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SOCIAL AND INSTITUTIONAL PROFILE OF  
LEYTE'S RURAL POOR: THE LOWLAND AND  
UPLAND RAINFED FARMERS AND  
ARTISANAL FISHERMEN

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## FOREWORD

To pursue its mission of developing professional and humanistic leaders for Philippine development, De La Salle University (DLSU) is committed to supporting studies that will foster not only awareness but also improvement of the Philippine socio-economic situation. The Integrated Research Center of De La Salle has therefore set as a priority in its research effort policy-oriented studies related to problems of development, with their main concern being poverty and social equity.

It is in this spirit that this report on social and institutional factors affecting development in two provinces in the Eastern Visayas region has been prepared. The thrust of the study is to analyze development efforts in the provinces and to identify the potential areas for development. The focus has been on three previously-identified poverty groups: the landless upland rainfed farmers, the landless lowland rainfed farmers, and the artisanal fishermen.

A research team from De La Salle and local research institutions participated in the three-month "rapid research" effort which aimed at not only coming up with findings and recommendations but also developing an innovative approach to "rapid" appraisal. The approach included validation workshops for meaningful participative research which elicited feedback and suggestions from community leaders on the problems of their communities; helped initiate a dialogue among the community leaders, local government officers, and extension workers; and resulted in specifying areas for cooperation and community efforts in solving some problems identified.

The Integrated Research Center is therefore proud to present this research document that culminates the three months research activity. It is our hope that it will be useful to all sectors involved in the development of the Eastern Visayas provinces including and most especially the community members themselves.

ROSEMARY M. AQUINO  
Executive Director  
Integrated Research Center  
De La Salle University

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project would not have been possible without the cooperation extended to us by many individuals and institutions based in Leyte and in Manila.

First of all, we wish to thank Divine Word University in Tacloban City for allowing us the use of its facilities for the entire duration of the fieldwork. We are particularly grateful to DWU President, Leonardo Mercado, S.V.D., and Ms. Sara Caballes, Special Technical Assistant to the President, for their efforts in providing the necessary logistics. We also appreciate the efforts of Ms. Rebecca Tiston, Acting Director of DWU's Research and Planning Center, and her staff for extending their assistance during the data collection phase. We are grateful as well to Virgilio Cabonca, Director of the Audio-Visual Center, who took care of the audiovisual materials and photos needed during the validation workshops.

We express our deep appreciation to the Office of both the Leyte and Southern Leyte Governor and the different government and private agencies for providing us with the necessary information on the socio-economic profile of the island.

Special appreciation is also given to the following institutions: the Southern Leyte School of Arts and Trades for accommodating our research team for upland rainfed farming; Bato School of Fisheries for serving as the venue of the validation workshop for the upland rainfed communities; and the Visayas State College of Agriculture, particularly the team headed by Dr. Rogelio Jayme, for participating in one of the validation workshops.

We are highly indebted to the following officers and senior staff of the Integrated Research Center: Ms. Rosemary M. Aquino, Executive Director, for her continued interest in and support of the project; Dr. Ma. Lourdes S. Bautista, Director for Research Dissemination, for editing the report; Mr. Angelito de la Vega, Ms. Elaine Brown, and Ms. Florbella Bongalos, for serving as resource persons; and Ms. Cecilia H. Montiveros, Administrative Assistant for External Research, for providing the necessary support throughout the project.

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Lastly, this research study would never have been completed without the cooperation of our respondents from the upland and lowland farmers and the artisanal fishermen. To them, our sincerest gratitude.

PILAR RAMOS-JIMENEZ  
Project Coordinator

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The main concern of this study was to analyze the development efforts being pursued on the island of Leyte. It attempted to identify the most significant economic, social, institutional, and environmental factors affecting three categories of the rural poor: lowland rainfed farmers, upland rainfed farmers, and artisanal fishermen.

Three approaches were utilized in this project: 1) review of documents from primary and secondary sources in Manila and Leyte, 2) interviews of key informants from the three categories of the rural poor and from government and non-government agencies, and 3) validation workshops involving selected key informants from the field interviews.

The field research identified the economic, social, and institutional conditions that explain why the lowland and upland rainfed farmers and artisanal fishermen continue to remain poor. It was found that the three categories of rural poor exhibit similar features that fit the classic description of the disadvantaged: landlessness, utilization of traditional technology, low production, low income, multiple sources of income as a major survival strategy, active involvement of women and children in farming or fishing, lack of capital and lack of access to disposition, and poor access to transportation. They lack social services in health, nutrition, and education. Extension services do not reach most of them because of poor physical infrastructure and limited manpower in the extension agencies. The environment of the three groups studied is characterized by poor soil, damaging typhoons and drought, denuded forests, and depleted resources.

The findings gathered from the field interviews were confirmed by the participants in the validation workshops. The workshops highlighted the fact that there is very little contact between the technical people and the municipal officials on the one hand, and the barangay inhabitants, on the other. The validation workshops likewise served as a useful tool for obtaining additional information about the communities studied.

Analysis of the development efforts being pursued in Leyte shows that the emphasis is more on capital-intensive, urban-based industries and less on agricultural programs. It has also brought out the disparity between the progressive north and the neglected south.

This study makes the following recommendations: an integrated rural development program with popular participation for Northern and Southern Leyte; immediate assistance in the form of irrigation systems, credit facilities, and roads to rainfed farmers and artisanal fishermen in both provinces; systematic and comprehensive collection of baseline data on the rural poor in Leyte; revitalized population/health/nutrition/education services for the target groups; formulation of measure to protect the environment; and structural and policy reform to ensure a more equitable distribution of wealth and resources.

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CHAPTER I  
OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

Measuring development in terms of Gross National Product (GNP) has been severely criticized because it has been observed that many countries that have experienced rapid economic growth have also experienced the attendant problems of unemployment, underemployment, malnutrition, maldistribution of income and wealth, poverty, insufficient food production, and widespread and chronic corruption. The study of the first development decade by the World Bank illustrated that growth has not reached the poorest of the poor but has benefitted only the upper 40 percent of the world's population. This being the case, the inequality that already exists in developing countries has worsened further. The same study also noted that industries found in the urban areas have increased their productivity while those in the agricultural sector have stagnated or even declined--with serious unfortunate consequences, since the majority of the people belong to the agricultural sector.

It is obvious therefore that while economic growth can be achieved in a country, that same country may at the same time experience deterioration in the quality of life of the majority of its population. Recognition of this problem has necessitated the formulation of non-economic indicators of the quality of life such as access to education, state of health, incidence of crime, and social mobility in addition

to the utilization of economic indicators with more distributive features such as income distribution, employment ratios, etc.

Development has also been seen as a multidimensional phenomenon necessitating changes in structures, attitudes, and institutions over and above the effort to increase per capita GNP. The issue of development focusing on economic growth and political and social uplift has been studied by economists, sociologists, and other social scientists utilizing different frameworks and models. The methodologies of such studies have also varied depending on their appropriateness to particular situations and their assurance of some degree of reliability and validity. Some of the methodologies recently employed have included the key informant approach and validation workshops.

## 1.2 Objectives

At the macro-level, this study will analyze the development efforts being pursued in Leyte, an island that is currently undertaking massive and integrated agro-industrial projects. At the micro-level, it will identify the most significant economic, social, institutional, and environmental factors affecting three categories of the poor—lowland and upland rainfed farmers and artisanal fishermen.

The information obtained by this study will provide the contracting agency, USAID/Manila, with a basic social analysis useful for guidance in programming choices, and in designing and implementing projects in the province.

## 1.3 Definition of Terms

Because of the nature of the method utilized in this research, most of the indices used to operationalized the major concepts are

qualitative.

Development is viewed as a multidimensional concept. It is defined as a process of improving the quality of all human lives, which means improving the people's level of living and thereby creating conditions conducive to the growth of people's esteem and freedom of choice. Four factors were utilized to measure this concept: economic, social, institutional, and environmental. Each factor has a set of general indices which are mostly qualitative.

Economic factors have three major indicators: (1) production--crops/products produced; (2) disposition/marketing--family consumption of crops/products; channels of disposing output from production sites to market towns; (3) resources--human resources, to include employment structure; non-human resources, to cover farm and fishing equipment, fowl, animals, and credit facilities.

Social factors include values, aspirations, and attitudes toward work, family and community, migration or settlement patterns, and the role of the elite.

Institutional factors cover individual and organizational participation in government activities or programs and access to the delivery of social services (health, education, nutrition, sanitation, etc.) by government and non-government agencies.

Environmental factors subsume energy sources and energy utilization, including land, forest and marine utilization, and environmental problems such as deforestation, overfishing and pollution.

The definitions of lowland and upland rainfed farmers and artisanal fishermen were largely drawn from Hobgood (1981), who proposed six major classifications of the poor in Eastern Visayas.

The lowland rainfed farmers are farmers who are dependent on rainfall for their source of water. Their main produce is rice.

The upland rainfed farmers are settled farmers who usually grow rice, corn, and other rootcrops in very marginal farms which often have eroded and depleted soils. Their farms are generally located in areas with some degree of slope and which are capable of holding less rain water.

In terms of land ownership, farmers in the two categories of rainfed farming are either owner-tillers or landless. Landless farmers, in turn, include tenants who are subject to various sharing arrangements with their landowners.

The artisanal fishermen are fishermen who use small boats (three tons or less) and operate in inland and marine waters within three nautical miles from the municipal coastline. Their boats are the traditional outrigger type known as bancas; with motorized boats they might actually operate more than three miles from the shore.

#### 1.4 Methodology

Three approaches were utilized in the attempt to attain the objectives of the project. These included (1) collection of data from primary and secondary sources, (2) interview of key informants from the three categories of the poor and from government and non-government agencies, and (3) holding of validation workshops involving selected key informants

from the field interviews. (For a more indepth description of the methodology, refer to Appendix B of this report.)

#### 1.4.1 Collection of data from documents and literature.

To come up with a view of the developmental changes taking place in Leyte on the macro-level, documents and literature were collected from government and non-government agencies in Manila and in Leyte. The research team originally intended to gather data beginning from the sixties to the eighties in order to establish the development trend in Leyte over a period of 20 years; the unavailability of sufficient literature, however, necessitated a narrower scope of coverage. Hence, it was decided that whatever materials there were which could provide information on recent changes taking place on the island will be utilized to present a macro-view of Leyte.

#### 1.4.2 Key informant interviews. For the micro-level studies of the three categories of the rural poor, the intensive interview of key informants was utilized. Persons from the farming and fishing communities and from the market towns who were found knowledgeable about the communities they reside in were interviewed. Obtaining respondents from these three areas was necessary in order to establish linkages between the production sites and the market towns. In the production sites, key informants included small farmers (share tenants, farm workers, and owner-tellers), subsistence or artisanal fishermen, farmer-leaders (officers of fishing associations and organizations), barangay officials, middlemen, extension workers, teachers, and the parish priest. In the market towns, government officials, bankers, and traders were interviewed. Seven interview guides

were developed for the different types of key informants (refer to Appendix for these research instruments).

The key informants were drawn from six municipalities and 12 barangays. The farming and fishing communities were selected when clusters of the rural poor were identified; the market towns were the areas where the produce from these communities were traded. Exhibits 1 and 2 present the sites covered by the study.

EXHIBIT 1: LIST OF RESEARCH SITES

	<u>Municipality</u>	<u>Barangay</u>	<u>Market Town</u>
Lowland rainfed farmers	Sta. Fe	San Isidro	Tacloban City
		San Miguelay	
	Dagami	Banayon	Tacloban City
		Calsadahay	
Upland rainfed farmers	Hilongos	Marangog	Hilongos
		Sta. Rita	Poblacion;
			Bato
	Bontoc	Pamahawan	Sogod
		Mahayahay	Bato
Artisanal fishermen	Capoocan	Balud	Carigara
		Poblacion Zone II	
	Barugo	Balud	Carigara
		Minuhang	

A total of 170 key informants were interviewed--64 came from the upland rainfed farming communities and their market towns, 55 from the lowland rainfed farming communities and their market towns, and 51 from

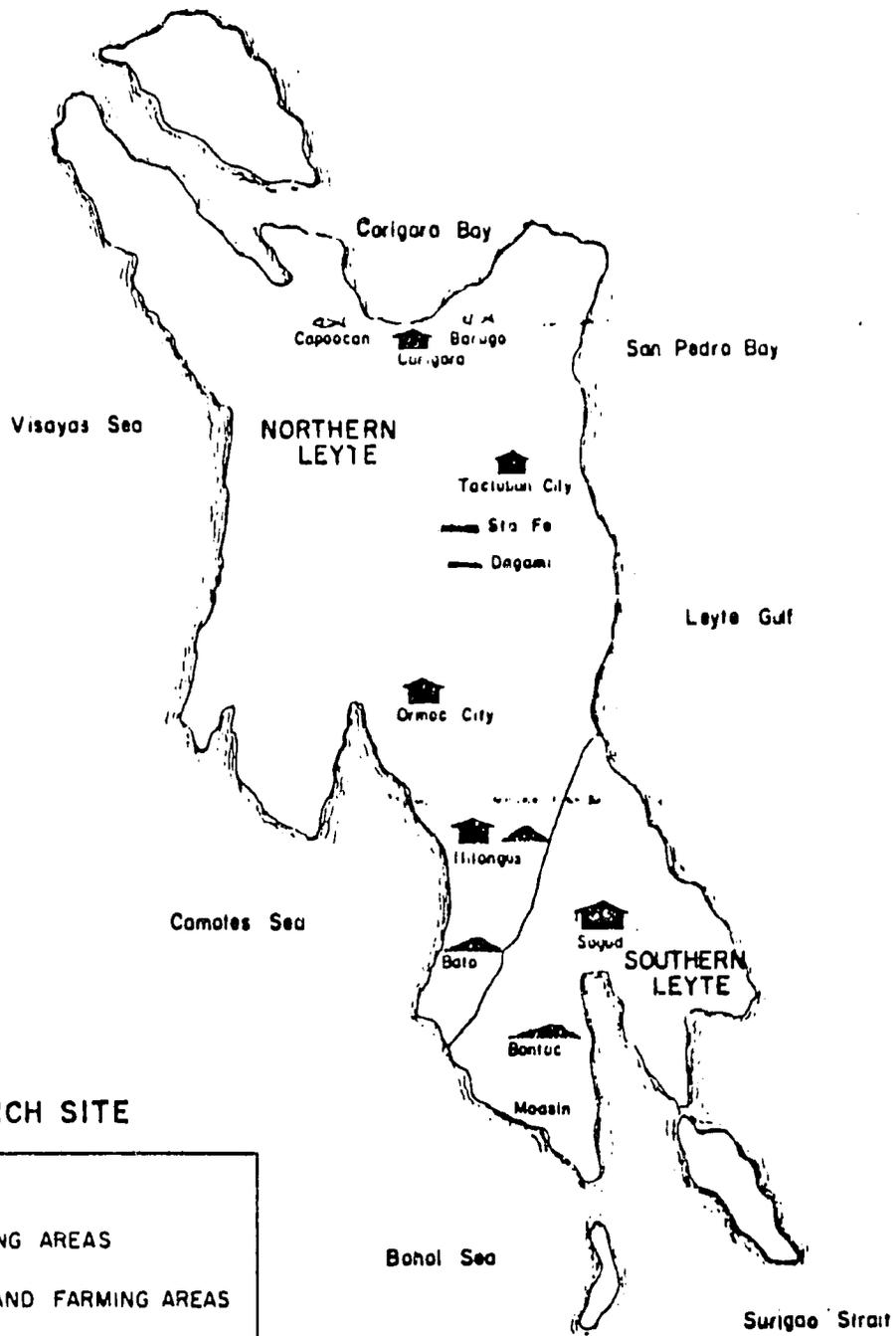


EXHIBIT 2  
SIP RESEARCH SITE

LEGEND	
	FISHING AREAS
	LOWLAND FARMING AREAS
	UPLAND FARMING AREAS
	MARKET TOWNS

the artisanal fishing communities and their market town (see Exhibit 3 for distribution of respondents). The personal interviews lasted from one and a half to six hours. The interviews conducted in the fishing communities particularly with fishermen leaders lasted the longest because of the discussions of the variety of fish caught and fishing techniques. It took approximately six days to interview all the key informants in each site.

1.4.3 Validation workshops. The culminating field activity of the project was the validation workshop for selected key informants from the research sites. This approach was included to verify whether the data obtained from the field interviews were valid and to elicit further suggestions for potential areas of development. Three validation workshops--one for each category of rural poor--were staged. Selected key informants from the different research sites were brought together for a validation workshop outside of their respective communities. Due to time constraints and limited facilities available in the communities, schools situated near the research sites were used as the venue of the workshops.

The workshops for the lowland rainfed farming and fishing communities were held at Divine Word University in Tacloban City. Barangay and municipal officials, extension workers, farmer or fisherman leaders, small farmers and artisanal fishermen participated in this exercise. The upland rainfed community key informants had their validation workshop at the Bato School of Fisheries. Waray was the language used during the validation workshop for lowland rainfed and fishing key informants; Cebuano was used for the upland rainfed participants.

## EXHIBIT 3: DISTRIBUTION OF SIP KEY INFORMANTS

Key Informant	Lowland rainfed areas	Upland rainfed areas	Artisanal fishing areas	Total
<u>Municipal level</u>				
Municipal mayor	2	-	2	4
Municipal action officer (for KKK)	2	-	-	2
Municipal agricultural officer	1	-	-	1
Extension workers	-	5	-	5
Other municipal officials	1	3	-	4
Parish priest	2	1	1	4
<u>Barangay level</u>				
Barangay captain	4	-	4	8
Other barangay officials	-	4	1	5
Leader-farmer (officer of a farmers' association)	1	15	-	16
Farmer	25	24	-	49
Leader-fishermen (officer of a fishermen's association)	-	-	9	9
Artisanal fishermen	-	-	20	20
School teacher	1	2	4	7
<u>Market towns</u>				
Middlemen	14	9	10	33
Bank official	2	1	-	3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>170</b>

The entire fieldwork was supervised by a team of researchers from the Integrated Research Center of De La Salle University. Because the research team did not have the language facility, Waray- and Cebuano-speaking Leyteños were hired and trained as field interviewers. The fieldwork covered a period of one month and one week, from the first week of October to mid-November 1982. Activities during this period included paying courtesy calls on provincial officials, military officers, municipal and barangay officials; selection and training of interviewers; identification of research sites; collection of community data; key informant interviews; and consolidation of the data for the validation workshops. The validation workshops were conducted toward the end of the fieldwork.

### 1.5 Limitations

Although useful insights can be drawn from the micro-level studies, the findings cannot be generalized to all the rainfed farmers and artisanal fishermen on the island of Leyte. Because of limited time and resources, the study has focused on only 12 barangays, with four barangays representing each category of the rural poor.

As mentioned earlier, the literature collected on the island was so limited that the original intent of looking at developmental changes over the last 20 years (from 1960 to 1980) was not carried out. The overview of the developmental changes presented here has been drawn largely from the literature of the recent past (from 1975 onwards).

### 1.6 Organization of the Report

Chapter II of this report presents a general profile of Leyte

including the current development efforts taking place on the island.

Chapter III discusses the findings of the field research and the validation workshop and relates these to the development efforts being pursued in Leyte.

Chapter IV presents the recommendations of the study.

The appendix presents (1) the results of the micro-studies of the rainfed lowland and upland farmers and artisanal fishermen, (2) field notes of the project and (3) the research instruments.

## CHAPTER II

## GENERAL PROFILE OF NORTHERN LEYTE AND SOUTHERN LEYTE

2.1 Physical and Natural Resources

The island of Leyte, the eighth largest island of the country, is situated at the heart of the archipelago in the area known as Eastern Visayas (Region VIII). It is bounded on the north by San Juanico Strait and Carigara Bay, on the west by Visayas and Camotes Seas, on the south by Surigao Strait and Bohol Sea, and on the east by San Pedro Bay and Leyte Gulf. The island was known as the province of Leyte until July 1960, when it was divided into two provinces, namely, Leyte (or Northern Leyte, as Leyteños call it\*) and Southern Leyte, the latter comprising what was formerly the third congressional district of the island province. The division of the province in that year and, consequently, the creation of the province of Southern Leyte resulted from the passage of Republic Act No. 2227 sponsored by Congressman Nicanor Yñiquez. Northern Leyte and Southern Leyte, together with the provinces of Eastern Samar, Western Samar, and Northern Samar, currently compose the archipelagic configuration of Region VIII.

Northern Leyte occupies an area of 626,826 hectares. It has one sub-province (Biliran), two cities (Tacloban and Ormoc), 49 municipalities, and a total of 1,435 registered barrios, with Tacloban City

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\*This study will henceforth use Leyte to refer to the whole island and will use Northern Leyte to refer to what is technically the province of Leyte.

as provincial capital.

Southern Leyte, covering only about one-fourth of the island's entire land mass, is composed of 18 municipalities consisting of 432 barrios spread over a total area of 173,480 hectares. Maasin is the capital town and the seat of the provincial government.

Among the provinces of Region VIII, Northern Leyte occupies the biggest land area, representing 29.3 percent, while Southern Leyte has the smallest with 8.1 percent (Institute of Small Scale Industries study, 1981).

The topography of the island is characterized by relatively flat coastal rolling areas and mountainous interior regions. A huge mountain range, the famous Amandewing of Northern Leyte, stretches through the entire length of the island bisecting both provinces into eastern and western. Owing to its larger land mass, Northern Leyte has extensive agricultural plains whose topsoil is rich and volcanic. Southern Leyte, in contrast, has the smallest area of flat arable land in the region. Much of the province is rugged and mountainous except for limited areas along the seacoast. In both provinces can be found numerous inland rivers and mountain springs. Table 1 indicates the general pattern of land use in Northern and Southern Leyte.

