip or in kind, e.g., one pail of rice or two pails of palay. Cortez's services during the harvesting and milling season were in such demand that he often accumulated large quantities of palay and rice.

The advantage of smallholder farming over the wage work available for Sacobia residents was its stability and reliability a far as a subsistence source and money income are concerned. Moreover, the control over the means of production and the relative autonomy over economic decisions exercised by the peasant cultivator were strong positive factors in the equation.[11] The class character of the peasant-cultivators was also more clearly defined than the worker-laborers or those in service-related occupations. At the same time, some Sacobia peasant household members participated in non-agricultural activities, e.g., taking on jobs in construction sites outside their village while waiting for harvests. If not for anything other than maintaining a distinct social identity as well as a feeling of community, this trait gives the peasantry an additional advantage over the other occupation groups. It would be no exaggeration to state that it was the peasant farming sector that served to keep the collective rural identity of the Sacobia community intact and resilient in the face of the various adversities that have descended on the three villages.

The changes in occupations among the population took place in a non-linear fashion. For one it would be difficult to argue that the shift from peasants to wage workers or from agricultural work to non-agricultural jobs constituted an advance or an improvement in personal circumstances among the people.

Secondly, the insecurity and transient nature of non-farm occupations kept the option of returning to farm work open and this was taken up quite regularly.

By all indications, the family farms in the three villages generally fulfill (with slight variations) the characteristics of a peasant mode of production as analyzed above. They have persisted through the years in the midst of two major encounters with external commercializing agents that could have transformed the peasant mode – the sugar capitalists of the 1960s and the Sacobia integrated rural development (IRD) project of the 1980s.

The sugar boom had created a significant impact on the forces of production in the villages by breaking down the traditional agrarian relations that the settler farmers had established. For the first time, an external agent directly appropriated the surplus. A classic peasant differentiation pattern was emerging as a few cane cultivators reported high incomes while the majority languished in a marginal existence.

The family based peasant production mode was a source of cheap labor as most cultivators engaged in self exploitation to supply the cane for the sugar mills. The "sugar capitalists" reaped double profits as responsibility for the land's upkeep remained with the farmers. For most farmers, the sugar incomes had to be supplemented by growing food crops to cover their basic subsistence needs. Sugar at that time being a major export commodity, the settlers were also indirectly integrated into an international economic order. This however did not result in the monocrop type of agriculture characteristic of fully integrated economies.

The entry of the Communist Party's New People's Army (CPP-NPA) at the conjuncture of the 1960s and 1970s decades coupled with the decline of the sugar export market interrupted the commercializing process as most of the "sugar capitalists" withdrew and sugar became once again a secondary crop. At this point, the settler communities were ripe for an economic alternative. But the most logical catalyst for such a turnaround, the CPP NPA group, failed to set the economic dynamic moving as they focused exclusively on the political struggle. The CPP-NPA concentrated almost exclusively on political education and propaganda work and maintaining village security. At no time were economic livelihood and self-sufficiency projects launched.

Under the IRD concept, the plan to proletarianize the population had earlier fallen through as it was originally centered on the model of modern corporate rice farms whose implementation floundered at the early stage. It was in pursuit of this model that the SDA took over the lands of the original settlers who were then made to work for daily wages on their own farms for a period of two years. Other projects that could have created an authentic working class such as the dendro thermal plant and the mini agro industrial estate failed to proceed beyond the preliminary planning stage. The privatization of the anemic SDA-initiated livelihood projects also created few opportunities for employment among the residents who were not the beneficiaries. Not only did a working class not materialize, the SDA even tried (unsuccessfully) to establish landlord tenant type arrangements with the rice farmers. For instance, the certificates of land awards for croplands and forestlands contained a provision for determining the rent to be paid by the farmer awardees to the SDA.

Even before the IRD project's complete breakdown, Sacobia farmers continued their cultivation on small farmplots ranging from 0.5 hectares to 3 hectares and averaging 3.5 to 4 tons of unhusked rice per hectare. The low productivity and low market prices assured a level that did not exceed subsistence needs. The family (sometimes in extended form) was the main source of labor while hired labor (from other peasant families) was utilized for only a small proportion of the total number of working days. Other crops such as sugar, tubers, legumes, vegetables, and fruits supplemented the rice incomes although for a few families, incomes from fruit tree orchards were the main source of livelihood. As there was no landlord or internal ruling class, appropriation of the surplus took the form of high prices and low quality of agricultural inputs, the low prices for the farm products, and interest rates on farm loans from the informal credit market.