The island is endowed with natural resources. There are vast lands suitable for agriculture, thick woodlands, rich fishing grounds and abundant mineral reserves. In the province of Northern Leyte, metallic minerals--such as magnetite sand, nickel, and copper--and non-metallic reserves of peat and clay can be found in commercial quantities.

TABLE 1

GENERAL PATTERN OF LAND USE IN NORTHERN  
LEYTE AND SOUTHERN LEYTE  
(in hectares)

	N. Leyte	S. Leyte	Total
Total land area	626,826	173,480	800,306
Commercial forest	84,563	20,294	104,857
Non-commercial forest	83,126	4,980	88,106
Brushland	23,035	12,365	35,400
Open land/cogon	20,201	11,692	31,893
Marshes and swamps	8,932	477	9,409
Cultivated area	378,481	123,672	502,153
Roads, rivers and residential areas	28,488	---	28,488

Source: Socio-Economic Profile of Leyte and Southern Leyte, 1975 and 1979.

In Southern Leyte, there are indications of the existence of copper, iron, gold, pyrite as well as magnetite deposits. There are vast unexploited resource potentials in these provinces that both governments would like to tap for both domestic and export production. At the same time, there is concern for preserving and regenerating the natural environment.

## 2.2 Population Characteristics

The 1980 census of population registered the population of Northern Leyte at 1,302,377 while that of Southern Leyte at 296,581. Northern Leyte has the highest population among the provinces in Eastern Visayas, contributing almost one-half (46.3%) to the region's total

population. Southern Leyte contributed the least with 10.6 percent (Institute of Small Scale Industries, 1981).

In terms of population growth, Southern Leyte registered a higher growth rate over Northern Leyte during the period 1960-1975. Between 1975 and 1980, however, Northern Leyte's growth rate of 1.6 percent was higher than Southern Leyte's 1.4 percent, although this was about 50 percent lower than the national average of 2.6 percent (Institute of Small Scale Industries, 1981).

Of the five provinces in the region, Northern Leyte is the most densely populated province with 207 persons per sq. km., followed closely by Southern Leyte with 171. These figures are higher than the country's population density for the year 1980, which was 160 persons per sq. km. (Institute of Small Scale Industries, 1981).

Reflective of the national picture, the population in both provinces remains predominantly rural. In 1975, the rural population in Northern Leyte was 79.10 percent with a corresponding urban populace of 21.0 percent. In Southern Leyte, rural-urban distribution was placed at 84.8 percent and 15.2 percent, respectively (NCSO Integrated Report on Leyte and Southern Leyte, 1975).

The Leyte provinces are inhabited by natives and some long-time settlers from Cebu, Samar, Bohol, Iloilo, Luzon and Mindanao. In addition, a few foreigners, mostly Chinese, have settled on the island. In Northern Leyte alone, 2500 foreigners were registered as permanent residents in 1975 (Leyte: A Decade of Development, 1975).

The period 1960-1970 witnessed a general outmigration trend for both provinces as well as for the entire Eastern Visayas. Northern Leyte registered a net migration of -98.82 while Southern Leyte had -53.67. A majority of the out-migrants found their way to Southern Tagalog while a few left for Mindanao. Regarding in-migrants, a majority of them originated from Manila, followed by those from Central Visayas (Institute of Small Scale Industries, 1981). There is likewise a high rate of internal migration, swelling the population of cities like Tacloban and Ormoc. Through the years, stagnation in the barrios has been pushing the folk out to seek opportunities through migration (Leyte: A Decade of Development, 1975).

Two major languages are spoken on the island. In Northern Leyte, more than half of the populace speaks Cebuano, followed by 48.9 percent who speak Waray. Only 0.3 percent reported Tagalog as their mother tongue; 0.1 percent each, Aklanon, Maranao, and Tagakaolo; and the remaining 0.2 percent, one of several other languages/dialects. In Southern Leyte, Cebuano is reported as the mother tongue of 99.5 percent of the population, Waray of 0.1 percent, Tagalog of 0.1 percent. Only 0.5 percent reported one of several other languages as their mother tongue (NCSO, Integrated Report on Leyte and Southern Leyte, 1975).

In the area of employment, both provinces registered a high rate of employment with Northern Leyte at 94.3 percent and Southern Leyte at 88.3 percent (1978 figures quoted in Institute of Small Scale Industries, 1981). It must be noted, however, that most of these gainfully employed persons are concentrated in the agriculture, fishery,

and forestry sectors. For Northern Leyte, 71 percent of its total labor force is found in this domestic industry while in Southern Leyte it is 67 percent (1978 employment data in Institute of Small Scale Industries, 1981).

It is safe to surmise that the dominant component in the rural area is made up of self-employed and unpaid family workers. It is likely, too, that the underemployed among the unpaid family workers are many. The remainder of the employed may be found mostly in the services sector with a small segment found in the industry sector (see Table 2 for Employment by Major Industry Group).

The 1975 NCSO figures indicate that 51.7 percent of the total households in the region fall within the low income group, with income amounting to less than ₱4,000.00. In the Leyte provinces, 22 percent of the households (most of which are found in the agricultural sector) fall within this category.

### 2.3 Physical Infrastructure and Public Services

In 1975, severe deficiencies in infrastructure (especially, transport) and local power resources were noted in the Leyte provinces. Since then, the two provincial governments have engaged in intensified infrastructure development, allocating for this purpose an average of 42.5 percent of the total provincial budgets during the last 10 years, beefed up by substantial assistance from the national government. Records further reveal that physical infrastructure spending has been increasing at an annual rate of 5.5 percent. Northern Leyte has achieved several accomplishments, among them the Maharlika Road, the Marcos Bridge,

TABLE 2

EMPLOYMENT BY MAJOR INDUSTRY GROUP, BY PROVINCE  
(In Thousands)  
Region VIII  
Second Quarter, 1978

	Northern Leyte <sup>1</sup>	Southern Leyte
Agriculture, Fishery, and Forestry	353 (70.7%)	66 (67.3%)
Mining and Quarrying	1 ( 0.2%)	--
Manufacturing	16 ( 3.2%)	5 ( 5.1%)
Electricity, Gas, and Water	--	
Construction	9 ( 1.8%)	3 ( 3.1%)
Wholesale and Retail Trade	65 (13.0%)	8 ( 8.2%)
Transportation, Storage, and Communication	7 ( 1.4%)	--
Financing, Insurance, Real Estate and Business Services	--	--
Community, Social, and Personal Services	48 ( 9.6%)	15 (15.3%)
Industry Not Adequately Defined	--	1 ( 1.0%)
Total	499 (100.0%)	98 (100.0%)

<sup>1</sup>Includes Biliran (sub-province)

Source: NCSO

and several primary roads. Southern Leyte's efforts, on the other hand, have not been as successful primarily due to lack of necessary funds and technical knowhow.

Table 3 presents the length of completed roads and bridges on the island for 1981 as provided by the Ministry of Public Highways. At

TABLE 3  
LENGTH OF COMPLETED ROADS AND BRIDGES

Types of Roads	Northern Leyte	Southern Leyte
National		
Concrete	463,839.06	107,170
Asphalt	35,637	142
Gravel	12,417.65	697,779
Feeder/Barangay roads	97,068	39,276
Bridges (1.m)	11,626.779	4,159.008

Source: Socio-Economic Profile of Leyte and Southern Leyte, Ministry of Public Highways, 1981.

present, there are still long stretches of provincial roads of the gravel and unsurfaced kind that have to be improved, not including the countless barangay roads in deplorable condition that get washed out during heavy rains. Since the island's terrain is broken at several points by rivers, bridges too will have to be improved. There are numerous timber bridges on both municipal and barangay levels that are oftentimes impassable and badly in need of repair.

The island's port system has likewise been identified for further improvement so that the ports can cope with the increasing commercial traffic in the region. At present, there are 29 municipal ports in Northern Leyte in addition to the port of Tacloban that caters to both domestic and international shipping. Of the 12 ports found in Southern Leyte, only Maasin is a national and an open port. In Northern

Leyte can also be found four airports, namely, Tacloban Daniel Z. Romualdez Airport (trunkline), Ormoc City Airport (secondary), and Hilongos and Biliran Airports (feeder). No airport is found in Southern Leyte.

To boost Northern Leyte's agriculture-based economy, one primary requirement is an adequate and effective irrigation system. Based on recent National Irrigation Administration data, however, only 6.33 percent of the total cultivated area on the island is presently served by irrigation. River irrigation systems--most of them still not fully developed--are the main sources of water for agriculture. Both governments, together with the National Irrigation Administration, Farm Systems Development Corporation, Bureau of Agricultural Extension, and the Ministry of Local Governments, have embarked on the construction of additional irrigation systems. Meanwhile, the majority of farmers will continue to depend on rain water for their agricultural needs.

Electricity is supplied to 17.4 percent of Northern Leyte's population by five electric cooperatives, and to 0.06 percent of Southern Leyte's by a lone cooperative. The Tongonan plant, now undergoing construction and partially operational, is expected to come up with four sub-plants with a combined installed capacity of 450 megawatts. Once fully harnessed, it will eventually electrify the entire Leyte-Samar region. In addition, the National Power Corporation has identified five rivers in Northern Leyte as having hydropower potential.

A variety of communication systems are concentrated in the biggest urban center, Tacloban City. An inventory of communication facilities of both provinces shows the availability of telegraph, telephone, radio,

television, and printed media. The government-owned Bureau of Telecommunications and eight privately-owned companies service residents of the island. Telephone service is provided by Retalco while radio communication service is obtained from three privately-owned radio stations. Northern Leyte has a television station, with most broadcasts being beamed directly from Cebu City. Southern Leyte, meanwhile, depends mainly on Northern Leyte to meet its telecommunications needs.

Postal service for all municipalities in both provinces is handled by the Bureau of Posts. A few privately-owned messenger-service companies and cargo services also operate on the island. In terms of printed media, most major national newspapers and magazines are circulated in Northern Leyte and Southern Leyte. In addition, each has two local publications of regular circulation: Leyte Forum and the Reporter for Northern Leyte, and the Budyong and Reporter for Southern Leyte.

Information on health facilities obtained from the Regional Health Office in Tacloban City indicates that Northern Leyte has a total of 21 hospitals (11 are government-owned and 10 are private). Southern Leyte has only five hospitals (one government-owned and four private). The total number of hospitals found in both provinces accounts for only 0.007 percent of the 393,832 hospitals in the entire country. In addition, there are 52 Rural Health Units and 66 Family Planning Clinics in Northern Leyte; there are 19 RHU's and 22 FPC's in Southern Leyte. Despite efforts to provide better medical services to the people, many deaths attributed to pneumonia, respiratory tuberculosis, gastroenteritis, malnutrition, and schistosomiasis have occurred. These poor man's ailments indicate the

inadequacy of nutrition, sanitation, and health services on the island.

Formal educational facilities are both government and privately-owned. There are 1,245 schools in Northern Leyte and 297 in Southern Leyte. Of these, six are agricultural schools while four are fisheries schools. All levels taken together, both provinces have a combined enrollment of 1,096,669 for schoolyear 1981. Drop-outs rates seem to be 4-5 percent on all levels. Lack of financial resources as well as the need to work on the family farm have been the reasons most often cited for dropping out of school.

#### 2.4 Industry Sector

Agriculture is the primary source of income for the majority of the Leyteños. Among the principal food crops, rice has dominated production and is extensively grown in the province of Northern Leyte. During the last crop year, Northern Leyte was able to attain sufficiency in this produce; on the other hand, Southern Leyte's total rice production has never met its food requirement level. Physical limitations mainly account for Southern Leyte's inability to have production keep pace with consumption--agricultural land is small because most of the interior terrain is rugged and mountainous, thus preventing agricultural expansion. Insufficient irrigation in both provinces has likewise been a factor limiting rice production.

Corn, the next most important food crop, is produced substantially in the north, but Southern Leyte has managed to produce only 4 percent of its total corn requirement. As a result, the province has to import around 96 percent of its total food requirement for corn. Rootcrops, fruits,

and nuts also constitute major food crops on the island. Both provinces have traditionally produced moderate harvests of these crops.

The chief export crops of the island are coconut, sugar, and abaca. Coconut, the prime commercial crop, is the main source of export earnings for both provinces. In Southern Leyte, the area of land allotted to coconut production is 10 times bigger than that allotted to rice production. Coconut production is engaged in by more families than those involved in other industries--over 31 percent of Northern Leyte's population depends on this cash crop.

In the north, the Leyte Integrated Coconut Development Program was launched to increase coconut production. It has been ascertained that while Leyte remains a chief exporter of coconut, its average annual produce per tree is well below the average for other producers. In 1975, there were only 28 nuts harvested per tree as against the national average of 33 nuts. The situation has not substantially improved since.

Abaca is the second biggest crop produced on the island, ranking second to coconut in the south and third to coconut and sugar in the north. Abaca plantations occupy mountain areas where other economic crops do not seem to thrive well. In the north, a considerable quantity of the drawn and dried fiber is used by its domestic cottage industry with the rest exported to the U.S. and Europe. In the south, however, only an insignificant portion is processed locally into finished products due to the limited number of cottage industries.

Sugar production, which includes centrifugal sugar and molasses in addition to panocha and muscovado, is present mainly in Northern Leyte. In the last decade, cane cultivation has been rising sharply in terms of

hectarage. According to 1975 data, area allotted to sugar more than tripled over an eight-year period while productivity increased by two-thirds (Leyte: A Decade of Development, 1975). There are two sugar centrals for milling the island's sugar, namely, Ormoc Sugar Company, Incorporated (OSCO) and Hilongos Development Corporation (HIDECO) in Kanaaga. Northern Leyte's sugar planters are also organized into two groups: the Ormoc Sugar Planters Association and the Occidental Leyte Sugar Farmers' Association.

The island's meat, dairy, and poultry requirements are being supplied by other Visayan provinces. Both provincial governments are currently encouraging farmers to raise poultry and graze cattle especially in coconut groves. Meanwhile, swine and poultry raising on a large scale will have to await the building of a feed mill.

Fishing, one of the major domestic industries of the island, is the source of livelihood for many Leyteños. There are five major fishing grounds, namely, Carigara Bay, San Pedro Bay, and Leyte Gulf in the north, and Visayan Sea and Canigao Channel in the south. Ironically, despite the rich fishing grounds surrounding the island, Leyte is not self-sufficient in fish. This is mainly the result of lack of local storage facilities and an inefficient distribution system. Moreover, the traditional fishing grounds are experiencing a decrease in resources as a result of many years of overfishing. Both governments have embarked on the development of inland fishing by reclaiming swamplands and turning these into fishponds. The huge capital requirement for such development has, however, proved a serious difficulty especially in the case of Southern Leyte.

Timber used to be a major produce of the island before the national government suspended logging to conserve the country's forests. Northern Leyte's forest area of 197,033 hectares and Southern Leyte's 81,636 hectares are concentrated in the interior of the island. A number of small timber companies, some of which have ceased operations, constitute the island's timber industry. Illegal cutting of trees and kaingin are the main threats to forest conservation.

There is still no mining, quarrying, or mineral extracting industry of any significance in Southern Leyte. In Northern Leyte, mining operations concentrate on magnetite ore, a basic component in the manufacture of steel. The INCO Mining Corporation based in Tolosa has extracted and exported this magnetite component. Other mining establishments found in the north produce solely non-metallics such as sand and gravel, bentonite clay, phosphate rock, and limestone for agriculture.

The island's manufacturing sector is made up mostly of cottage industries and a few small-scale industries concentrated in the north. Cottage crafts include bamboo and rattan craft, fibercraft, hat-weaving, cigar-making, loom weaving, metal craft, needlecraft, woodcraft, and toy craft. The manufacture of shoes, bags, and clothes makes up the bulk of the small-scale industries. Medium- to large-scale manufacturing involves processing the island's major crops-coconut and sugarcane. This is done by the coconut mill operated by NIDC, which extracts coconut oil from copra and turns coco meat pulp into pellets, a highly nutritious animal feed, and the two centrals, HIDECO and OSCO, which produce molasses and refined sugar.

## 2.5 Insights into Development Efforts in the Leyte Provinces

More than 10 years ago, the sad economic state of the Leyte provinces caused much concern among the country's national planners. There was an extremely low standard of living in the area due to low productivity in its domestic agriculture, absence of industry, and restricted expansion of economic activities due to severe deficiencies in the public service, infrastructure, and power sources. In short, there was economic stagnation, with Southern Leyte being identified as a depressed area in need of immediate assistance.

The mid-seventies saw a significant change in the island's economic environment. Yet, such development efforts have been primarily concentrated in Northern Leyte, with the more depressed southern province left neglected. The main reason for this is at once apparent--Northern Leyte is headed by Governor Benjamin Romualdez, brother of Imelda R. Marcos, the president's wife. Possessing the necessary proximity to Malacañang, he has access to development funds. Thus was laid the blueprint aimed at turning Northern Leyte into the agro-industrial center of the Eastern Visayas region (Observer, 24 October, 1982).

Paving the way for Northern Leyte's future industrialization has been the improvement of infrastructure facilities such as roads and bridges. There is the Maharlika Road linking eight municipalities to Tacloban City; the Marcos Bridge, a three-kilometer span of concrete and steel connecting Leyte and the Samar provinces; and several secondary roads connecting to the primary ones. What has been vastly neglected, however, are hundreds of kilometers of barrio roads which are in deplorable

condition. In the rural areas, farmers perennially complain of bad roads and insufficient transport facilities that prevent them from transporting their produce to market towns. Since farmers cannot bring their produce to the mills, enterprising merchants take advantage of the situation by fetching the produce and buying it at a low price from the farmers.

Aimed at remedying the deficiency in power source is the Tongonan Geothermal Plant, which was started in 1980 and projected to be finished in 1984. The project's total cost is estimated at ₱718.327 million, covered by funds obtained from government equity and OEFC loans. When fully harnessed, its four sub-plants with a combined installed capacity of 450 megawatts will generate enough power to electrify the whole region. Principally, however, the plant was set up to meet the electrification needs of the proposed industrial estate in adjacent Isabel.

Much publicity has been generated by one of the largest and most ambitious development projects to be launched in the country: the Leyte Industrial and Development Estate (LIDE) in the municipality of Isabel. The development of the estate--with a huge budget outlay of billions of pesos up to the year 2000--features the US\$370 million phosphate fertilizer plant, expected to begin operations in June 1983, and the US\$370 million copper smelter plant to be operational in July 1983. An export processing zone similar to the one found in Bataan is, likewise, in the blueprint. The LIDE project rests on the premise that industrialization based on maximum exploitation of the country's vast mineral reserves and manpower supply can eventually propel its socio-economic

growth. A similar estate on a smaller scale is being planned for the municipality of Bontoc in Southern Leyte.

Hand-in-hand with this aggressive industrialization drive is a project aimed at uplifting the domestic agricultural industry. Thus, the Sab-a Basin Development Project was launched in January 1976 and completed in December 1982. The project seeks to convert 21,085 hectares of marshlands in Tacloban City and seven nearby municipalities into a productive agro-industrial estate. The estate, presently managed by the Sab- Development Authority propped up by heavy financial participation from private companies, has started the large-scale production of non-traditional crops found adaptable to local soil and climate conditions and is equipped with grains processing, storage, and by-products processing facilities.

The manufacturing sector is, likewise, being eyed to be a recipient of the government's assistance program. Envisioned to rise soon are a confectionery and biscuit factory which will intensively use sugar and copra as raw materials, a charcoal briquetting plant, a wall board plant which will use bagasse, and a pulp and paper mill which will use abaca and Philippine hardwood to produce currency paper (Observer, 24 October 1982).

In spite of agriculture serving by and large as the backbone of Leyte's economy, this sector has been given less attention and assistance by the government. Development efforts have primarily been stop-gap measures rather than a coordinated and integrated plan for development such as the one existing for the industrialization of the island. So far,

Leyte had participated in different agricultural projects such as the Masagana 99, Masaganang Maisan, Palayan ng Bayan, and Green Revolution without much success. In this field, coconut and sugar still present the biggest opportunities for domestic and foreign investment. Crop productivity in these areas, however, remains far below potential yields. In addition, both crops have suffered setbacks due to fluctuating prices in the world market. Fishing, too, has a vast potential for development, yet despite its rich fishing grounds, the island has never seen self-sufficient in fish.

## CHAPTER III

## DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS OF THE MICRO-STUDIES

This section presents findings drawn from the field research and the validation workshops. (For more detailed discussions of the field research, refer to Appendix A.) It also relates the results of the micro-studies with the development efforts being pursued on the island of Leyte.

### 3.1 Results of the Field Study

The micro-studies appended here highlight the economic, social, institutional, and environmental factors that describe why the lowland and upland rainfed farmers and artisanal fishermen are and continue to remain poor. They also show that in spite of some agriculture-related programs and other development efforts in Leyte, the quality of life of these groups of rural poor has not improved. Despite differences in location and in types of work, the three categories of the rural poor that have been studied exhibit similar features that fit the classic descriptions of the disadvantaged. The common economic characteristics of the groups are: landlessness, utilization of traditional technology, low production, low income, multiple sources of income as a major survival strategy, active involvement of women and children in farming or fishing-related activities, lack of capital and lack of access to credit facilities, dependence on middlemen for crop/product disposal, and poor access to roads and transportation services.

In terms of ownership and non-ownership of land, a majority of the rural poor in the study are landless. Most of the farmers labor under various tenancy and leaseholding arrangements while a growing number are dispossessed rural workers who are forced to migrate either to the uplands or to the urban center. Needless to say, the fishermen --because of the nature of their work--tend not to acquire agricultural land.

Most of the rainfed farmers and artisanal fishermen utilize traditional technology. Because of their dependence on rainfall, these farmers continue to plant low-yielding varieties of rice in the traditional way. These farmers are aware that the adoption of modern technology requires a regular water supply and more expensive inputs. The artisanal fishermen likewise continue to use non-motorized bancas because they do not have the capital to purchase the motor and because the cost of fuel is becoming more prohibitive. It was found that traditional technology persists in the rural areas not because farmers and fishermen are averse to the modern method but simply because they do not possess the material conditions for new technology.

The use of traditional technology is associated with low production and low income. Low-yielding staple crops are harvested usually only once a year. Whatever earnings are derived from these will not be utilized for farming or fishing needs but for the day-to-day survival of the respondents' large families. Production is perennially hampered by the lack of capital. Yet, most of them currently do not have access to government-instituted credit programs. The upland farmers are not in

the priority list to receive loan assistance from credit institutions since they are considered high risks. Many of the lowland farmers have previous debts which have not been repaid, for example under the Masagana 99 program, so they can no longer avail of any credit or loan assistance, for example from the Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran (KKK). Likewise, some artisanal fishermen have unpaid debts to the government's Biyayang Dagat program, hence are not qualified under present loan assistance programs until they have settled accounts. Many of these farmers and artisanal fishermen have been unable to repay loans because of poor harvests and crop damage suffered from unexpected calamities like typhoons and floods.

Many rainfed farmers and artisanal fishermen have inadequate knowledge of sources of capital or credit. In all the research sites, almost everyone had heard of the KKK loan assistance program for the disadvantaged. The Municipal Action Officers in charge of this program can take credit for widely disseminating information to the mass base. However, the information received by many is insufficient or incorrect. The upland farmers perceive that there are excessive application charges, a perception that has discouraged some of them from applying. The requirements of the program--particularly the preparation of feasibility studies and the procedures to follow up one's loan application--are simply beyond the comprehension of poor uneducated farmers and fishermen. In one fishing barangay, the leader of a fishermen's association, a former politician, claimed that he had used his own resources and connections to follow up his association's application in Tacloban City. He had been following up their documents for several months, and yet, even up to the time of the research, it was not certain whether their application would be

approved. Because of several time-consuming requirements by the legitimate credit sources, many of the poor are forced to continue dealing with the loan sharks in the communities.

A major survival strategy of all these groups is to have multiple sources of income. The rainfed farmers raise other crops and livestock. During certain periods of the year, particularly during planting and harvest time, they work as hired hands for other farmers and are paid either in cash or in kind. Other occupations from which some farmers earn additional cash to supplement their meager income from agriculture are carpentry and other construction-related work; tricycle, jeepney, or tractor driving (in the lowlands); and tuba and bamboo gathering. Those who own carabaos rent these out to other farmers. Likewise, the fishermen earn extra income during lean months by doing on-farm work as hired laborers or off-farm activities like carpentry and driving. It is interesting to note that because of multiple jobs, about 24 categories of artisanal or small fishermen in the villages were identified (refer to the report on the Artisanal Fishermen Appendix A.3). The classifications include fishing plus other types of work.

The relatives of the poor also help augment the family income. Women in the upland and lowland farms, apart from providing added manpower in farmwork, also engage in handicraft such as mat- and hat-weaving. In the uplands where abaca is grown, women and children engage in making abaca rope. Some young people who have left their villages to work in urban centers as household helpers or in service-related tasks send cash to their families who have been left behind.

Traditional technology and low production are related to environmental factors. Dependence on rain, poor soil conditions, and damaging typhoons limit potential productivity. In the case of the upland farmers, the soil is usually eroded and the forest denuded. The strong typhoons which hit the south in March 1982 left many farmlands devastated. Many poor farmers are still trying to recover from that catastrophe. The lowland rainfed farmers have noted the deteriorating condition of their soil because the yield is no longer as bountiful as before. They are also highly dependent on rain for planting; however, the rains sometimes cause floods.

The common fishing grounds of the artisanal fishermen appear not to yield a bountiful catch anymore. Informants revealed the existence of fishermen who use illegal methods, such as dynamiting, that are harmful to marine life. In particular, they reported destroyed coral reefs and spawning grounds in the Carigara Bay area allegedly due to such practices. The fishermen have also noticed white shiny emissions of some sort clinging to their boats which somehow drive fish away. They suspect these to be some form of pollutants from big vessels which have invaded their fishing grounds.

Despite being seemingly aware of the harshness of their environments, a majority in the three groups studied appeared to think themselves helpless to improve or control the situation.

The three disadvantaged groups pointed to the absence of roads and transportation as another factor which prevents them from having control over their produce. When transportation service is available,

it is inadequate and costly. A motorcycle carrying five to eight passengers appears to be a common vehicle for most of the barangays. For the farming and two fishing villages, the motorcycle is not suitable because the hauling of produce is done in bulk. The usual practice of transferring the produce to the market town by piece, by sack, or by box is claimed to be an expensive alternative. Thus, a majority of them continue to utilize the services of middlemen who fetch the produce from their fields. In cases when adequate roads and transportation are available, such as for one fishing community situated along the highway, the poor claimed that the availability of such physical infrastructure alone has not really improved the quality of their lives. They stated that the absence of storage facilities has forced them to immediately dispose of their catch to enterprising middlemen.

The middlemen covered in this project were found in both the production sites and market towns.

For the lowland rainfed farming communities, the middlemen were noted as coming largely from the municipal poblacion or towns. Generally, they are landlords of the farmers or Chinese traders or Leyteños of Chinese origin. The middlemen usually come to the villages during harvest season with their own vehicles and haulers and purchase the palay at prices which are sometimes lower than the set government rate. The farmers have contracted the sale of their produce to the middlemen either because they are indebted to them or because the middlemen are long-time customers. Most of the palay purchased by the middlemen is hauled and milled in their warehouses in the poblacion and later taken to big trading firms in the provincial capital. It was cited that

most of these trading firms are also controlled by Tacloban-based Chinese or Leyteños of Chinese origin. Some of the milled rice are also retailed by some middlemen who own sari-sari stores in the municipal poblacion. In the transfer of produce, it was noted that the biggest profits are raked in by the owners of the trading firms, followed by the middlemen who sell to the trading firms, then by the retailers; the smallest share appears to go to the producer or the rainfed farmer.

For the upland rainfed farming communities, the middlemen are also mostly from the market towns. Noncommercial products like peanuts, mongo, and upland rice are usually bought by the middlemen from the uplanders and retailed to municipal residents in the poblacion. Commercial products like copra, abaca, corn, and coffee are mostly purchased in bulk by middlemen who are largely Chinese and then sold through wholesale arrangements to other market towns like Sogod, Bato, Maasin, and even Cebu and Manila. Coffee, however, does not go as far as Manila. It was cited that the uplands have very few barangay-based middlemen. These middlemen usually accumulate the produce sold by small farmers and sell these products in bulk to market towns outside the municipal poblacion.

The artisanal fishing communities have middlemen in the barangay and in the market town. There are two types of middlemen in the barangay --the first type includes retailers who are mostly relatives who get a percentage of the total proceeds and the second type includes wholesalers who provide credit to fishermen with the arrangement that they become the permanent buyer of the fish caught by the fishermen. There are also two types of middlemen in the market town. The first type comes from the nearby market town; he buys the fish directly from the wholesaler. He in

turn either retails or sends the fish to the second type of market town middlemen who are based in the urban centers. The middlemen from the urban centers are usually Chinese. Apart from retailing the fish in the urban centers, these middlemen oftentimes sell the fish (particularly processed fish) in market towns outside the province, specifically in Cebu or Manila. The artisanal fishermen informants expressed dissatisfaction with their arrangements with the wholesale middlemen because they do not seem to get the right price for their fish despite greater demand over supply. But because credit is extended to them by the wholesalers for their day-to-day household needs, they are somehow forced to utilize this marketing network.

The social features found common among the three groups include positive attitudes toward work and toward their communities. Despite language differences, there appears to be no serious conflicts between the two major ethnolinguistic groupings on the island. While Warays teasingly call the Cebuanos "kana" (snort for Canadian because the north of Leyte is known as USA), these two groups seem to work harmoniously together. This is the state of affairs perhaps because each linguistic group has its own territory with boundaries strictly defined.

As far as peace and order is concerned, the fishing and farming villages in the north expressed the opinion that the situation improved when Martial Law was imposed. In the fishing communities, the fishermen claimed that piracy and illegal fishing have been minimized. On the other hand, the uplanders in the south observed that the situation has become critical in some areas and that insurgency appears to be gaining ground.

The elite in the village are usually the politicians, wealthier farmers, educators, middlemen, and government technicians. These persons serve as the power brokers between their communities and the outside powers, as sources of credit and of new technology or information, and as counsel for various personal and community problems. Some members of the elite appear genuinely concerned about the plight of the poor while others openly exploit them (e.g. educator-loan sharks).

Organizations are generally not active because of leadership problems and flagging support from the community. It was found that the people do not actively participate in government-initiated organizations since they are generally busy trying to survive. There are others too who refuse to get involved because they do not perceive benefits from such organizations.

The poor generally do not have access to social services in health, nutrition, and education; their households continue to exhibit poor health, malnutrition, and little education. Institutional services in terms of extension services do not as a whole reach most of them because of poor physical infrastructure and limited manpower in the extension agencies. In addition, almost all the groups expressed concern about young people who are out-migrating because of limited opportunities provided by their community.

There are, admittedly, some differentials among the three groups and within each category of the rural poor, probably due to differing access to physical infrastructure and to certain social and institutional services, and differing local leadership. Comparing the three types of rural poor, it appears that the least poor are the artisanal fishermen and

the worst-off are the upland rainfed farmers. The fishing villages generally have better access to physical infrastructure and social services and possess relatively active organizations while the uplanders have very minimal or no access to these. The lowland villages seem to be in-between the two groups.

Although the fishing communities appear to be better off than the rest, residents of two villages complained of bad roads and irregular transportation service. A fishing village beside the national road turned out to be the poorest of all the four fishing communities studied, because a majority of the artisanal fishermen turned out to be non-owner operators. Although electricity and running water are available in three fishing communities, many households do not have access to them because they cannot afford to pay the fees. Children also appear malnourished despite the presence of health and nutrition service. This indicates that proximity to physical and social infrastructure does not guarantee improvement in one's level of living.

The fishing associations seem active, particularly those organized for the purpose of applying for loans to the KKK. However, certain social forces are at work in these groups. It appears that the leaders are not really small fishermen but former politicians or wealthier people in the community. Most of the members are somehow related to each other and have the same political leanings. The research team inadvertently chose two villages that are traditionally oppositionist. It was reported that the Liberal and Nacionalista parties have merged into one party. They do not, however, openly oppose the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan or any programs initiated by the government. These fishing organizations somehow operate largely

on the kinship and political network in the community.

Although the rainfed upland villages have the least access to everything and appear to be the most depressed, there are also differences among them. The villages which are situated very far from the municipal pollacion appear to be in much worse condition than those that are relatively closer. Comparing the villages of Bontoc and Hilongos, the former seem to have more farmers who have attempted to apply modern intercropping methods. Credit for this should probably be given to the enterprising municipal mayor who demonstrates modern farming methods in his farm in the hope that his farming constituency will adopt them.

### 3.2 Results of the Validation Workshops

Most of the findings and observations from the field research were confirmed by the participants in the validation workshops, for instance, (1) that there appears to very little contact between the technical people and the municipal officials on the one hand, and the barangay inhabitants, on the other hand, and (2) that the poor possess very little information or the wrong information about government programs. The workshops turned out to be occasions for the officials and the poor to discuss together the problems of the communities.

Aside from highlighting the general profile of the various communities, the validation workshops presented the people's perceived needs or community problems drawn from the key interviews. The participants were then asked to rank these problems/needs in terms of their potential to improve the conditions of their communities, if solved.

### 3.2.1 Perceived Problems/Needs of the Lowland Rainfed Farmers

Nine needs elicited from the field interviews were presented to the lowland rainfed farmers: (a) income generating project in the community to be financed by KKK, (b) better roads and transportation facilities, (c) irrigation system, (d) agricultural land ownership, (e) better quality of life, (f) access to credit facilities, (g) residential house ownership, (h) control over their produce, and (i) more technical assistance from agricultural agencies that can mobilize and solicit the people's cooperation. Two problems were added by the workshop participants: the need for cottage industries to supplement their meager income and the need for schools for some villages.

The workshop participants indicated that the five most important projects that can help improve their level of living are irrigation, credit facilities, road improvement, cottage industries, and schools. They stated that a good irrigation system would mean higher production, improved income, and fewer debts. If irrigation becomes available, they would need capital to buy equipment and fertilizers and to hire laborers. Furthermore, credit facilities should be made accessible to them. Those with previous debts who were unable to repay for very good reasons should not be disqualified.

To the lowlanders, improvement of roads resulting in improved transportation services, can result in direct-marketing of their produce which also means less dependence on middlemen. They want to engage in cottage industries as a supplementary source of income, in between their crop planting and harvesting. The only non-livelihood-

related project that they aspire for concerns schools for those villages which have no educational facilities. They hope that with elementary schools in these communities, some children who were forced to drop out of school can study again. The participants claimed that if improvement in their livelihood can be effected through infrastructure development and accessibility to credit, other benefits such as better food and houses will naturally follow.

Although to own a piece of agricultural land was an aspiration of some lowland rainfed farmer-interviewees, this was not brought up during the workshop. The farmer-participants were hesitant to raise the issue of their landless status perhaps because of the presence of municipal officials who are also big landowners. Instead they focused their attention on infrastructure and other livelihood-related problems.

It is true that on the one hand, the presence of various levels of key informants might have prevented some farmer-participants from bringing up basic issues like insecurity of land tenure; on the other hand, however, the presence of the power elite clarified some misconceptions about loan and technical assistance.

### 3.2.2 Perceived Problems/Needs of the Artisanal Fishermen

Ten problems from the fishermen-interviewees were presented during the fishing community workshop. These were: (a) lack of capital, (b) use of traditional technology, (c) decreasing fish supply, (d) resource competition among fishermen, (e) illegal fishing methods, (f) low prices for fish caught, (g) poor storage facilities,

(h) disunity among fishermen, (i) inadequate social services in health, sanitation, education, and (j) inadequate technical assistance from extension workers. One problem was added by the workshop participants--the high cost of fishing equipment.

The participants were then asked to identify which of these problems they could and could not control. To perform the task, the fishermen decided to divide themselves into two groups--the Capoocan villagers and the Barugo villagers--because they felt that the problems of Capoocan were different from those of Barugo.

It is interesting to note that the Capoocan group identified more problems which they could control by themselves; the Barugo group cited only four, namely, resource competition, disunity among fishermen, low prices for fish caught, and storage facilities. The former cited all the problems mentioned by the latter, plus the use of traditional technology, inadequate social services.

Similar solutions were given by the two groups to the common problems which they could control. To foster better unity and less resource competition, there should be a strong fishermen's association which can help formulate an agreement on the selling prices of fish. There should also be an open market for the fishermen so that they will be the ones to set the price of their catch. This will somehow loosen the hold of the middlemen in their villages. Cold storage facilities should be built and the fishermen should learn how to process or preserve fish.

Capoocan's other three problems could be solved by conducting seminars on new fishing methods with the assistance of extension

workers, and by forming cooperatives to buy fishing equipment in bulk so that individual members can acquire them at cheaper cost. They said that the problems on inadequate social services can be taken care of once their basic needs or livelihood problems are solved.

Both groups, however, mentioned almost the same sets of problems outside their control, i.e., problems needing outside intervention or assistance for solution. These problems are (a) lack of capital, (b) decreasing fish supply, (c) illegal fishing, and (d) inadequate technical assistance.

They perceived that lack of capital can be solved by availing of loans from the government, particularly from the KKK's loan assistance program. However, they suggested that the KKK should simplify its lending procedures and should go to the villages to help borrowers prepare their documents. They also suggested that KKK should not disqualify fishermen unable to repay previous loans from the government.

Illegal fishing can be minimized if petitions or resolutions banning it would be sponsored by federations of fishing groups. Such federations should inform the Bureau of Fisheries and Aquatic Resource (BFAR) about this practice and ask BFAR to send some personnel to enforce Presidential Degree 704 which bans illegal fishing practices. The government can also authorize some fishermen to serve as wardens to apprehend violators.

To solve decreasing fish supply, some parts of Carigara Bay, particularly the spawning grounds and coral reefs, should be made off-

limits to fishing. As to the problem of extension services, concerned agencies should set up extension service units in their respective villages.

Lack of capital and decreasing fish supply (or low production) are the two most critical problems cited by all the participants. For Capooan, the third most essential problem is illegal fishing; for Barugo, it is low prices for their catch.

### 3.2.3 Perceived Problems/Needs of the Upland Rainfed Farmers

The problems presented to the uplanders during the validation workshop were categorized as economic, social, institutional, and environmental. Economic problems include lack of capital, inadequate information about credit sources, no farm lands, low production, inadequate transportation facilities, no running water, no money to pay for the processing of KKK loans, and poor roads from villages to the poblacion. Social problems revolve around inadequacy of contact between villages and municipal officials and unfriendly relationships between new settlers and old-timers in the communities. Institutional problems refer to inadequate information about community organization and inadequate social services, especially education and health. Environmental problems, meanwhile, focus on typhoons, landslides, and loss of soil fertility.

The Bontoc and Hilongos participants exhibited similarities as well as differences in their perceptions of controllable problems.

The Bontoc participants claimed they could control almost all their problems, except for lack of capital and low level of

production due to typhoons. They proposed lowering bank interest rates from 16 percent to 12 percent, holding dialogues with bank officials on borrowing procedures with the intercession of their barangay officials, petitioning for "loan grants" for tenants with their produce as collateral, and campaigning to attract farmers to join cooperatives. Planting short-term crops and wind-break trees were solutions proposed for low production due to typhoon problems. It is interesting to note that for solving the other controllable problems, the proposed solutions were largely resolutions seeking barangay or municipal help for their problems, e.g. roads, water supply, schools, rural health service, and land security.

The Hilongos participants claimed that they need additional funds from government offices to solve the uncontrollable problems, specifically the improvement of the barangay-poblacion roads, and access to better social services like schools and rural health units.

For the problems which they can control, only in the effort to raise capital is their active involvement apparent. They recommended organizing cooperatives, securing KKK loans, and affiliating with the existing credit union organized by the Catholic Church. Like the Bontoc participants, they recommended resolutions for barangay and municipal officials to tackle the problems they considered within their control.

Like the lowland rainfed farmers, the upland farmers did not discuss the issue of land ownership lengthily, perhaps because of the presence of some power elite who are also landowners. However,

they suggested submitting a barangay resolution to President Marcos through the Ministry of Agrarian Reform to convert public agricultural lands into settlement and resettlement projects.

Interesting behavioral manifestations also surfaced from these validation workshops. Based purely on impressions and without going by any psychological explanation, the research team hazards the observation that the most articulate and independent group appears to be the artisanal fishermen while the most submissive are the upland farmers. Many fishermen articulated their difficulties and expectations with very little encouragement from the researchers and the facilitator. They seemed certain about the problems that they can and cannot control. The upland farmers, on the other hand, had to be continuously prodded to come out and express their views. The solutions they gave to controllable community problems were mostly resolutions petitioning the government for assistance or intervention. Meanwhile, the lowland farmers also had to be encouraged before they would speak out. While they appeared more cautious than the fishermen, they did not hesitate to complain about the inadequacy of extension services even in the presence of the officials concerned.

The explanations for these differences can possibly be found in the kind of work the three groups do and their distance from the growth centers. Because they are used to the daily risks in the bay, the subsistence fishermen appear to have developed a sense of aggressiveness and independence. Furthermore, the bay is a communal resource, which does not restrict them to specified places. Considerable distance from the growth centers, limited territory, and little or almost no access to

infrastructure and institutional services seem to have contributed to the timidity and submissiveness of the uplanders. The rainfed lowlanders--because of their relatively better access to physical and social infrastructure--are less passive than their upland counterparts.

### 3.3 Integrative Summary of Findings

The problem of rural poverty, as the poor themselves have expressed, is primarily due to the absence of adequate resources at their disposal. They continue to remain poor not because they are ignorant, passive, or complacent but because they are hindered from acting on their problems by various factors over which they do not have control. The previous discussion has shown that the socio-economic and institutional factors which perpetuate poverty in these rural areas emanate from the dependency of the production sites on the market towns, i.e., of the farmers on middlemen, landlords, and extension workers from outside their communities, and of local leaders (barangay level) on municipal officials. While this dependency remains chronic and total, the delivery of basic services and infrastructure so vital to these communities has been vastly inadequate. Through the years, the farmers and fishermen have had little access to institutional support, remaining almost isolated and neglected.

The poor clamor for programs that truly meet their needs and priorities. They have expressed willingness to actively participate in any endeavor which they perceive will truly emancipate them from their poverty. Since they realize their powerlessness to change things by themselves, they are in need of individuals and entities powerful enough to influence certain sectors in the larger towns that their communities are dependent on for the delivery of badly-needed basic services and assistance.

### 3.4 The Micro-Studies and the Development Efforts in Leyte

The micro-studies demonstrate that despite some agriculture-related programs and projects, the quality of life of the rainfed farmers and the artisanal fishermen has not substantially improved. No significant attention has been given by both provincial governments to the poverty and poverty-related problems of the disadvantaged rural groups. Hence, whatever development efforts are being pursued on the island do not authentically answer the needs and priorities of such groups. As presented in the earlier section of this report, Leyte presents a classic example of a province which has the capacity to produce substantial wealth alongside phenomenal poverty. Its aggressive industrialization drive, instead of narrowing the gap between the relatively well-off urban centers and the poverty-stricken rural areas, seems to further strengthen such disparity. On the provincial level, the changing economic environment in the north will perpetuate the already imbalanced division of the island. It takes no effort to realize that the division does not adequately partition the island either economically or geographically; it was a politically motivated move more than anything else.