On such small farmplots with low productivity as well as the limited cultivable area,[12] the process of peasant differentiation could not effectively take off. The few better off settlers, the Mendozas of Calumpang and the Gonzales family of San Vicente for example, were at best, a middle peasant group who continued to work on the land themselves and had kinship ties with poorer families.

Traditional cultural norms and practices were unhampered such as a customary land market dictated by a traditional concept of land and property rights,[13] modes of settling internal village conflicts and disputes, placing a high

value on family and kinship ties, cooperative and reciprocal forms of labor, the special status accorded to village elders, and informal credit systems. In general, recognition of legal structures emanating from the central state was more formal than real and the common practice was to behave as if they did not exist. In general, customary law took precedence over formal laws of the government. A strong sense of community and collectivity ironically was strengthened by the IRD project and its impositions on village life.

Preliminary 2009 data from the Municipal Agricultural Officer's office in Bamban, Tarlac show the continued importance of agricultural activities among the residents of San Vicente and Sto. Nino villages. In San Vicente, out of 120 households, 104 were engaged in various forms of agricultural production in rice, corn, mango, and vegetables and in livestock raising (carabao, goat, cattle, and swine). In Sto Nino, 66 households (out of 260) were involved in sugar, rice, and mango production and in livestock raising (carabao and goat).

CONCLUSIONS

The field data and analysis presented in this paper show that the essential features of a household-based peasant society in the three villages studied have remained basically intact and the peasantry as distinct social formation has persevered. This has taken place despite changes in certain features and aspects of traditional rural communities such as new farm technologies, wider market linkages, growth of a wage-earning working class, increased interactions with the non-peasant world, the physical separation of families, and the establishment of more formal political structures (Tadem 2005, p 248).

Notwithstanding the emergence of what appears to be a working class, a majority of these were actually employed as temporary SDA laborers, on extremely unstable terms and hired on the basis of patronage relations. Furthermore, in addition to below-subsistence wages, the type of work these laborers engaged in were closely related to peasant activities as these were in the the IRD project's agro-forestry sector. Because of these limitations, these "workers" continued to maintain economic, social and personal (family) links with the smallholding peasant sector. In this sense, therefore, it can be argued that these "workers" were still part of the area's peasant mode of production since "the actual separation from the means of production, a prerequisite for capitalist development, was temporary, superficial, tenuous, and reversible" (Tadem 2005, p. 253).

The class character of the peasant-cultivators was more clearly defined than the worker-laborers or those in service-related occupations. With its distinct social identity and a strong feeling of community, the Sacobia peasantry exhibited an additional advantage over the other occupation groups and this served to keep the collective rural identity of the community intact and resilient in the face of the various adversities and interventions that descended on the three villages.

Traditional cultural norms continued to be practiced such as "a customary land market dictated by a traditional concept of land and property rights, modes of settling internal village conflicts and disputes, placing a high value on family and kinship ties, cooperative and reciprocal forms of labor, the special status accorded to village elders, and informal credit systems" (Tadem 2005, p. 257). In general, customary law was prioritized over formal laws and instructions coming from the central state.

For the three villages in this study, the history of external interventions is continuing with the establishment of a special economic zone in 1997 where the American air base used to be located. Tensions are already evident between the villagers and the Clark Development Corporation (CDC), which manages the government-run economic zone, as the latter seeks to extend its control over the peasant community that lie just outside its main perimeter.

Agrarian studies and works on the peasantry have become rare in this age of heightened globalization. The peasantry was considered not merely marginalized, worse, its death was also grandly proclaimed (Hobsbawm, 1994, pp. 289-293 and Elson, 1997, pp. 240-241). Such declarations however have proven to be premature as peasants and peasant societies have persisted and in some instances have openly challenged the logic of expanded capitalism, the market economy, and globalization in general as seen in the upsurge of agrarian and peasant unrest in Latin America, China, and Vietnam against market-oriented and modernizing regimes.