One dominant feature in the development process on the island is the vital role that political leaders play. Depending on their distance from or proximity to the national center, leaders can either facilitate development projects, as in the case of Governor Romualdez, or be disadvantaged by lack of necessary funds, as in the case of Governor Yñiquez. The existence of a pyramidal, authoritarian political structure imposed upon a mass base with a "culture of silence"--a result of decades of patron-client relationship and lately strengthened by military rule--has, likewise,

been an important factor in the development process in Leyte. It has been gathered that the whole gamut of development activities has emanated not from the active participation of Leyte's constituents--the people were never consulted at all--but from the persons in authority. Due to absence of popular participation in the very formulation of development objectives and programs, it would not be a surprise if gains made do not answer the people's aspirations and basic needs.

Since the thrust of government's effort is directed largely toward the establishment of industries and agro-industrial estates, little attention is being given to the development of rainfed farming and coastal fishing communities--probably for very good reasons. The produce of the rainfed farms and coastal fishing communities is limited to the domestic market. Furthermore, the areas under study continue to suffer from a harsh environment; capital inputs are at times wiped out by strong typhoons and floods. The big industrial estates, on the other hand, are envisioned to have long-term benefits not only to Leyte but also to the surrounding provinces. Besides, the non-traditional resources that are being exploited are abundant on the island and are not at the mercy of the vacillating weather.

It is too soon to evaluate the eventual impact of the agro-industrial efforts on the island since most of these projects are in the early stages of development. There are, however, a few points that should be raised concerning Leyte's industrialization thrust.

How will these industries help distribute the benefits to the many disadvantaged groups on the island, particularly to the three categories of rural poor? Since the industries that will be set up will need skilled

and semi-skilled labor, where will the industries get these types of manpower when more than 70 percent of the Northern Leyteños and 67 percent of Southern Leyteños who are gainfully employed are concentrated in the agriculture, forestry, and fishery sectors? It should be added that the remaining figures of those considered gainfully employed are mostly found in the services sector, with a very small portion of the labor force found in the manufacturing, construction, mining, and quarrying sectors.

In addition, the island does not seem to have enough vocational and technical schools to meet the manpower and skill demands of the industries. These industries will then have to draw or import labor from outside the province.

Since most of these industries are capital-intensive, this might mean inviting big foreign investors and multinational firms. The best way to attract these investors is to offer them incentives such as tax rebates and cheap labor. How much of the benefits will accrue to the island? Since the products of the industries are for export, how will they fare against the growing protectionism of the importing countries? In the present state of the world economy, many export-oriented countries like Korea, Taiwan, and Japan are feeling the slump in the world market. How will the island meet this setback? What built-in measures do these industries have? It is said that the phosphate fertilizers to be produced by one of the industries will benefit the island's agricultural sector. But many of the rainfed farmers in this study are traditional farmers who almost never use fertilizers because they simply cannot afford them, they have no water control, and they have no access

to good roads and transportation. It appears that if no infrastructure inputs are injected into these communities, the wealthier farmers and the agro-industrial estates will be the main beneficiaries of the fertilizers.

Obviously, it is too early to assess the results of the agro-industrial efforts of the government. After five or 10 years of full operation, it may be interesting to see whether some of the benefits expected from the agro-industrial program have accrued to the island and to the various classes of people, especially to the three disadvantaged groups with which this study is concerned. As has been pointed out, however, if the government continues to pay more attention to these endeavors but does not take a closer look at the hinterlands and the coastal fishing communities, the disparity will grow much wider than it is today. With the growing population pressure, this grim scenario might ensue: some portions of the island becoming modern at the expense of a declining or stagnant agriculture sector. Leyte will become like some countries that have experienced rapid economic growth, but suffer the concomitant problems of urban congestion, unemployment, and lagging agriculture.

Because the opportunities in the rural areas will be further minimized, there will be a bigger exodus to the industrial estates, by many small farmers and subsistence fishermen who will become hired hands for unskilled work or service-oriented work. Such an influx will lead to congestion of areas around these estates to the neglect of the hinterlands, which will become open to speculators and developers. The disparity will breed further discontent and probably strengthen the insurgency that is apparently gaining ground in the southern part of the island.

CHAPTER IV  
RECOMMENDATIONS

It has been shown that Leyte's present development strategy is lopsided in favor of capital-intensive, urban-based industries at the expense of the agricultural sector, which, ironically, is the backbone of the island's economy. Likewise, it has been shown that development efforts are concentrated in the north while these are almost nil in the south. In view of the above, the following recommendations are therefore presented:

1. An integrated rural development program with popular participation for Northern and Southern Leyte.

Broadly, the program should aim at assisting selected Leyte rural communities in attaining self-sufficiency and self-reliance by developing their economic base. Initially, several projects made-up of agricultural support services, irrigation and water management, roads, credit facilities, schistosomiasis control, and social assistance can be undertaken. In this regard, it is vital that effective linkages among various government and private agencies in the island be established and maintained.

The program, likewise, calls for a comprehensive and integrated cooperatives program that can create opportunities for employment. Yet before this can be initiated, information on defined natural areas, existing communities, development or creation of rural organization, identification of existing or potential effective leaders must be obtained. It is highly

desirable that an evocative, participatory method of data gathering through informal interviews and other unobtrusive methods be adopted instead of a rigid survey method. An on-going dialogue and consultation process with project beneficiaries must be nurtured.

Key persons involved in the planning, implementation, and expansion of the project can come from different disciplines and areas of specialization. This multi-disciplinary team is deemed more effective because members not only complement each other but also are likely to adopt a more holistic stance toward the problems encountered. A built-in evaluation plan formulated as early as the planning stage should also be considered. At different stages of the project, an outside evaluator with a more objective view of the undertaking might be asked to assess the program.

2. Immediate assistance in the form of irrigation systems, credit facilities, and roads to rainfed farmers and artisanal fishermen in Northern and Southern Leyte.

Since the proposed integrated rural development program is a long-range undertaking that has to be tested with two or more communities on the island, there is a need to deliver immediate assistance to these three groups of rural poor to enable them to go beyond day-to-day survival and attain a minimum standard of living. Basic among these priority needs are an irrigation system for areas where this is feasible and other water schemes for the upland, a liberal credit scheme primarily aimed at assisting these three disadvantaged groups, and the construction and/or repair of roads linking the barangays (especially those found in the upland) to

the market towns. Irrigation systems provided to rainfed farms can improve productivity, thereby increasing income while contributing to high levels of food production. Meanwhile, a liberal credit scheme will help provide the necessary farm inputs and fishing requirements for improved productivity. Such a scheme will take the place of the customary extension of loans by private individuals at usurious interest rates. It is suggested that a restructuring of existing government agricultural assistance arrangements be undertaken to facilitate resource flows to the rural poor. Finally, the opening of roads to the upland barangays as well as the repair of barangay roads in the lowlands will mean facilitated movement of people and produce.

3. Systematic and comprehensive collection of baseline data on the rural poor in both Northern and Southern Leyte.

In support of the first and second recommendations, comprehensive baseline data on the rural poor in both provinces must be obtained. Scarcity of relevant data on the rural poor has been one of the major difficulties encountered by this study. If any development strategy is to be devised with them, concerned individuals and agencies must have a full and concrete understanding of their situation.

In conjunction with the above recommendations, a "social weather station" is likewise recommended. Because there is a great concern about the trickle-down effect of the industrialization thrust, there is a need for continued research that will enable the island's administrators to measure or monitor impact. Thus, while Leyte is still at the early phase

of its industrialization program, it will be useful to come up with sufficient baseline information cutting across all sectors. The data can eventually serve as basis for assessing what benefits have been derived from the foregoing activities. Perhaps Leyte's government officials can work closely with local research or academic institutions to be able to note whether beneficial changes have indeed occurred among their constituents.

4. Revitalized population, health, nutrition, and education services for the target poverty groups.

The inadequacy or unavailability of social services in the communities studied naturally has an effect on the quality of life found in those areas. The poor repeatedly articulated their desire for assistance against malnutrition and disease, for greater and more equal opportunity in training and education, for adequate provision of water, electricity and toilets, in addition to their desire for sufficient income for basic needs. Concerned agencies need to exert more effort at reaching the hinterlands and the uplands in their delivery of basic services. Only when the poor are strong, healthy, and mentally alert can they become truly productive members of the society.

5. Measures to protect the environment.

Apart from providing the requisites to improve the level of living of the rural poor, agencies should be mobilized to give protection to the environment. This implies that the reforestation policies in eroded and denuded areas should be strictly enforced and agro-forestry projects popularized. This calls for an effective information and

assistance drive from the municipal and barangay officials and the rainfed farmers themselves. The seemingly over-fished Carigara Bay should have zoning regulations to protect the spawning grounds and coral reefs from further destruction. These rules, however, can be implemented only with the cooperation of the villages' fishing associations and their community officials. Perhaps the suggestion of the fishing villagers to deputize fishing wardens from among them to apprehend illegal fishermen should taken into account.

6. Structural and policy reform to ensure a more equitable distribution of wealth and resources.

Economic growth in Leyte is being pushed with little regard for consideration of equity and redistribution. The steadily increasing population of Leyte is creating more and more pressure on the limited natural resources at the people's disposal. Resource competition among the poor, whether they be in the lowlands, uplands, or coastal areas, has taken a pre-eminent position in the day-to-day survival of these people.

Providing intensified service delivery and creating infrastructure activities in the hope of providing people with resources appropriate for an industrializing society are probably only palliative measures. Yet, the problems of poverty can still be minimized within the system by adopting medium or long-term solutions as have been recommended in this study, i.e., an integrated rural program and social weather stations. It is in this context that structural and policy reforms (such as the reassessment of the land tenure systems, the building up of marketing infrastructure, and the encouragement of popular participation in the

development process) that would ensure a more equitable distribution  
of wealth and resources are being proposed.

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APPENDICES

- A. COMMUNITY STUDIES
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APPENDIX A

COMMUNITY STUDIES:

LOWLAND RAINFED FARMERS

UPLAND RAINFED FARMERS

ARTISANAL FISHERMEN

## APPENDIX A-1

## LOWLAND RAINFED FARMERS

A-1.1 General Profile of the Research SitesA-1.1.1 The Municipality of Santa Fe

Santa Fe is one of the seven 5th class municipalities found in the first district of Northern Leyte. It occupies a total area of 81.9 square kilometers and is bounded on the north by Tacloban City, on the east by Palo, on the west by Alangalang, and on the south by Pastrana. While Santa Fe remains a 5th class town, both Palo and Alangalang are already 3rd class municipalities. From Tacloban City, which is the heart of commerce and trade in the region, Santa Fe lies a mere 21 kilometers away.

Santa Fe is presently composed of 20 barangays, four comprising the poblacion and the rest covering the surrounding rural areas.

Limited portions of its area are allotted to settlements and croplands. Pasture land and inland fishing grounds have not been determined; forestal areas cannot be found in the municipality. In terms of land utilization, much potential for expansion has been identified.

There are 1,842 households. Its current population is 12,726, 58 percent of whom are below six years old. The people's primary source of livelihood is farming, with the average monthly income estimated at ₱450.00. No large establishments that can

supply employment opportunities for residents exist in the area. There are several barangay elementary schools and one barangay secondary school. A parish priest looks after the spiritual needs of a largely Catholic populace. Medical services can be obtained at the lone Rural Health Unit in the poblacion. A doctor who is based in the adjacent municipality visits the RHU three times a week. Santa Inez does not have a hospital, rural bank, or public market. For medical, credit, and consumption needs, the people commute to the bigger municipality of Palo.

A majority of the residents still depend on kerosene gas for source of lighting since only nine barangays have access to electric power. Wood, which is gathered in the hinterlands, is the main source of energy for cooking. Drinking water is obtained from open wells, springs, and a few jetmatic pumps. A pending application of the municipal government with the local waterworks administration for a \$6-million loan to construct a water system from the Pastrana Infiltration Project will provide the residents with safe drinking water in the future. The people use public utility jeeps and buses to travel between towns and tricycles between barrios. They mail their letters at the municipal post office. Most homes have a transistorized radio from which residents get news and entertainment. Very few, however, have television sets.

A-1.1.1.1 The Research Sites: Bgy. San Isidro and Bgy. San Miguelay. Situated at the northwestern portion of the municipality are the two rainfed farming communities of San Isidro and

San Miguelay. A three-kilometer gravel road, flanked by fields on both sides, connects Barangay San Isidro to the national road. Branching out near the end of this gravel road is another three-kilometer stretch of dirt road leading to Barangay San Miguelay. Residents of San Miguelay pass through San Isidro to reach the national road.

San Isidro, the bigger of the two communities, occupies a total land area of 600 hectares while San Miguelay lies on a 150-hectare area. Most of the land is allotted to agriculture while on a small portion stand the dwellings of the farmers. These are structures made of light material such as wood, bamboo, and nipa. Housing structures in San Isidro, however, look bigger and more durable than those found in San Miguelay. Both areas get flooded during the typhoon months; during the dry season, they experience droughts. The absence of irrigation has left vast tracts of land in San Miguelay unproductive.

#### A-1.1.2 The Municipality of Dagami

Dagami, one-time capital and rice granary of Leyte, is situated 32 kilometers south of Tacloban. It lies along the mountain ranges of the famous Amandewing and occupies a total land area of 20,125.8 hectares. Fifty percent of the municipality is found in the lowlands while the other half is upland. Its climate is of the second type, meaning there is no dry season. It is bounded by Pateros in the north, Jaro and the City of Ormoc in the northwest, Albuera in the west, Burauen in the south, Tabon-

tabon and Tanauan in the east. One reaches the town from any of the surrounding municipalities by jeepney or bus.

In terms of land utilization, 78.64 percent of the area is allocated thus: agricultural (73.91%), commercial (.0001%), residential (.27%) and institutional (.17%). The remaining 4.29 percent are uncultivated areas suitable for agriculture. Forest reserves, meanwhile, occupy 21.36 percent. One-third of all barangays situated in the lowlands get inundated during heavy rains with the poblacion having the deepest level of 7 to 11 feet.

There are 65 barangays in the municipality with a total number of 3,960 households. The 1981 census placed the population at 21,049, with an almost equal number of males (10,685) and females (10,364). A 1977 record on migration revealed that several families from elsewhere have moved into the community: 68 came from outside Samar, 40 from outside Leyte but within Eastern Samar, and 389 from other municipalities in Leyte. In addition, 3,212 families from within the municipality transferred residence from one barangay to another.

Farming is the primary occupation engaged in by residents. The estimated average monthly income of a farm family is ₱300.00. A public schoolteacher, on the other hand, receives a monthly salary of ₱700.00. Several land-owning families, some of whom have transferred residence, constitute the local elite. Chinese merchants and retailers based in the poblacion are relatively better-off than the rest of the peasant population.

In terms of social services, piped-in water is supplied to 18 barangays while the remaining 48 still fetch water from wells or springs. Electricity is available in most areas except for those which are found in the interiors of the mountain ranges. Wood is the primary source of energy for cooking. The residents purchase their food needs at the public market, which swells with transient sellers on Fridays, the town's market day. The municipality boasts of 51 elementary schools, three public secondary schools, and one private institution known as St. Joseph's High School. A Rural Health Unit, which for one year now has not had a doctor, is found in the poblacion. In addition, three primary care centers are found in Barangays Cansmada, Guinaroua, and Patoc. A clinic with a five-bed capacity that is managed by a private physician, likewise, meets the medical needs of the residents. The leading causes of morbidity are upper respiratory infection, parasitism, malnutrition, gastro-intestinal diseases and pulmonary tuberculosis. The primary causes of mortality, meanwhile, include bronchopneumonia, congestive heart failure, schistosomiasis, fever of unknown origin, and malnutrition. Several outreach workers of the Population Commission are active in the area, although their efforts appear to have met only minimal success.

Since 1979, there has been an infrastructure development program undertaken by the municipal government for the agricultural sector. This includes canal and drainage development and improvement of irrigation canal systems. Road building along embankments

of irrigation and drainage canals is also being undertaken. However, these projects are hampered by several factors such as inadequate construction materials and equipment, lack of financial support, lack of technical know-how, and resistance of some farmers to grant right-of-way to some projects. To date, 69.7 percent of the agricultural areas remain unirrigated. The pace of development has been very slow with only seven barangays benefitting from these infrastructure projects.

A-1.1.2.1 The Research Sites: Bgy. Calsadahay and Bgy. Banayon. Barangay Calsadahay occupies a land area of 45 hectares and is bounded on the north by Barangay Bagahungan, east by Barangay Gingawan, south by Barangay Calutan, and west by Barangay Sirab. Separated by only a barrio from Barangay Calsadahay is the second research site of Barangay Banayon, occupying an area almost equal to, but bigger than, Calsadahay. The 1980 census placed Calsadahay's population at 204 while that of Banayon at 765. Separated from the poblacion by six and nine kilometers respectively, both barrios may be reached by motorcycles for hire or on foot.

#### A-1.2 Economic Factors

Farmers have varying degrees of access to the material means of production, i.e., land, cash, technology, and machinery. In terms of land ownership or non-ownership, a majority of the farmers encountered were landless agricultural tillers of two types, i.e., farmers who work under several-tenancy and leaseholding arrangements and a growing mass of dispossessed landless rural workers. A handful of farmers of the "rich peasant type" or the "big farmer type" (identified by their increasing capacity to hire rural

workers and engage in limited commercial activities and various money lending operations) were encountered in only two of the sites. Existing side by side with these categories of farmers are small owner-tillers and amortizing owners, the last being beneficiaries of the land reform program launched in the rural areas by the government. The average land size tilled is between one-and-a-half to two hectares; and almost all of the land is devoted to a single produce--rice. In those areas owned by the more resourceful farmers are coconut trees standing by the side of the rice fields. Most farmers, however, are prevented from maximizing the use of their lands by the absence of irrigation and adequate resources.

Capital, or the lack of it, is a vital factor affecting the farmer's level of production. Since a farmer generally does not obtain a cash surplus over and above his family food needs, capital for agriculture is obtained from other sources, the most prevalent of which is the debt system. The absentee landlord-creditor or the merchant extends credit which farmers have to repay with interest in the form of crops for the market. Another source of income is to sell their labor during certain periods or engage in seasonal and/or contractual occupation. Among the occupations from which farmers derive additional cash to augment income from agriculture are carpentry and other construction-related jobs; tricycle, jeepney, and tractor driving; and bamboo-gathering. Except for the last item, from which a farmer obtains ₱2 per piece of bamboo sold, the other occupations earn him a minimum of ₱20 per day. Hired hands, meanwhile, earn from ₱10 to ₱12 per day or earn in kind (such as one can of palay for every sack harvested). The few who own carabaos rent these out for an added income of ₱80 per day.

Other members of the family share the responsibility of earning. Women, when not engaged in farming activities, undertake handicraft production such as mat- and hat-weaving. A mat with a very simple design requiring about a week's labor is sold at ₱15 - ₱20 in the market. Members of large families with surplus labor for their small field become hired hands on neighboring fields. Still a few grown-up children get employment as household or construction laborers in Tacloban City or elsewhere. These send back portions of their meager wages to the farming family.

Big farmers, on the other hand, earn extra income through renting out portions of their rice fields and farm machinery such as turtle-tillers and hand tractors. These two machines are rented out for ₱150 - ₱180 a day. In addition, the big farmers engage in money lending and in limited commercial activities such as sari-sari stores and buy-and-sell.

A surplus of labor can be found in the barrios. This surplus not only answers the needs of small-scale production but, likewise, provides a source of cheap labor for agro-business endeavors of the government and multi-nationals such as the Sab-a Basin Development Project. Family labor is utilized for all aspects of farm work. Males, both young and old, perform all the major agricultural tasks such as weeding, harrowing, planting, harvesting, and threshing. Women join the process during the stages of weeding, planting and harvesting.

The farming system existing in all of these rainfed communities follows the traditional method. Primarily due to the absence of irrigation systems and the lack of capital resources, farmers in general have refrained from adopting the more capital intensive modern methods of rice farming. The palay varieties commonly used by farmers are IR-42 and IR-54. Other varia-

ties are IR-36 and IR-50. Because of the scarcity of water, high-yielding Masagana varieties are not practical for these farms. Farmers obtain their seeds from registered seed growers in nearby towns or from the Bureau of Plant Industry in Tacloban City. One cavan of seed, purchased at ₱120-₱140 per cavan, is required for every hectare. This yields approximately 40-60 cavans of palay at harvest time.

The ordinary wet-bed method of seed bed preparation is popular among the farmers because this method consumes less space and requires less effort. Likewise the ordinary method of planting is preferred over the straight one-way or two-way mainly because the farmers have grown used to this traditional way. In addition, several farmers revealed that they are not aware of any added benefits from the modern ways since technicians have not made the effort to educate them on the advantages of the new ways over the prevailing traditional system.

Weeding, like planting and harvesting, is a group effort of all the members of the family, especially so in the absence of machines such as a rotary weeder. Hand weeding with only the help of bolos, the traditional labor-intensive method of clearing the fields, remains the common practice. Several farmers have, however, adopted the application of Gusathion and 24D, two herbicides introduced, among others, by technicians from the National Food Authority.

Both processed and organic types of fertilizers are widely used in the area. These are 14-14, ammonium, and urea. Due to lack of financial resources, however, farmers very often do not purchase fertilizers but use their meager funds to obtain chemicals for pest control which, to them, is a greater need. This indicates that the soil found in these areas remains

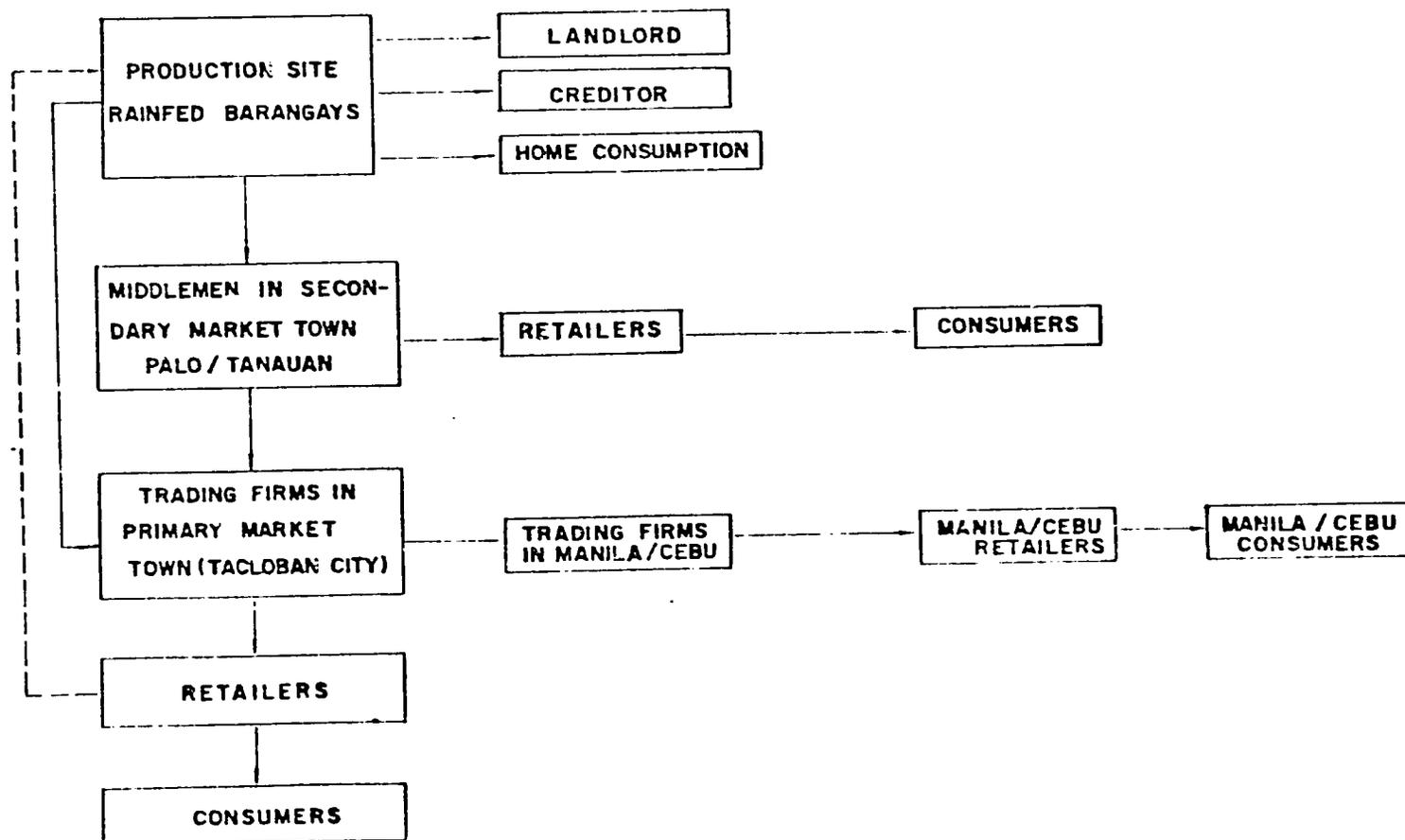
relatively fertile in spite of the farmers' claim that the soil's fertility has gone down tremendously through the years.

Farmers found in the production sites do not control the pricing and marketing of their produce; they remain poor while middlemen and compradores, most of whom are based in Tacloban and Palo, rake in the profits. The following chart illustrates the commodity flow of rice from the production site to the market towns.

To better understand the flow from the production site to the market town, a chronological recounting of events is given below.

Harvest-time is looked forward to by both farmers and middlemen/landlords—to the peasants, it is the time for reaping the fruits of long and arduous labor so that debts can be paid off and the family saved from hunger in the coming months; to the middlemen/landlords, it is a time to appropriate what they think is rightly theirs and to invest in a profitable commodity. For several days, after the palay has been threshed and loaded into sacks or cavans, vehicles owned by middlemen and landlords traverse the once sleepy roads to the barrios. Landlords call on tenants to claim their share—one-third of the harvest if the sharing agreement is "tinolo" or one-fourth if it is "inopat". On top of this, they collect extra sacks of palay to cover the farmers' outstanding loan with them. Middlemen collect cavans which have been previously contracted to them by the farmers either because of a debt or because the middleman has been a long-time customer (suki). An NFA truck may also be seen with the caravan. Some farmers, mostly owner-tillers who are not obligated by debt to sell to middlemen, sell their produce to NFA personnel. These farmers enjoy a higher price for their palay since the National Food Authority pays ₱1.30 per kilo while middlemen and land-

FIGURE 1. FLOW OF COMMODITY LOWLAND RAINFED FARMERS



lords pay only from ₱1.00 to ₱1.10 depending on the prevailing market price. Since the NFA does not purchase wet palay, its clients are forced to deal with middlemen who will buy their rain-soaked produce at the lower price of ₱0.90 per kilo. The middlemen, in turn, will dry this palay and sell to the NFA at ₱1.30 per kilo.

Middlemen (mostly Chinese and landlords) come either from the poblacion or adjacent municipalities. Besides bringing his vehicle and haulers, each carries a weighing instrument which sometimes has faulty scales. The middleman or a trusted subordinate (katiwala) supervises the weighing and loading of the produce on to the truck. In the end, he computes the total amount, subtracts the debt, if any, and settles accounts with the farmer. During this whole process, the farmer plays a very passive role-- in the end merely accepting what is offered for his produce.

The produce is then hauled to the middleman's warehouse where the palay is milled and the rice transferred into sacks. These loaded sacks are then taken by the middleman to a big trading firm where he sells the rice, as the firm owners claim, at ₱.05 to ₱.10 more for every kilo although other reports claim that the middleman gets as much as ₱.20 to ₱.25 more per kilo. Some middlemen who operate sari-sari stores keep a portion of their stock and sell it retail at ₱3.15 per kilo.

Most of the big trading firms in the poblacion not only deal in rice but also in other products including copra and wood. Among these firms are the Maya Rice Mill, Tacloban City Rice Mill, Alpha Commercial, Leyte Cocomart, and Leyte Enterprises. These are controlled by the local Chinese community sometimes in partnership with Leyteño entrepreneurs.

Depending on the size of the enterprise, the volume of rice purchased monthly by these firms from different middlemen averages between 500 and 1,000 cavans. Rice bought from middlemen at between ₱1.40 and ₱1.70 per kilo is sold by these firms to retailers at between ₱2.60 and ₱2.90 per kilo, varying on the product class. At the very end of the market flow are the consumers who buy the rice from registered retail stores at ₱3.15 per kilo.

It is clear from the above that the farmers have little control over their produce. Middlemen and trading firms possessing ready capital and facilities such as trucks, warehouses, and mills appropriate among themselves the biggest share of the profit. Farmers, lacking the resources to bring their produce to the market towns, have no choice but to rely on enterprising middlemen and traders.

#### A-1.3 Social Factors

The lowland rainfed farmers encountered were friendly, peace-loving, and appeared to be living together harmoniously. There seems to be a very close relationship existing among the members of each community. While they are homogeneously poor, some members appear to be relatively better-off than the rest as indicated by their bigger landholdings. These, along with a few old-time residents and barangay officials, constitute the local elite. Certain persons were found to be regarded highly in the communities either because they have occasionally lent money to their neighbors or because they are leaders of the community (as in the case of barangay officials). In three of the sites, the barangay captains seem popular, dynamic, and highly respected. The other barangay captain, on the other hand, gives the impression of being a passive and weak leader. Big farmers were found to be the

popular choice of peasants to head associations such as the KKK. They were perceived by the people to be effective intermediaries between the municipal government and the community by virtue of their relative economic affluence and advanced educational attainment. Popular in the rural areas, too, are the two municipal mayors who have extensive landholdings in the barrios—Santa Fe's mayor owns vast tracts of agricultural land in Barangay San Isidro while the landholdings of Dagami's mayor are situated in Barangay Banayon.

The farmers seem to be a dedicated and hardworking lot. They realize that theirs is a difficult existence but they have not become passive or resentful. Most of those interviewed expressed the hope that the government would do something to help them. Concretely, they talked of an irrigation system, credit facilities, better barrio roads and transport, and more access to markets. Every once in a while, the problem of landlessness arose and some articulated their desire for land security.

Among themselves, there are several informal groupings brought about by social alliances, tuba drinking sessions, and the fact that they are tenants of the same landlord or debtors to the same merchant-creditor. However, no formal association except that of the barangay council was found in the barrios. Before Martial Law, the Federation of Free Farmers was active among the lowland communities. In addition, several young organizational and political workers frequently entered the areas. The declaration of Martial Law put a stop to all of these activities. Since then, the farmers have occasionally attempted to form self-help associations among themselves but these have been unsuccessful. Among the reasons cited by the peasants are lack of institutional support, lack of local leadership, and the waning of interest among the members.

When asked to compare their standard of living before 1972 and now the farmers shared the view that life is getting more difficult. They noted that expenses related to farming, e.g. seeds, pesticides, chemicals, fertilizers, have continuously gone up through the years. What has made it doubly difficult is the fact that productivity remains low. The people of Barangay San Isidro revealed that their gabi production was stopped when the Sab-a project took over the marshland they were cultivating. An important additional source of income was thus removed for many peasant families in the area even while an agro-industrial project was established.

Services such as electricity, water, education, and health are available but not adequate. Two of the four research sites have had access to electric power since 1974. Most households, however, have not taken advantage of the electric power because of their inability to pay. In addition, the few households that do have electric power complain that they suffer black-outs lasting several weeks, and yet they are charged the minimum rates. There have been several occasions when electric current is diverted to bigger municipalities thus leaving the barrios in darkness. For light, residents ordinarily use oil lamps and Petromax. For cooking, wood is the primary source of energy.

There is no safe drinking water in the areas; instead, residents fetch water for drinking from pumps, open wells, and springs. In Calsadabay and San Isidro, jetmatic pumps donated by the municipal government to draw drinking water have been out of order for several months. At present, water obtained from these pumps is so murky and foul-smelling that residents can not even use it for laundry.

The elementary schools found in Barangay San Isidro and Barangay Banayon are badly in need of materials, equipment, and teachers. School children in Calsadahay and San Miguelay, meanwhile, walk to any of the adjacent barrios where elementary schools are situated.

Health services are totally unavailable to three of the communities. Residents in these areas noted that they are visited only once a year by a medical doctor or nurse. For the most part, they rely on the services of local manghihilots and arbularyos. San Isidro seems more fortunate to have a doctor or nurse from the Rural Health Unit visit the place once a week. Its proximity to the poblacion where the RHU is situated could perhaps account for this. Most peasants are inflicted with schistosomiasis since all the rivers and fields breed the dreaded snail. Many peasants including children have died from this disease. Other causes of mortality include pneumonia and malnutrition.

#### A-1.4 Institutional and Infrastructural Factors

Inadequate institutional and infrastructural facilities deprive the farmer of a secure social existence. Except for one found in Barangay Calsadahay, there are no milling facilities in the barrios. Peasants sell their produce to middlemen as palay; the middlemen, in turn, process this to rice in their private mills. The few cavan of palay left to the household for consumption are brought by the farmers to the poblacion where the mills are situated. Farmers pay ₱2.50 - ₱3.00 per cavan of palay milled. Transportation fare, depending on the distance between the barrio and the mill, costs between ₱1.00 and ₱2.00 per cavan loaded on the motorcycle or tricycle. In addition, the passenger accompanying the produce has to pay a fare which

is the same as that for the loaded cavan. Carabao-drawn carts serve as another mode of transportation and it requires no expense on the part of the peasant. Very few, however, own a carabao nowadays.

Storage facilities to keep the produce safe from rain or heat do not exist in the barrios. Farmers ordinarily store their palay in their houses with thatched roofs that do not protect the palay from getting wet when it rains. Besides, the sacks of palay take up space ordinarily reserved for some other activity of the household.

For subsistence farmers who do not have the capacity to earn a surplus, acquiring credit is an intrinsic part of the complex survival strategies they adopt. A few weeks before planting, farmers approach middlemen or landlords for credit to use as capital for their fields. The average amount borrowed for every hectare to be planted is ₱500. In addition, peasants run to these very same creditors in times of emergency expenditures for medicine and education. Farmers repay debts during harvest time. For every ₱100 borrowed, three sacks of palay are used to pay off the principal as well as its accompanying interest. While peasants mentioned certain landlords and middlemen who refrain from collecting interest on loans, they also took note of others who, besides collecting interest, freely solicit special favors from them, aware that farmers are obligated to yield to the request.

There are no rural banks found in the two municipalities. The few owner-tillers who were able to acquire loans for agricultural purposes borrowed from rural banks found in Palo, in the case of Santa Fe residents, or Tanauan, in the case of Dagami farmers. Using the lands which they till as collateral, these persons borrowed money under any of three existing

financial assistance programs, namely, Masagana 99, hog-raising, and cattle-raising. Both bank officials interviewed revealed the difficulty of collecting payment for the loans made out to these farmers.

Communities of rainfed farmers further suffer from lack of institutional services offered by either the government or private sector. Rarely do extension workers from such agencies as the Ministry of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Extension, Farm Systems Development Corporation, and National Food Authority visit the sites. The few visits they made were devoted to lectures about modern methods of planting, pest control, and introduction of technology. Yet no adequate follow-through on the progress of the farmers was ever done. The two planning officers of the Ministry of Agriculture pointed to their understaffed office as the cause of the neglect of certain rural areas. At best, projects in only three to five barrios can be sufficiently monitored by these technicians.

Two of the sites, Barangays San Isidro and San Miguelay, are located within the Sab-a Agricultural Development Project site. When Bancom, the lead participant from the private sector involved in the project, entered the community in 1974, it took the initiative to start a series of seminars on modern farming methods as well as in skills training aimed at helping the peasants supplement their meager income. It likewise donated an artesian well and undertook an information drive on health and nutrition. These programs, however, did not last long and the people were left on their own in pretty much the same state as before without benefitting from the agricultural development efforts of the Sab-a project.

#### A-1.5 Environmental Factors

Needless to say, the rainfed farmers are very much at the mercy of the environmental conditions they find themselves in. Water, which is vital to production yet insufficiently available, is had only once a year between the months of December and February when the rains start pouring. Nature, at times, can also be too generous, bringing rains that cause floods, thus harming rather than nourishing the seedlings. For the most part, however, nature is harsh and the long dry season makes the land idle and the farming family hungry. The absence of irrigation in the fields has been pinpointed by the farmers as their most pressing problem, being the primary cause of low productivity.

While the lands that these farmers till are flat-lands which are highly suitable for agricultural purposes, farmers complain that the fertility of the soil has diminished through the years. Again, they single out the absence of sufficient water as the cause; without water, fertilizers cannot be abundantly applied to the soil. This, coupled with the fact that the lands have been tilled for several decades, has led to the depletion of the soil's vitality and richness.

Vast tracts of uncultivated land remain idle in these communities providing yet another sad testimony to the absence of water in the areas. The farmers find it useless to clear them of grass and pebbles in the face of uncertainty over the yields they can produce.

Rice pests such as worms, grasshoppers and rats create another problem for the tillers. In the communities studied, a majority of the farmers have resorted to the use of insecticides to eradicate the menace. Fudaran, Thiodan, Dora Rat Killer, or Ratoxim are obtained from Tacloban

City. The use of chemicals was introduced to the farmers by extension workers of the Ministry of Agriculture. There are, however, several farmers who continue in the old practice of pest control such as the scattering of ashes in the fields, either because they believe chemicals are harmful to the plants or they lack the capital to acquire commercially sold ones.

## APPENDIX A-2

## UPLAND RAINFED FARMERS

A-2.1 General Profiles of Research Sites

Four barangays were covered in the study of the rainfed farmers. Two barangays, Mahayahay and Pamahawan, are in Bontoc, a fourth class municipality of Southern Leyte, while barangays Marangog and Sta. Rita belong to the third class municipality of Hilongos in Leyte, a municipality at the border between the North and South.

The municipality of Bontoc has 37 barangays with a total population of 20,505 and a total land area of 8,912.72 hectares. Barangays Mahayahay and Pamahawan are two of its 10 upland barangays. Mahayahay covers an area of 305.73 hectares while Pamahawan occupies a much smaller territory of 74.12 hectares. There are about 798 people in 134 households in Mahayahay; Pamahawan has much less with approximately 327 persons in 47 households. In terms of distance from the poblacion, Mahayahay and Pamahawan each are approximately 10 kilometers away.

Hilongos has 51 barangays with an aggregate household population of 8,288 and a total land area of 13,690 hectares. Barangays Marangog and Sta. Rita represent two of its six upland barangays. Marangog has a total land area of 673.65 hectares with 1,348 residents in 241 households, while Sta. Rita has 715 hectares of land and 1,686 persons in 291 households.

The language of all the communities is Cebuano and the people are generally Roman Catholic.

The municipalities of Bontoc and Hilongos are rich in agricultural resources like rice, coconut, abaca, peanuts, coffee, vegetables, rootcrops, hogs, and cattle, as well as in marine resources like fish and shrimps. Communal and pump irrigation are used by lowland farmers while the farms of upland farmers are basically rainfed.

Concrete and asphalt roads, electricity, running water and other services are present in the lowlands. Most of the upland communities, including the four barangays, however, do not have the conveniences and facilities of the lowlands; thus, the upland dwellers continue to use kerosene and coconut oil for lighting, and depend on rain, creeks, and springs for water.

Transportation facilities like jeepneys, motorcycles, and tricycles are available only in the poblaciones. The uplanders usually travel by foot to go to the town to buy and sell products.

Credit facilities and social services for health and education are concentrated mostly in the lowland villages and in the poblaciones. To avail of these services, the people from the upland communities have to go down to the town. Except for barangay Pamahawan, the three barangays studied all have elementary schools.

Ecologically, both Bontoc and Hilongos appear to be in a similar state: both were seriously damaged by typhoon Bising in early 1982. The mountains and hills in these areas are denuded and eroded, a condition attributed to the activities of kaingineros in the area. The municipalities have occasional floods. The people claim that the weather in this part of the island has changed and this has somehow affected the farmers' planting schedules.

## A-2.2 , Economic Factors

The average rainfed upland farmer in the barangays covered is a share-tenant who tills a small parcel of land, usually less than two hectares. He has five children and has reached only fourth grade. Although he can eat three meals a day, he can hardly support his family beyond the subsistence level since his average annual income is only a little over ₱2,000.00. His children lack proper nutrition and clothing and have a very slim chance of obtaining higher education.

Family labor appears to be the predominant source of manpower in the upland rainfed farms studied. The men do most of the heavy tasks in the farms, while the women and children perform lighter activities like weeding.

Rice, abaca, corn, copra, and rootcrops are the main crops planted by the farmers. For rice, the usual sharing arrangement between landlord and tenants is 25-75. Legumes, bananas, peanuts, vegetables, tobacco, and coffee are secondary crops.

Crop production is low, except for commercial crops like abaca and coconut, and the main reason cited by farmers for this is the lack of capital to acquire farming inputs. This lack of farm capital is due not only to the farmers' not possessing information on how to avail of loans, but also to their not having access to credit facilities which are located in the poblacion. From the interviews, it was gathered that the bulk of agricultural loans are given to lowland farmers through the Masagana 99 Program, since lowland rice production is deemed more viable than upland rice production.

Another reason cited for low production is the small size of upland farms and the heavy dependence on rain for watering the crops. Dependence on rain necessitates having only one harvest per year. One more factor considered by farmers as contributing to low production is the use of traditional varieties of seed which are low yielding and late maturing. Typhoons are also perceived to adversely affect production since they damage or destroy the plant.

It was observed, however, that upland rainfed Bontoc barangays have relatively higher production than the Hilongos sites. The Bontoc rainfed farmers appear to be slightly more modern in their farming methods; some have already adopted the intercropping method of farming. The example set by the municipal mayor of Bontoc, who experiments with intercropping and multicropping in his own farm, has probably greatly influenced this change in farming techniques.

The problem of low production is further aggravated by the absence of processing (like mill and dryer) and storage facilities for crops in the barrio.

Farmers also complained about the lack of transportation facilities vital in bringing their produce from the production sites to the market place. The hiring of tricycles and motorcycles, the only means of transport that can reach the upland barangays, is expensive because the farmers have to pay for the total capacity even if they are riding alone (i.e. pakyao).