Since this paper focused on only three villages in one region of the Philippines, it would be difficult to generalize that the peasant mode is resilient in all instances. It could be that the Sacobia villages had specificities that would not be found in other rural villages. In any case, as a future direction in the field of peasant studies, there is need to seek further validation of this paper's findings in other Philippine rural areas and in other countries as well.

However, in a recent global study on farm size, Eastwood, Lipton and Newell (2004, pp. 1-62) noted that while "in Europe and North America farm sizes have been increasing on average since 1950, in Africa, Asia and Latin America, by contrast, farm sizes seem to have been declining in the late 20th century." The authors noted that "smallholder individual tenure typifies South and East Asia" and that "over 70 per cent of farms are largely family-cultivated" with most having farm areas "below 1 ha of irrigated land (or 2 ha of rainfed land)."

Governments and other official institutions have often grossly underestimated the importance of family farms. Yet in 2005, of the 750,000 new jobs created all over the Philippines, 42 percent of these were in unpaid family labor in agriculture (Habito, 2006, p. B2). The implication of the findings in this paper therefore is the need for policy makers and other concerned players to rethink their assumptions about the peasantry and the policies and programs they have imposed on rural communities. Over the past decades state-led development strategies have been biased towards urban and industrial development premised on the eventual disappearance of the peasantry and the diminution of agriculture's share of the national product. It would, however, appear that, for small family-run farms, and by implication for the peasantry in the greater part of such farms, their predicted end is not yet in sight.

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ENDNOTES

[1] An earlier and shorter version of this paper was presented at the 2nd Philippine Studies Conference of Japan (PSCJ-2010), 13-14 November 2010, Tsukuba, Japan. The paper contains excerpts (with revisions and updates) from Tadem 2005 (an unpublished PhD dissertation), and from Tadem (2009) which is a summary of the above dissertation and depicts and argues how traditional peasant society is able to withstand external interventions and essentially retain its small farm economy, socially-determined norms, and feelings of community (Tadem 2009, p. 1).

[2] See the works of H. Alavi, 1987 and A. De Janvry, 1981.

[3] The characteristics of the peasantry enumerated here are culled from the works of Marx 1969, Wolf 1966, De Janvry 1981, Shanin 1987a, Shanin 1987b, and Hobsbawm 1998.

[4] This process (in so far as the English experience is concerned) is vividly described by Marx 1967a, Capital Vol 1, Part 8, particularly Chapter 27: "Expropriation of the Agricultural Population from the Land."

[5] This is discussed in Marx, 1967a, Capital Vol 1, Part 8, Chapter 29: "Genesis of the Capitalist Farmer." In this section, Marx clearly wished to make a distinction between the "farmer" (a capitalist) and the "peasantry." On conditions of the rural proletariat, see "The British Agricultural Proletariat" in Chapter 25, Section 5: "Illustrations of the General Law of Capitalist Accumulation" in the same volume.

[6] Bernstein, 2009 revisits the "Chayanov-Lenin debate" as reflected in the works of scholars writing in the Journal of Peasant Studies since the 1960s. While the two views are contrasted sharply with respect to the small farm – big farm dichotomy in rural development, both actually agreed on the need to modernize agriculture through technological innovations.

[7] This section on methodologies is a revised summary of the same section in Chapter One of Tadem 2005.

[8] The term "Apo" is used to traditionally denote elder and respected village residents.

[9] The DAR-RPPDS survey report for 1975 notes that "crop production (in the area) is below the average production level of the country and even of the region" (p. 11). Average rice production for the Philippines during this time was about 50-55 cavans per hectare.

[10] By 1996, however, estimates by the Clark Development Corporation (CDC) reveal that the farming population constituted the largest socio-economic category in Sacobia with almost 50 percent of families engaged in agricultural activities.

[11] Research is ongoing to determine whether a similar situation exists today (2010-2011) given that more non-farm job opportunities have been opened with the presence of industrial and commercial locators in the Clark Special Economic Zone which lies just below the villages.

[12] Only 14 percent of Sacobia's total land area (with slopes ranging from 0 degrees to 15 degrees) was feasible for agricultural production.

[13] When the IRD project came, there grew also an informal housing market with residents entering into agreements for the exchange or transfer of housing rights.