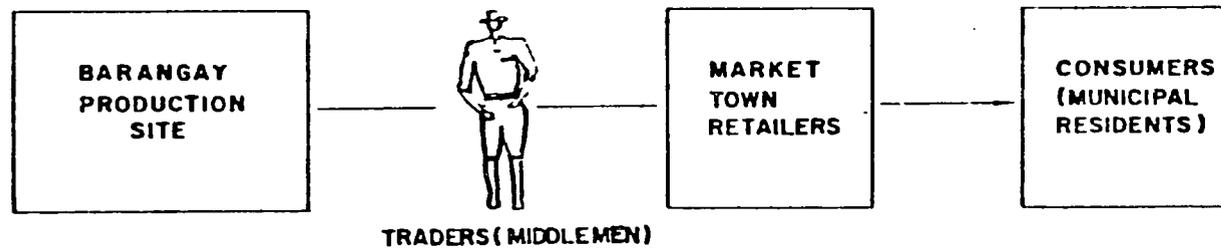
In marketing the produce, the flow of crops from the farm to the market place follows the same pattern for both Hilongos and Bontoc sites. Except for rice, of which only a small portion is sold, produce like peanuts and mango are bought by the barangay-based middlemen who in

turn sell these to the retailers in the market towns for distribution to municipal residents. Chart 1 shows the commodity flow of three upland products, specifically peanuts, mongo, and rice. Commercial crops like abaca, corn, and copra go as far as Cebu and Manila, again through the middlemen. Coffee can find its way to Maasin and Cebu but does not go as far as Manila. Chart 2 shows the commodity flow for these products. It indicates that the middlemen pass the goods to two clienteles: (1) the municipal market town retailers who distribute the goods to the residents and (2) the municipal town wholesalers like Sogod, Maasin, Cebu and Manila. Some middlemen from the barangay sell the produce directly to some market towns like Cebu and Manila.

It was found that in Hilongos, the big middlemen are Chinese who usually trade in copra and corn. The market towns of Panto farmers are Sogod and Bato, while the market towns of Hilongos are its poblacion and also Bato. The presence of middlemen who dictate the prices of the produce of the farmers apparently contributes to the low income status of the farmers. On the other hand, the farmers concerned do not perceive the situation as such because in some cases, specifically in Hilongos sites, the farmers are indebted to the middlemen and they have no choice but to bring their produce to these middlemen as payments.

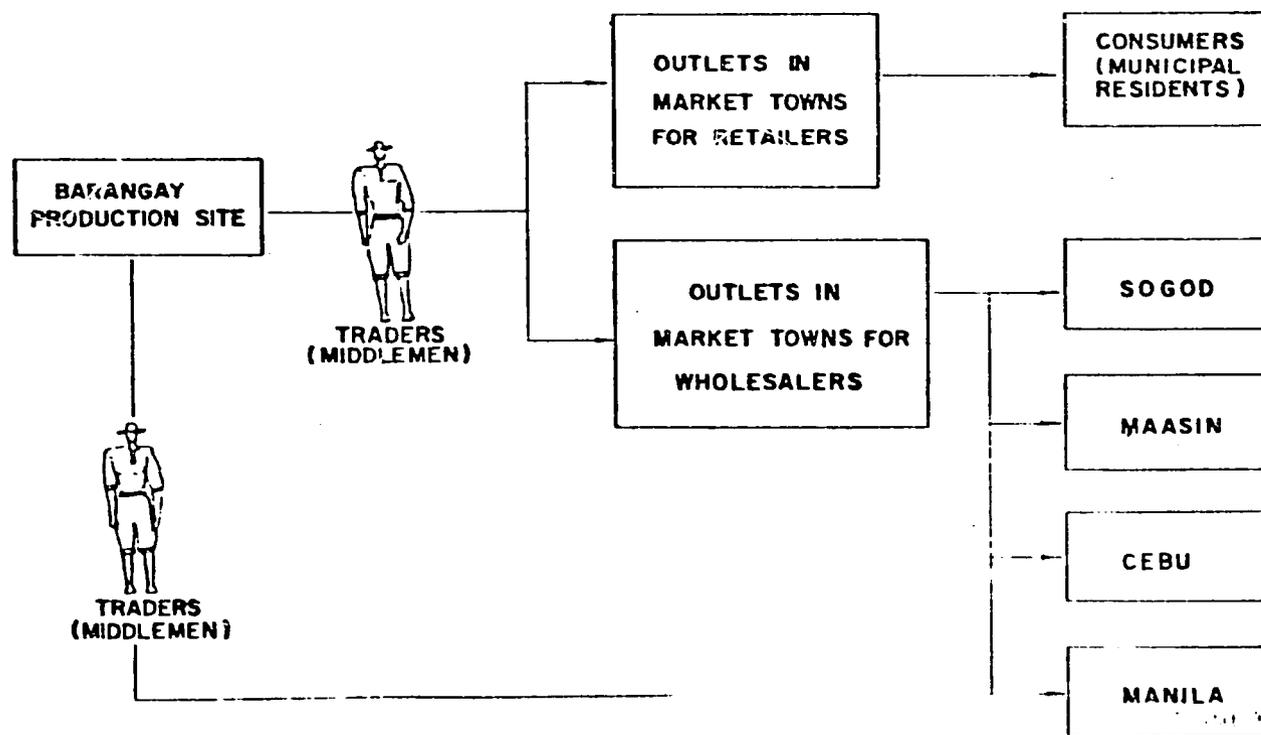
Low crop production, therefore, results in low income. In turn, low income from crop production forces the farmer to engage in other income-generating activities like growing fruits, raising hog, cattle, and poultry; and off-farm work like carpentry, driving, being helpers, and operating a sari-sari store. However, even the income from farm-related sources is also relatively low since roads are poor and

**CHART I. COMMODITY FLOW FROM THE PRODUCTION SITE TO  
MARKET TOWN FOR PEANUTS, MANGO, & RICE \***



\* ONLY A SMALL PORTION OF RICE IS SOLD .

**CHART 2. COMMODITY FLOW FROM THE PRODUCTION SITE TO MARKET TOWN FOR COPRA, ABACA, CORN, AND COFFEE \***



\* COFFEE CANNOT REACH MANILA .

transportation is not available to sell their produce in town.

Aside from farming, some upland farmers possess other skills. Around 15 percent know rope-making; 10 percent mat-weaving; 10 percent basket-weaving; and another 10 percent tuba-gathering and tuba-making. Moreover, 5 percent possess carpentry skills while 2 percent can drive.

### A-2.3 Social Factors

Despite the presence of the Rural Health Unit, Operation Timbang, Health and Sanitation Projects, and health agencies in the poblacion, many of the rainfed upland barangay children appear to suffer from malnutrition and health deficiency problems. In the Bontoc sites, what are supposed to be Service Points of the Population Commission are located in other barangays as well as in the municipal poblacion. If the residents want to avail of this agency's services, they have to go down to the lowland. In contrast, Hilongos uplanders seem fortunate to have active Family Planning Centers within their respective barangays.

The upland communities were observed to be receiving inadequate education. The present facilities are poor and there is a need for good teachers. Observations made by the research team in the elementary schools in three barangays revealed that several teachers are not doing a good job. The residents reported that some schoolteachers lack adequate training and updating. The teaching methods appear very traditional and do not seem to develop creativity and critical thinking among the farmers' children.

The upland farmers have a positive attitude toward their work and they seem devoted to it. They also have favorable attitudes toward

their farming tasks because this is their main source of livelihood. Besides, they realize that they have very limited skills and the job opportunities around them and in the lowlands are scarce. They realize that people like them who leave their communities to work in big cities like Manila and Cebu usually just end up as househelpers or unskilled laborers.

The farmers' social life revolves around simple recreational and leisure activities like cockfighting on Sundays, attending fiestas, drinking tuba (coconut wine), participating in benefit dances (bayle) on Saturday evenings, playing basketball/volleyball, and listening to the radio. If they have extra money, the uplanders go to the municipal poblacion and watch movies.

The farmers have some superstitious beliefs and rituals related to farming. These include an aversion for pesticides: they believe that instead of driving pests and diseases away, pesticides just result in more misfortunes. There is also a belief that putting a branch of a particular tree called bagacay in the farm eliminates pestilence. They also practice rituals before and after the planting season.

The elite in the community are the people viewed with respect, i.e., government officials, barangay leaders, big farmers, extension workers, schoolteachers, priests, as well as informal leaders like the elders. In Bontoc barangays, the most respected personalities are the mayor and the farm management technician. In Barangay Sta. Rita, Hilongos, the respected people are the community development worker (who is also a Sanggunian Bayan member), the PopCom extension workers, and the first

councilwoman (who is a widow of the late barangay captain). Reasons given for these people being respected include the fact that they are well-off, educated, and occupy a position in government. In Barangay Marangog, Hilongos, the most respected person is an old farmer who is one of the original settlers of the place and is recognized as an informal leader.

The elite play significant roles in the barangay by acting as advisers in all sorts of problems, providing financial assistance, and initiating changes to improve the community. In Bontoc, the Mayor serves as a model in adopting modern farm technology; he experiments and demonstrates to the people how to use intercropping and multicropping in the farm. However, not all the elite in both municipalities play positive roles. Some are "loan sharks" or usurers; these are the middle-income persons such as the schoolteachers and the clerical workers.

In terms of migration, Hilongos has more migrants than Bontoc. Most of the upland rainfed farmers of Hilongos are settlers from Cebu and Bohol who migrated beginning in the 1930's until after the Second World War. The rest are Warays who have come from the other towns of Leyte. Most of Bontoc's uplanders are natives of the municipality. Around 10 percent are Cebuano-speaking Leyteños who have come from the neighboring municipalities of Sogod, Bato, and Maasin. There appears to be no overt ethnic competition or conflict. The perception of out-migration in the upland sites varies. Barangay Sta. Rita has the highest number of outmigrants (20) while Barangay Mahayahay (Bontoc) has no such case reported. Most of the outmigrants are young people who have received

some education and who desire to improve their standard of living. The older farmers complain that there will eventually be no young people to take over their places. They cannot understand why young people would like to live in congested places and to work as house-helpers or unskilled laborers. The big cities that young people go to are Manila, Cebu, and Davao. It should be added that a portion of whatever earnings they make in these places is sent to their homes to augment the meager income of their families.

#### A-2.4 Institutional Factors

It has been mentioned that there are technical and extension workers assigned to all the barangays. All of these are government employees who are expected to provide agriculture-related information and training to the farmers. Informants reported, however, that the technicians assigned to their barangays hardly visit them. The problem is more serious in Barangay Marangog, because residents have never been visited by any extension worker. Because of this, many farmers have not received vital information, particularly about capital formation and modern farming. Those extension workers who do visit the barangays teach modern farming and disseminate information on a number of government programs. One of these programs is the KKK, and particularly in Bontoc barangays, the farmers are now in the process of organizing themselves to secure agricultural loans. The Hilongos farmers also would like to avail of KKK loans, but they lack of information about KKK procedures and requirements.

Credit facilities like the rural bank, credit unions, and a branch each of the Philippine National Bank and the Development Bank of the Philippines are present in the municipal poblacion. In the credit cooperative, the loans granted to members are limited by the amount of their fixed deposits. Because of their low income, upland farmer members cannot increase their fixed deposits; thus, the amount that they can borrow is not enough to meet the needed capital for the planting season. Most farmers, however, would rather not borrow from the formal lending institutions because of the perceived high rates of interest, the requirement of collateral, and the paperwork involved. Most uplanders prefer to borrow from middlemen because no documents are required and the release of the loan is quite fast. The farmers reported that these "loan sharks" or usurers charge as high as 10 percent to 20 percent monthly interest and payment is usually in kind, e.g., for every ₱120 loan the payment is equivalent to three cavans of palay (each cavan costing ₱50).

Civic clubs and organizations were reported to be present in all the tainted communities. These include civic/social clubs, farmers' organizations (which are usually Ministry of Agriculture-sponsored), and religious clubs. Only the religious organizations appear to be active. The farmers' organizations are inactive purportedly because of the absence of leadership among the farmers and their dependence on government extension workers. Given the irregular visits of the extension workers, it is likely that the organizations do not function as envisioned.

#### A-2.5 Areas for Improvement

In the face of their numerous problems, the farmers mentioned some possible areas for development to alleviate their hardships. It

should be noted, however, that the solutions they propose for their social and economic problems rely very much on government efforts. In fact, some of them said that even if they could control some of these problems, they would still actively seek government intervention as their immediate solution.

Since both municipalities are fairly well-endowed with agricultural and marine resources and some uplanders possess cottage industry skills, they proposed the following projects: (a) poultry and swine raising; (b) fishpond; (c) mat-weaving; (d) rope-making; with (e) herbal gardening as the last suggested activity.

For support, they are looking to the KKK to help implement the above projects.

There is an immediate need for social services. Since members of the elite like the mayor of Bontoc and the Sangguniang Bayan member of Hilongos are very dynamic, the following suggestions for construction and installation might be workable: (a) barangay waiting shed, (b) barangay hall, (c) basketball courts, (d) transportation facilities, (e) public stage, (f) barangay roads and bridges, (g) irrigation, (h) faucet water, (i) elementary school, and (j) marketing facilities (Bontoc).

To support the above projects, the people need the assistance of the municipal government.

The farmers also feel that they need more training programs and again they feel that holding them would be feasible with the support of the municipal government. They want training programs in: (a) production, (b) use of modern farm technology, and (c) proper sanitation and nutrition.

## APPENDIX A-3

## ARTISANAL FISHERMEN

A-3.1 General Profile of the Research Sites

Four barangays were covered in the study of the artisanal fishermen. Two barangays, Balud and Zone II, Poblacion, are in the municipality of Capoocan, while barangays Balud and Minuhang belong to the municipality of Barugo. Both Capoocan and Barugo are fifth class municipalities of Leyte and are located along Carigara Bay.

The municipality of Capoocan has 21 barangays with a total population of 20,726 and a total land area of 18,540 hectares. Balud covers an area of 64.96 hectares while Zone II, Poblacion occupies a much larger territory, with 110 hectares. There are about 2,200 people in 366 households in Balud; Zone II, Poblacion has more with approximately 2,400 persons in 400 households.

Barugo has 33 barangays with an aggregate population of 22,173 and a total land area of 7,850 hectares. Balud has a total land area of 534.8 hectares with 661 residents in 113 households, while Minuhang has 318.8 hectares of land and 2,286 persons in 409 households.

The language of all the communities is Waray and the people are generally Roman Catholic.

Aside from marine resources like fish, shrimp, and squid, the municipalities of Capoocan and Barugo also have agricultural resources like rice, coconut, corn, rootcrops, tobacco, abaca, sugarcane, livestock, and cattle.

Concrete, gravel, and asphalt roads, electricity, piped water, and other services are present in most of the barangays in the two municipalities. However, a majority of the residents still continue to use firewood and kerosene for fuel since the cost of electricity is high. Barangay Balud of the municipality of Barugo has no electricity. Only a few households have piped water and jetmatic pumps for water sources; thus, most residents still depend on wells and springs.

Jeepneys, buses, and tricycles are more easily available in the fishing communities compared to the upland sites, since the fishing villages are very near the poblacion. Jeepneys are the most preferred means of transporting fishermen's produce from the production site to the town.

Credit facilities are available through Rural Banks. Social services for health and education are also present. The four barangays under study have elementary schools, while only Minuhang and Zone II, Poblacion have secondary schools. For health, the PopCom and the Nutrition Center are operational and relatively active in the four villages. Barangay Balud of the municipality of Capoocan serves as the pilot site for a rural community development project of the World Health Organization.

Ecologically, both Capoocan and Barugo are located near the coastline of Carigara Bay. The people claim that Carigara Bay is already polluted and several spawning grounds of fish have already been damaged by dynamite and trawl fishing. Mountains and hills in these areas are reportedly denuded and eroded. The municipalities have occasional floods, typhoons, and drought. Earthquakes are experienced at least twice a year.

### A-3.2 Economic Factors

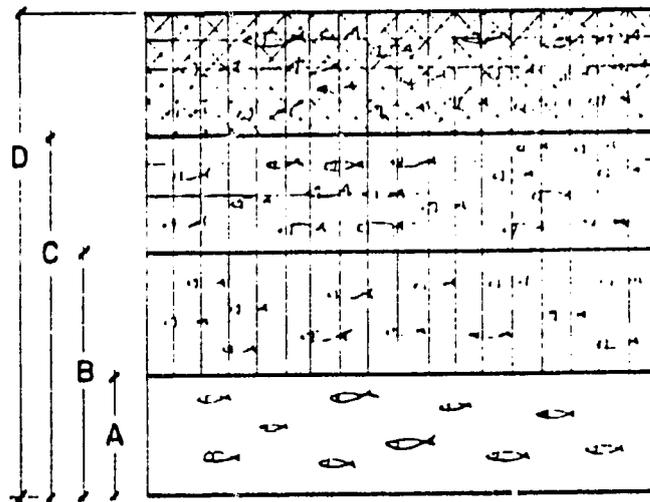
The artisanal fishermen in the four fishing communities generally use traditional methods of fishing. Most of them still use non-motorized bancas, but even those with motorized bancas have shifted back to non-motorized because of the high cost of fuel.

Most fishermen find the use of non-motorized bancas physically strenuous, time-consuming, and hardly rewarding. For one, their area of operation is limited to areas close to the shoreline where only small-sized fish varieties commanding a lower price can be caught at a quantity limited to the carrying capacity of their bancas. Second, they find it very hazardous to go far into the sea because they cannot immediately go back to shore once they encounter strong winds.

Because of these handicaps, the artisanal fishermen can hardly compete with fishermen using motorized bancas, much less with those fishermen with small and big fishing boats. Chart 1 shows the resource competition among the different types of fishermen. Small fishermen compete among themselves, with fishermen using motorized bancas, and with fishermen with small or big fishing boats. This competition is further aggravated if artisanal and big fishermen hailing from neighboring communities, municipalities, and provinces are included.

Charts 2 and 3 show the market flow of fish from the producer to the market towns. The charts suggest that there are different levels of middlemen in the fishing industry. The first level includes middlemen found in the barangay; the second-level middlemen are located in nearby market towns (Carigara and Barugo), while the third-level middlemen are found in the urban centers (Ormoc City and Tacloban City). The researchers

Chart I. RESOURCE COMPETITION



LEGEND:

- 
A. Fishing ground of fishermen using traditional technology, such as non-motorized banca, hook and line and parlay/babo.
- 
B. Fishing ground of fishermen using motorized bancas.
- 
C. Fishing ground of fishing boats from nearby towns.
- 
D. Fishing ground of fishing boats from other places, domestic.

CHART 2. FLOW OF FISH  
FROM PRODUCER TO END MARKET AND VICE VERSA

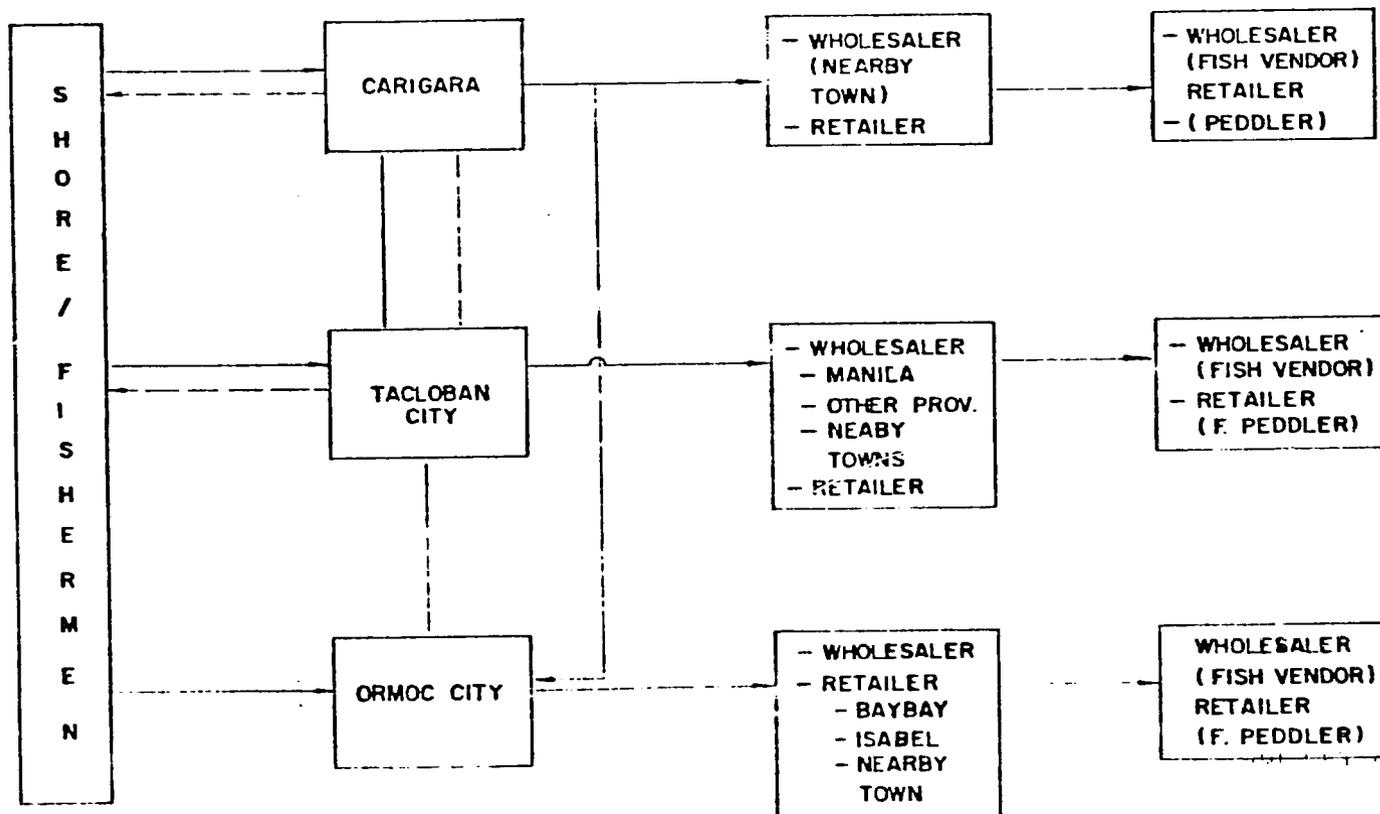
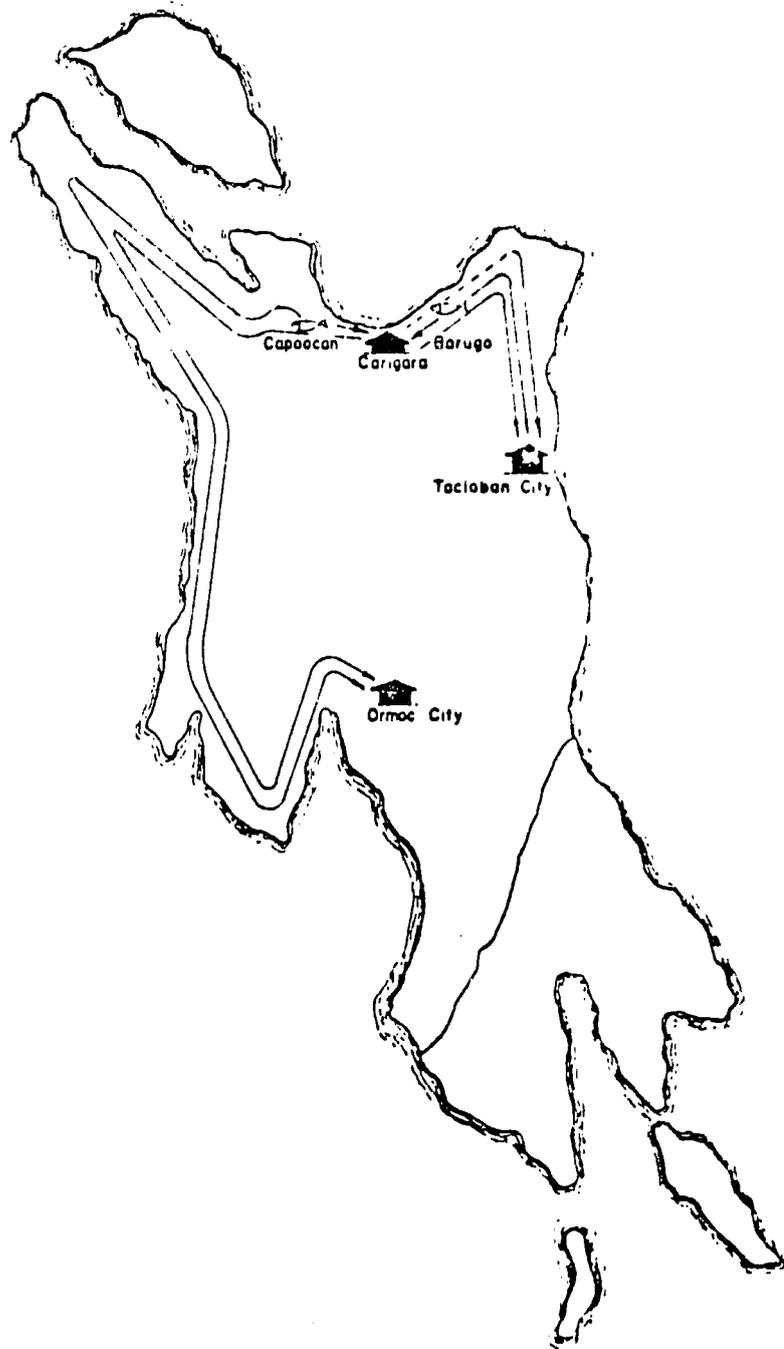


CHART 3 - COMMODITY FLOW MAP



found that every time the goods change hands, the price of fish usually goes up by about 20 percent.

The first-level middlemen, who are found in the barangay, are of two types. The first type includes ambulant vendors or retailers who are usually related to the artisanal fishermen by blood or by marriage. They are found at the seashore as soon as the fishermen arrive from fishing. These retailers usually dispose of the fish within the barangay and neighboring areas and share the earnings with the fishermen at the end of the day. If they are not immediate family members, they get 10 percent of the total sales proceeds.

The second type of middlemen in the barangay consists of the fish dealer or wholesaler (alfor) who brings the fish to nearby market towns and passes these on to the second-level middlemen there. The second-level middlemen in turn would either retail the fish or send them to Tacloban City or Ormoc City to the third-level middlemen who are mostly Chinese or of Chinese origin. In the event that there is an oversupply of fish in the market towns or if the prices are low, the second type of barangay middlemen usually proceed to Ormoc City. They should have at least five boxes or roughly 200 kilos of fish in order to make some profit. If the quantity is less than this, they usually bring back the fish to the barangay and process them into dried fish or salted preserved fish called budo.

At each level, the middlemen normally segregate the big varieties of fish as these command higher prices than the small varieties. The small varieties are sold fresh if the quantity is big enough for them to realize some profit; otherwise, these are processed.

The "concession" arrangement is the most popular scheme adopted by some artisanal fishermen and wholesale middlemen in the disposition of fish. In this arrangement, the wholesale middlemen usually finance the fishing gear, fuel, and other basic needs of the fishermen with the understanding that the former become the permanent buyers of the fish caught by the latter. Payment for the fish is made at the end of the day or the following day before new transactions take place. Before final payment is made, deductions on the loans made by the fishermen are done. More often than not, the fishermen ask for a minimal cash advance from the middlemen to buy rice, medicine, and other household needs. The cash advance is usually deducted from the total sales proceeds for the day.

Concessionaires in the two villages of Barugo usually process tamban (sardines) into budo. The processed fish are stored and sold during the lean season (i.e. full moon, bad weather, etc.). Some of the budo are sold to Chinese traders in Tacloban City who in turn ship these to Manila or Cebu City.

According to the fishermen interviewed, they do not get the right price for their catch in spite of the fact that the supply of fresh fish cannot meet the demand. This is so because the fish dealers or wholesalers want to recover their carrying costs, marketing costs, and investments in equipment and transportation. Besides, the fish dealers or wholesalers provide the much needed credit facilities to the small fishermen. In other words, the fish dealers assume the risks and want to recover the cost of their investments.

The small fishermen really do not have much choice but to use the existing marketing network since they do not have any storage facilities.

Rather than spoil their catch, they would rather dispose of them even at a much lower price.

Fish processing is not being done due to the absence of the necessary facilities. Besides, the market for dried fish is not yet developed since the Leyteños still prefer fresh fish to dried fish.

The heavy reliance of fishermen on climatic conditions greatly affects their income-generating capacity. The pronounced peak season for fishing activities along Carigara Bay lasts barely six months. This is further reduced because in any given month fishermen can effectively fish at most only 20 days corresponding to the moonless nights. Fishermen normally do not go fishing during lunar transformation (bulanon) or when there is a new moon.

The ever increasing prices of consumer items adversely affect the net income of the fishermen. Fishing communities found in the more remote areas experience this predicament even more.

Fishermen seldom avail of credit from institutional sources for the acquisition of bancas, fishing gear, and processing facilities. This is understandable because they do not have collateral to back up their loans. Besides, most of them are afraid to be in debt because of the irregularity of their income. Those who availed of loans from the Biyayang Dagat and have not settled their obligations have been barred from joining the KKK loan package. The majority of fishermen interviewed do not own land which they can till to supplement their meager income.

In the course of the field work, the project team was able to identify roughly 24 types of fishermen, classified into full-time and part-time artisanal fishermen with multiple sources of income. Please refer to

## Chart 4.

Of all the communities studied, Barangay Zone II, Poblacion of the municipality of Capoocan was identified to be the poorest. Most of the fishermen here do not own bancas or fishing gear. For them to catch fish, they have to rent bancas and other fishing gear, thus cutting the proceeds from their catch by half and sometimes even more.

A-3.3 Social Factors

The fishermen and their families generally get along well with the others. Their nipa houses cluster along the seashore onland that is usually not theirs. The housing arrangement is probably like this because they need to have their families close to their working areas. This provides a sense of security to them and their families while they are fishing in the bay.

The artisanal fishermen usually celebrate traditional festivities like fiestas, community dances, and other religious celebrations. Their favorite pastime is drinking tuba. Gambling in the form of illegal jai-alai called masyaw is quite rampant. Sundays for many villagers are reserved for cockfighting.

The artisanal fishermen's working pattern is different from that of the non-fishing residents in the villages. They usually go out to sea between six to 10 in the evening and return to shore the following day, between five to seven in the morning. They sleep during the day and get up between two to four in the afternoon to prepare for their tasks in the evening.

CHART 4. VARIOUS TYPES OF FISHERMEN

TYPES OF FISHERMEN	S T A T U S			
	FULL-TIME FISHERMEN	PART-TIME FISHERMEN		
		Fishermen, Farmer	Fishermen, Farmer	Fishermen, Farmer
1. Fishermen without banca or net; (dives and uses bow and arrow)				
2. Fishermen with banca but without net				
3. Fishermen with banca and net				
4. Fishermen who work as fishing boat crew (botero)				
5. Fishermen with motorized banca				
6. Fishermen employing illegal methods				

The people whom the fishermen look up to, their local elite, are the barangay officials, officers of their fishing associations, middlemen, some landowners, and educators. The politicians and officers of their fishing associations serve as their mediators with the outside powers; the middlemen provide needed financial assistance; the rest occasionally serve as counsel or advisors on family and community matters. One retired politician who is in his mid-seventies stood out as a very concerned member of the elite because he currently heads the federation of fishermen's associations in his municipality that intends to get financial assistance from the KKK. This articulate old man serves as the liaison officer or the power broker to personally follow up their pending loan application in Tacloban City.

The politics in the fishing villages studied appears to be very intense. Families and friends tend to align themselves under one political party so that even groupings or associations have very clear political leanings. The research team found out after two days in one municipality that the villages they selected are traditional oppositionists. It was reported that the Liberal and Nacionalista parties have merged into one party. This merger, however, does not openly criticize the ruling party nor does it reject any program introduced by the government.

The fishermen have superstitions related to fishing. Some of these rituals include the slaughtering of fowls and animals which are later allowed to float in the sea as an offering to the gods of the sea for a bountiful catch. These beliefs somehow provide courage to the fishermen while out fishing in the bay.

The key informants reported that their social environment has been relatively peaceful since Martial Law. There appears to be less illegal fishing, particularly dynamite fishing, and piracy.

#### A-3.4 Institutional Factors

Civic, religious, and social organizations exist in the fishing villages studied. They are, however, not as active as they should be. Three fishing associations were found in each municipality with a membership of about 15 fishermen each. These fishing associations were organized for the purpose of securing loans from KKK. It was later learned that the members of these fishing associations are related to each other either by blood or by affinity and by political affiliation.

Many artisanal fishermen, however, are not active in these organizations because they seem more concerned about their livelihood and the basic needs of food, clothing, shelter, and education for their children. Besides, their work schedule is different from that of other people because they sleep most of the day and work at night.

The delivery of social services in these communities appears inadequate. Although secondary schools are present in two villages, they have practically no books, supplies, and other basic facilities.

Health and nutrition services in these villages are inadequate. The health workers do not visit them regularly and information given to households about primary health care and nutrition is insufficient. From all indications, the children of the artisanal fishermen are malnourished.

While the villages have access to a water system, key informants stated that this public utility is far from ideal. Cases were reported of

children getting sick from the unsafe drinking water. Moreover, many cannot afford to have water piped into their households.

Although electricity is available in the three villages, most of the fishing households do not have it due to high connection fees.

It was also reported that extension service workers from the Bureau of Fisheries and Aquatic Resources (BFAR) as well as other government agencies hardly visit them.

#### A-3.5 Environmental Factors

Carigara Bay, the common fishing ground of the four villages, reportedly has been deteriorating over the last few years. The key informants recalled that they used to have bountiful catch from the bay; now it hardly yields enough fish for the fishermen to make a decent living.

The use of dynamite and of other methods of illegal or indiscriminate fishing has seriously affected the yield of the bay. It was reported that trawl fishing is still going on. The use of trawl is not really prohibited per se but the area of operation should not be less than seven kilometers from the shoreline. Trawl fishing in shallow waters scratches the surface of the seabed and in the process damages the spawning ground of fish. The presence of trawls, however, is tolerated due to alleged political connections of these fishermen. Apart from the foregoing practices, the improper disposal of garbage and wastes along the shore has polluted the bay and affected its yield.

Although the people are aware of the problems associated with the deterioration of Carigara Bay, no serious steps are being taken to improve the condition of the fishing ground.

**APPENDIX B**

**FIELD NOTES**

## APPENDIX B

## FIELD NOTES

B-1 Objectives

As discussed in Chapter One of the report, the SIP utilized three research approaches: collecting related literature and documents from primary and secondary sources, holding intensive interviews with key informants or persons considered knowledgeable in their respective communities and occupations, and conducting validation workshops with selected key informants. The main intent of this section is to describe the field experiences of the researchers in implementing the SIP project in the various communities. It also includes the procedures and observations drawn from the validation workshop exercises conducted among the representatives from the three types of rural poor communities covered in this research.

This section is divided into two parts--the first part includes descriptions of the pre-field and field activities while the second part presents the procedures for and observations from the validation workshops.

B-2 Community Studies

B-2.1 Pre-fieldwork Activities. The three main activities undertaken by the research teams before the fieldwork were: (1) preparation of the research instruments; (2) an onsite visit to the island of Leyte, particularly in the areas that were covered in the study; and (3) recruitment and training of interviewers.

B-2.2 Preparation of Research Instruments. Seven interview guides were constructed by the SIP project staff for the various types of key informants in the production sites and market towns. The interview guides and the sources of information for each type of research instrument are as follows:

## Exhibit 1

Interview Guides and Sources of Information  
for Each Interview Guide

Interview Guide	Source(s) of Information
A. Community profile	Government officials; municipal and barangay records
B. Farmer leader	Officers of farmers' organizations and associations
C. Small farmer	Owner-tillers; lessees; share-tenants
D. Fisherman leader	Officers of fishing organizations and associations
E. Small fisherman	Artisanal fishermen
F. Middleman	Middlemen in the farm and fishing communities and market towns
G. Non-agriculture/ Non-fishing informant	Parish priests; rural bankers; town officials; teachers; agency or extension officials (government and non-government)

The interview guides, written in English, included several items that covered the various factors of the study. No pre-testing was conducted to validate these instruments because only the items that were deemed appropriate by the field interviewers during the interviews

would be utilized. The instruments were not accompanied by an interviewer's manual.

B-2.3 On-site Visit. Three weeks before the launching of the fieldwork, three members of the IRC research staff went to Leyte and carried out the following activities: (1) making courtesy calls at the governor's office in Northern Leyte and Southern Leyte; (2) making an on-site visit to the municipalities that were intended to be covered in the study; (3) making arrangements for lodging facilities for the researchers; (4) paying a courtesy call on the president of Divine Word University; and (5) recruiting local interviewers from schools based in Tacloban City.

The governor of Northern Leyte was out of the country during the courtesy call made by the IRC research team. The senior staff of the governor's office attended to the request of the IRC members and encouraged them to go ahead with their planned research. They also provided the team with the provincial profile and other pertinent statistics collected from various local agencies.

In Southern Leyte, Governor Yñiquez herself met the IRC research staff for about half an hour. She expressed interest in and cooperation for the success of the project. She also suggested that the team see the provincial military officials for whatever assistance and protection needed in the field. The IRC team followed the advice of the governor and visited the military office.

Initial on-site visits were made on the lowland and upland rainfed farming municipalities, initial courtesy calls were made on the municipal officials. Inquiries were also made about possible lodging facilities for the researchers during the fieldwork. The municipal officials either offered their own homes or recommended some government facilities to house the researchers.

The IRC team later met with the president of Divine Word University and arranged to have the university's research center as the base of the SIP project during the fieldwork phase. The DWU officials agreed to have the IRC team utilize DWU facilities for the entire duration of the fieldwork.

During this first visit to Leyte, the IRC research staff recruited interviewers (mostly faculty members) from a local state university that had expressed interest and willingness in participating in the project during their semestral vacation. Unfortunately, this group of university faculty members were not able to participate in the field interviews because of an unforeseen university-required activity.

B-2.4 Recruitment and Training of Field Interviewers. Because of the above-mentioned development concerning the prospective field interviewers, the IRC research team had to recruit a new batch of interviewers five days before the training period. Half of the applicants were university students who had experience in social research while the other half were teachers from local schools (both public and private) and new college graduates. The project eventually

hired eight local interviewers. Of these, two were college teachers, one was a public elementary school teacher, two were recent college graduates, and three were college students from the state university. Three interviewers could speak both Waray and Cebuano while the rest spoke only Waray. The Cebuano-speaking interviewers eventually were assigned to the south while the rest were assigned to the north.

The training of the interviewers took place at Divine Word University four days before the fieldwork. Three days were spent for the actual training, and the fourth day was utilized for travel and relocation to the various research sites.

The training covered the following areas: overview of the research project, research organization, research instruments, interviewing techniques, a mock interview with a farmer-fisherman respondent, and team planning.

There were three research teams for the SIP fieldwork--one for the lowland rainfed farming areas, one for the artisanal fishermen, and one for the upland rainfed farming communities. Each team had a team leader who was a member of the IRC research staff and three local interviewers.

On the first day of the training phase, an overview of the project, research organization, and interviewing techniques were discussed. On the second day, a review of the research instruments

was made. This was conducted in workshops (by team) because of the different types of interview guides per type of rural poor groups. On the third day, a mock interview was done by all the members of the research team (for some sections of the instruments only) with a farmer leader who was previously a fisherman. The mock interview was conducted in Waray and in Cebuano (the respondent could speak both languages) and was conducted for around two hours. In the afternoon, team planning and preparations for the fieldwork were covered. The interviewers also signed the memorandum of agreement and the insurance policies.

B-2.5 The Fieldwork. This section presents the following areas: selection of the research sites, the points of entry, selection of key informants, the interview situation, and problems met in the field.

B-2.5.1 Selection of Research Sites. Although the selection of the six municipalities covered in this study was made prior to the field interviews, the choice of the barangays was actually done during the fieldwork. The choice of the two barangays per municipality was left to the research team assigned in the area. The main criterion provided for selection was that there should be a predominance of a particular type of rural poor in the barangays. The two barangays chosen for each municipality were to be adjacent to each other to save on time and money.

B-2.5.2 Point of Entry. The point of entry in all the research sites was through official channels. On the municipal level, the research team approached the municipal mayor, presented the letter of introduction from the SIP project coordinator, and explained the purpose of the research. Each of the municipal mayors was found to be very cooperative to the research teams. The mayors in turn endorsed the study by providing letters of introduction to the barangay captains of the communities that were included in the project. Having interviewers who were related to some key persons in the area further facilitated the entry of the research teams into the barangays. One of the interviewers of the artisanal fishing research team happened to be the daughter-in-law of a former mayor in one municipality. Thus, apart from gaining the residents' trust right away, the research team even found themselves lodged in the house of the ex-mayor for the entire duration of the fieldwork in that area. The arrangement also facilitated the interview of the respondents because the ex-mayor invited them to come to his house.

One IRC staff member had close relatives and friends in the municipalities chosen for the lowland rainfed area. This facilitated the entry of the research team into the barangays and even fostered the cooperation desired from the government officials and key informants.

Only the upland research team was without members who were closely related to a key person in the research sites. However, because one interviewer was a trade school instructor, his contact with the trade school in Sogod helped the team in obtaining lodging during part of the fieldwork.

B-2.5.3 Selection of Key Informants. The primary source of data for this study was the key informant, found either in the production site or market town. The key informants included farmers, fisherman, barangay officials, municipal officials, line agency workers, middlemen, owners or managers of trading firms, market vendors, and other persons such as schoolteachers, bankers, and priests found in the non-agricultural sector. Each key informant was given an intensive, semi-structured, formal interview with the use of interview guides. There were different interview guides developed for each category of key informants.

Pre-selected key informants at the municipal level included the mayor, municipal development officer, municipal action officer for KKK, municipal planning officer of the Ministry of Agriculture, and the parish priest. These persons were interviewed for the community profile, which covered the social, economic, political, institutional, demographic, and environmental factors pertaining to the entire municipality.

At the barangay level, several of the key informants were referred to the team by the barangay captains and other officials after the presentation of criteria for the respondents desired in the project. It is interesting to note that in the artisanal fishing communities and in the uplands, most of the barangay captains went out of their way to invite the prospective respondents to their homes so that the researchers could interview them there.

While it was agreed that key informants knowledgeable about the community should have resided in the area for at least 10 years, some who had been in the area for a shorter period of time were nonetheless included in the formal interviews. It was felt that these persons, who occupied important positions either in farmers' or fishermen's organizations or in the barangay council, were a good source of information for the community's recent past and current situation.

Names of middlemen were obtained from the farmers or artisanal fishermen. In addition, middlemen who were interviewed were asked to identify other persons engaged in the buying and selling of the target crop or fish.

B-2.5.4 The Interview Situation. Generally, the interviews with the key informants were carried out as planned.

In the upland and lowland rainfed communities, the average interview lasted one-and-a-half hours. Interviews with the

farmers and key officials naturally demanded a longer time than those allotted to other key informants, due to the wider coverage of their interview guides. In the main, farmers were found to be receptive to the interviewers and enthusiastic to give their opinions. At times, though, they seemed to exhibit uncertainty in some of their perceptions, probably because they wanted to give creditable responses. Whenever a situation such as this arose, the interviewer remained calm while probing for the farmer's definitive response. In the lowlands, the officials, especially the two newly-elected municipal mayors, consumed time by frequently referring to whatever municipal record was on hand or consulting with municipal staff members present during the interview. Middlemen were, on the other hand, found to be less enthusiastic in revealing information and were obviously on guard when answering queries regarding their economic activity. At least one middleman-informant thought the interviewer to be connected with the BIR. The same respondent rejected the interviewer when the latter called on him again for additional information. In the uplands, one middleman who listened to the interview between the researcher and a middleman who happened to be his friend confronted the interviewer after the interview. He claimed that the questions asked were

too intimidating and hinted that the interviewer was a subversive of some sort. The interviewer calmly explained the intent of the research and showed some identification documents. Convinced, the middlemen later offered to be interviewed. Since he was not one of the prospective respondents, the interviewer asked a few questions and skipped many items in the interview guide.

In the fishing communities, the interviews (except in one barangay) took place in the residences of barangay officials. Generally, interviews went very smoothly. However, the respondents found the interview guides very lengthy and tedious, especially those for the leader fishermen and artisanal fishermen. For the latter, the researchers decided to delete questions dealing with macro-level issues since these could hardly be answered by the respondents. The interviewers decided to concentrate on the immediate concerns of the artisanal fishermen. The length of interviews ranged from one-and-a-half hours to three hours.

For the leader-fishermen, the interview guides were administered in two parts. The shortest interview made with this type of respondent was around two hours and the longest was six hours. There were a few refusals because of the length of the interviews.

The field interviews in all the barangays were carried out for almost three weeks.

B-2.5.5 Problems and Constraints. There were several problems cited by the research teams in the implementation of the SIP project. The common problems cited included the very short period for data collection, lengthy interview guides, inadequate training of the field interviewers, and poor transportation facilities.

The leading constraint was the time allotted for data collection. Because the research teams stayed for less than one week in one barangay, it was felt that the members did not get a good feel of the community. It is suggested that the data collection schedule in each community be extended to two weeks. In this manner, the interviews would not be done hurriedly and important points could be probed further. It would also give the interviewers more time to observe and mingle with the target population and not rely largely on the community officials in the selection of key informants.

The lengthy interview guides which were meant to cover the various aspects of the respondent's life were considered a major problem, not only during the interview situation but also during the transcription. Had it not been for the referrals made by the barangay officials or the holding of interviews in the residences of some local officials, perhaps

many respondents, particularly in the uplands and artisanal fishing communities, would not have given their cooperation to the interviewers.

While the holding of the interviews in the homes of the barangay officials facilitated the interviews, the courtesy bias among the respondents is possibly quite high; also this system did not expose the researchers to the natural conditions of the homes of the respondents. The transcription of the interviews also extended the tasks of the interviewers up to late in the evening. In the uplands, the frequent brownouts in the evenings further contributed to the difficulties of the researchers.

Although almost all the local interviewers had some exposure to social research (particularly the social survey), the kinds of tasks expected of them in implementing the SIP project required more training. All the team leaders felt that the three-day training of the interviewers was not adequate because it lacked exposure in the field, i.e. there was a need to do pilot interviews instead of just a mock interview in the classroom. Perhaps, a week's training would be sufficient to prepare the fieldworkers to carry out an SIP rapid appraisal project.

Tied up to training is the selection of interviewers. While the interviewers performed quite well in the project,

it is suggested that more experienced researchers, particularly in non-survey types of research, be recruited for an SIP study. Perhaps older interviewers, instead of college undergraduates, should be chosen. The reports from the team leaders stated that they had to exert more effort in monitoring the students not only because of their youth but also because of their inadequate training in research.

The other problem cited by the research teams involved inadequate transportation facilities to and from the research sites. In the uplands, the barrios in one municipality were very difficult to reach. Getting a vehicle and a driver to take them to the mountains was very time consuming. In all the research areas, the researchers reported that they took motor-cycles that accommodated as many as 10 persons in one trip. This type of public transportation service existed in almost all the communities that are far from the poblacion.

### B-3 The Validation Workshops

B-3.1 General Preparatory activities. Three weeks before the validation workshops, a planning meeting with the IRC project staff and the consultants was held in Tacloban City. The following points were discussed: the schedule of the workshops, venues, participants, facilities, and procedures for the workshop.

It was agreed that the first group to hold its validation workshop would be the lowland research team, followed by the research team for the artisanal fishing areas, and lastly the upland group. The workshops were scheduled to be conducted on November 11, 13, and 15, 1982, respectively.

Due to time constraints and inadequate facilities in the areas studied, the venues of the workshops were academic institutions, which were considered neutral areas for all types of participants.

The planning group also decided that the participants of the workshops would be municipal and barangay officials and the farmers. The group debated whether middlemen should be invited but decided in the end to exclude them since it would not be good to have them around when the flow of commodities would be discussed. While there were reservations about inviting government officials, it was felt that excluding them might arouse suspicion about the intent of the research. To facilitate the participation of the farmers, it was decided that municipal and barangay officials would be invited and that the invitation letters would be channelled through their offices. It was agreed, however, that more farmers would be invited in all the workshops. So that the workshops would not become unwieldy, the group decided to invite only 12 persons per municipality. These persons were those assessed as the most articulate or "vocal" about their

research area. The participants were given a monetary allowance on the day of the workshop to compensate for the loss of income/economic opportunities for that day.

The findings of the field research were presented in several parts, to include economic, social, and institutional factors, changes in the barangay, and areas for potential development. It was agreed that the findings would be presented in brief, descriptive statements. The audience was then given a few minutes to reflect on the data presented, after which the facilitator opened the discussion. So that the participants would not be overwhelmed with too much information to reflect on at one time, a discussion was held after each section had been presented.

Because there were no senior members of the research teams from the lowland rainfed areas and the artisanal fishing communities who knew how to facilitate in the local language, it was decided that a social worker fluent in Waray would act as the facilitator for the validation workshops of both groups. The upland research team had Cebuano-speaking researchers, so it was felt that they could moderate the validation workshop.

#### B-4 Implementation of the Validation Workshops

The discussion of the actual procedures which transpired during the implementation of the validation workshops is discussed for every type of rural poor covered in this research.

B-4.1 Lowland Rainfed Farming Communities. The following activities transpired prior to, during, and after the validation workshop.

B-4.1.1 Preparation. After data gathering was completed in the research sites, the group prepared a summary of all information gathered from the communities. Interpretation of the raw data was based on very simple tabulation and no attempt at analysis about the results was done. The findings were written in colored pens on plastic sheets. Most of the results were written in text form. These were designed to be projected before the audience with the facilitator simultaneously reading the statements aloud. After each section was presented, the audience was asked to react to the findings.

The team also briefed the social worker/facilitator about the concept and structure of the workshop, the kind of audience she would be handling, and the kind of information being sought by the researchers. The facilitator was requested to facilitate the workshop in Waray and to encourage the small farmers to fully participate in the workshop. To help the facilitator identify the occupational groupings of the participants, color name tags were prepared.

On the eve of the workshop, the team did a dry-run of the presentation at the auditorium of Divine Word University, the venue of the workshop. At this point, the group felt certain that all the logistical preparations were accounted for. It was, however, still not sure about the possible outcome of the validation workshop it was undertaking for the first time.

B-4.1.2 Participants. Twenty-five key informants interviewed in the target communities were invited to the workshop. Of this number, six were municipal officials, four were barangay officials, three were farmer-leaders, and 12 were small farmers. Letters of invitation were hand-delivered by the team members to this select group of key informants three days prior to the scheduled activity. The invitations were not altogether unexpected by the participants since several key informants were already informed during the data gathering of the possibility of staging a validation workshop. It was specified in the letter that transportation to and from the workshop site, meals, and allowances would be provided for by the research team. In addition, it was made clear to these persons that no special preparation was necessary on their part.

All except two of the invited guests arrived for the validation workshop. One farmer was not available

during that day; the other absentee was the Mayor of Dagami who was represented by his municipal secretary. Meanwhile, two other persons who were not originally invited joined the delegation. These were a farmer-respondent who expressed his interest in the workshop and the consultant to the Mayor of Santa Fe (whom the latter brought with him).

B-4.1.3 The workshop. By 7:30 p.m. on November 11, 1982, the audio-visual room at the fourth floor of the Divine Word University was all set for the workshop that was to begin at 8:00. There were 30 chairs arranged in a semi-arc shape facing the front where the findings would be flashed from the over-head projector (located in the center). Two movable microphones were available and a cassette recorder was placed at one side of the room. A blackboard stood a few inches in front of the recorder. Several seats that were not needed were neatly placed against the back portion of the big hall. These were later occupied by observers from the research center of the host university as well as by members of the team that undertook the study of artisanal fishermen. Occupying the last row of the seats up front were two USAID representatives, one of them a non-Filipino.

The first to arrive 15 minutes behind schedule was the delegation from Sta. Fe. Thirty minutes later, the group from Dagami reached the workshop venue. As each invited

guest entered the hall, his name was checked on the master list and he was asked to sign a receipt for the allowances he was given. A name tag with the corresponding color code was likewise given to him. In order to allow the participants to relax, breakfast was immediately served, after which a brief sing-along was led by the head of the host university's research center. It appeared that the participants enjoyed this interlude as they became less tense and more settled in their seats. It was noted that the representatives from Sta. Fe were all seated on the left side of the room; the Dagami delegation sat on the right side.

At 9:15 a.m., the workshop proper was finally opened by a member of the research team who welcomed the guests and explained the procedures for the activity. After the brief remarks, the facilitator took the floor, the black curtains were drawn and the findings were flashed before the audience. The presentation and discussion of findings per section took a total of five hours, only briefly interrupted by a lunch break of 45 minutes. By 3:00 o'clock in the afternoon, the participants were thanked by the members of the research team and by the project director, after which the workshop was called to a close.

B-4.1.4 Problems and Observations. After the workshop, the research team met with the senior staff and the USAID representatives to evaluate the activities that transpired during the day.

The most crucial observation made by the group was that the farmers were not stimulated to actively participate in the discussions. Several factors could have accounted for this dismal performance:

- 1) The presentation of data, i.e. with the use of an overhead projector, was done too formally, creating the impression that the findings were final and hence could not be questioned nor challenged.
- 2) The descriptive statements were written in a very neutral and sanitized manner that concealed the real issues behind them. To the farmers, these statements were nothing new and when flashed one after another became a monotonous ritual.
- 3) The facilitator failed to probe effectively for the real concerns of the farmers.
- 4) The presence of municipal officials and the American observer may have inhibited some of the farmers from speaking out.
- 5) The venue and setting of the workshop created an artificial environment that hampered free and easy discussions.

Another significant observation concerns the passive and weak posture that the team members took during the workshop. Three of the interviewers were busy taking down notes while the team leader busied herself with manning the overhead projector. It was only during the afternoon session that the group members attempted to participate, by asking some questions in English that were translated into Waray by the facilitator. The real problem was that the group depended too much on the facilitator; the team leader specially felt helpless because she did not have the language facility.

The small farmers' participation, however, was not totally absent, in spite of the aforementioned constraints. Several farmers, in supporting the findings which were presented, even elaborated on these to a certain extent. What spurred some degree of intelligent and active participation was the discussion of possible projects that could be implemented. The peasants seemed obviously pleased that concrete steps to answer their needs and desires were being seriously considered, and they offered their collective insights. In the end, priority projects were identified in terms of what the farmers perceived to be the most crucial and significant area of development in their community.

The observations drawn from the first validation workshop provided some guidelines in the preparation for the next exercise with the representatives of the artisanal fishing communities.

B-4.2 The Artisanal Fishing Communities, Learning from the experiences in the first workshop, the following activities were conducted by the research team assigned in the artisanal fishing areas before, during, and after the validation exercise.

B-4.2.1 Preparations. As done by the previous group, the research team for the artisanal fishermen consolidated the findings from the fieldwork and wrote these with colored pens on plastic sheets. Instead of preparing the findings in text form, the team decided to present most of these in diagrams or in chart form with some analysis about the conditions of the artisanal fishermen and their communities.

The research team decided that, instead of relying heavily on the social worker/facilitator, it would utilize one of their Waray-speaking researchers/interviewers (who was also a faculty member of a local public school). This researcher/facilitator was thoroughly briefed about the expectations from the workshop.

Color name tags were also prepared by the research team to help them identify the occupational groupings of the participants.

The foregoing activities were completed the night before the workshop.

B-4.2.2 Participants. Twenty-three participants from the municipalities of Capoocan and Barugo participated in the validation workshop. Five of these were municipal officials, four were barangay captains, 10 were artisanal fishermen, and five were presidents of fishermen's associations.

Letters of invitation were also sent to the participants through official channels. The same incentives given to the lowland rainfed farming participants were also provided to the representatives from the artisanal fishing communities.

B-4.2.3 The Workshop. The auditorium of the fourth floor of Divine Word University also served as the venue of the workshop on November 13, 1982. The participants from Barugo arrived at exactly 8:00 o'clock in the morning while the participants from Capoocan were late by 45 minutes. After registration, breakfast was served for around 15 minutes.

Before the formal session started, the workshop participants were requested to sit next to someone who did not come from their own municipality. It was emphasized that the arrangement would help them to know the other participants. The session was formally opened at 9:00 o'clock with the facilitator requesting the participants to introduce themselves and to state their expectations from the workshop.

It was noted that after they introduced themselves most of the artisanal fishermen talked about their livelihood and their expectations for improvements which would result from the workshop; they also mentioned their problems with illegal fishing in their respective areas. After the participants' self-introduction, the IRC research staff, the consultants, and the research team assigned to the artisanal fishing areas also introduced themselves. The USAID representatives was introduced as a member of DLSU's research staff. To enable the group to relax, a sing-along was conducted by the director of the DWU research center.

After the self-introduction and singing, the facilitator presented an overview of the project and the objectives of the workshop. After the goals of the exercise were clarified, the facilitator presented the findings of the field research. The results included several problems identified by the key informants during the field interviews. All these were flashed in front of the participants through an overhead projector.

The participants concurred with the findings of the research. They also made some amendments to the research results and added new dimensions that enriched the findings. It was noted that the use of diagrams and charts provoked a more lively discussion from the participants.

The most notable reaction was elicited when the income of the artisanal fishermen was presented. The visual aid utilized ₱5.00 to illustrate the distribution of the fisherman's earnings for his basic needs. The municipal officials appeared to be in strong disagreement with the fishermen over this figure. While the facilitator tried to explain that the ₱5.00 figure was merely for illustration purposes, the fishermen-participants believed that their actual net earnings were, in reality, this amount. They claimed that based on the number of fishing days per month (which is about 20 days), the rental fee for the fishing gear/equipment and for hauling the fish net by the concessionaire, and the buying price of their fish (which is also set by the concessionaire), their average daily net income (as perceived by them) was only ₱5.00.

After the foregoing discussion, the identified problems were presented. Later, the participants agreed to divide themselves into two groups--one group for Capoccan and one group for Barugo. The participants felt that it was best to form the groups in this manner because participants coming from one municipality would be in the best position to discuss the problems of their areas. The members of the research team also participated actively in this undertaking.

At around 12:15, the groups broke up for lunch. At exactly 1 p.m., the workshop convened again. This time, the facilitator instructed the groups to identify which among the problems indicated on the blackboard they could control and they could not control. They were also asked to prioritize the problems needing immediate attention in their respective municipalities.

In the small group discussion, it was noted that the leaders led most of the discussion. However, some outspoken fishermen also contributed, particularly in the identification of controllable and uncontrollable problems.

After the small group discussions, each group chairman presented the results of their discussion. It was noted that Capoocan seemed to have more problems that could be controlled by the participants than Barugo.

After the reports, an intermission number was presented. Then the members of the project team thanked the participants for the cooperation extended to them. The chairpersons for the small group discussion also expressed their appreciation to the team. The Capoocan spokesman, however, who knew that the sponsor agency of the research was the USAID, asked about its role in the

solution to the problems raised by the participants. The IRC project coordinator informed the group that while the team could not answer for the funding agency of the project--the researchers' role for the research was to make recommendations to the sponsor agency and to other agencies based on the results of the field research--it would now depend on these various agencies whether they would implement the recommendations.

The certificates of attendance and appreciation were distributed to the participants by the project coordinator towards the end of the workshop. The workshop officially ended at 2:45 p.m.

B-4.2.4 Problems and observations. An evaluation meeting was conducted by the project team, the consultants, and the USAID representative after the workshop. Generally, the group felt that the results of the workshop with the fishermen and their leaders was satisfactory. It seemed that the diagrams and charts were effective visual aids in stimulating discussions with the participants. The active involvement of the researchers in facilitating and conducting the workshop was also effective in soliciting the participation of the participants. However, it was noted that the use of a specific figure--in this case,

₱5.00--elicited disagreements between the leaders and the artisanal fishermen. While it was intended to be an illustrative example only, in future workshops, a more neutral example or figure (like ₱1.00) should be used in allocating the expenditures of the fishermen.

#### B-4.3 The Upland Rainfed Farming Communities

B-4.3.1 Preparations. The upland research team started preparing for the validation workshop one-and-a-half weeks earlier, when the project coordinator and the consultant conducted a brainstorming session with the team about the workshop strategies. Owing to the distance between the two upland municipalities chosen in this research, it was agreed that the workshop would be held in the municipality of Bato, which is actually midway between the two municipalities. It was decided that the best venue for the workshop would be the Bato School of Fisheries. Arrangements with the school administrators were made before the letters of invitation to the participants were sent. The letters of invitation were coursed through the municipal mayors.

Because there was no available overhead projector at Bato School of Fisheries, the findings of the study and some visual aids were made with the use of Manila paper.

and colored pens. The team members and some students from the Sogod trade school where the research team stayed helped in the preparation of these materials. Colored name tags were also prepared for the participants.

The day before the workshop, the upland team and the project coordinator conducted a mock presentation. It was agreed that a brief summary of the findings would be presented in Cebuano by one member of the research team who would serve as the facilitator of the project. The details and other visual aids would be flashed simultaneously by the other members of the team. It was also agreed that the participants would be divided into two groups to discuss the problems of their respective communities. The mock session and additional paper work needed for the next day's workshops were conducted in the midst of a brownout.

B-4.3.2 Participants. Eighteen participants were invited to the workshop. Of this number, eight were upland rainfed farmers, four were barangay captains, two were municipal mayors, two were municipal action officers for the KKK, and two were agricultural/social services extension officers. Two farmers from far-away

Barrio Marangog in the municipality of Hilongos were not able to come. Due to pressing last minute activities in their respective municipalities, the two municipal mayors were not able to attend. The same workshop incentives given to the representatives of the lowland rainfed and artisanal fishing communities were extended to this group.

Aside from the foregoing participants, the workshop was attended by a group of six researchers from VISCA led by Dr. Rogelio Jayme, who had conducted a rapid appraisal research in Bontoc two weeks before the IRC team came. The role of this team was merely to observe since they had a special interest in one of the areas covered by the IRC team. The other members of the workshop included the project coordinator, the IRC administrative officer, the USAID representative (who was introduced as a DLSU researcher) and two other members of the project staff.

B-4.3.3 The Workshop. The workshop was held on November 15, 1982 at the Science classroom of the Bato School of Fisheries. It did not start at the designated time (which was 9 a.m.) because the group waited for the participants from Hilongos. As the participants were welcomed and registered, they were given their allowances and breakfast. The participants were requested not to

sit next to someone who came from their own village, in order for them to know the other participants of the workshops. While waiting for the Hilongos participants, those present listened appreciatively to the Visayan songs and guitar music played by the Sogod trade school's security guard (an old man, about 65 years old), who was invited by the team to join the workshop.

The research team decided to start the workshop at 9:45 a.m. because it was not certain what time the Hilongos participants would arrive (they came shortly before 10 a.m.). The participants and guests of the workshop were asked to introduce themselves. Afterwards, the facilitator presented the overview of the study and objectives of the workshop. Then he continued with the discussion of the findings. The team members helped in flashing the visual aids and took down notes of the proceedings. After each factor was presented, the participants were asked to react. It was noted that the participants concurred with the findings of the research and occasionally made corrections and comments on the results. It was observed that the more articulate participants of the discussion were the community leaders and the extension workers.

After the presentation of the findings, small group discussions followed. The participants were divided into two groups--one group included representatives from Hilongos and another group had participants coming from Bontoc. The groups discussed the various problems identified by the study. They were asked to identify which problems they could control and which ones they could not. They were also asked to suggest solutions to these problems.

After lunch (which was catered by the host institution), discussions continued and reports were presented orally. It was noted that the presentors were the leaders of the two municipalities.

The certificates of attendance were distributed after the discussions. Before the workshop ended, the upland research team and the research staff from IRC rendered a Visayan song. The participants from the two municipalities unexpectedly also sang for the group. An upland farmer from Bontoc rendered a solo number for everyone.

B-4.3.4 Problems and Observations. The research team and the other project staff members evaluated the outcomes of the workshop on their way to Tacloban City (the team left for Tacloban immediately after the workshop).

One of the problems noted by the research team was the late start of the workshop--around 45 minutes after the

scheduled starting time. The arrival of the Hilongos group was delayed because of their distance from Bato and the difficulty of mobilizing the farmers from the uplands to go to the town. Because the Marangog participants were unable to come, the farmers were outnumbered by the extension and community development workers. It was also noted that the presence of these people and their number somehow inhibited the farmers from speaking out. Their presence perhaps could also explain why the suggested solutions to the upland farmers' problems centered on government intervention.

The presence of the observers also overwhelmed the farmers. Although it was made clear to the guests that they were there merely to observe, some of them participated by raising questions about the findings of the study.

While the Bato School of Fisheries was a convenient location, the classroom utilized was quite humid for this type of activity.

Despite the foregoing problems, the validation workshop was conducted as planned. To some extent, it fostered goodwill for the researchers in the target communities, brought the upland farmers and government workers together, and allowed discussions on the problems of the uplanders; all these would otherwise not have been done if ventures of this sort were not tried out.

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW GUIDES:

INTERVIEW GUIDE A: COMMUNITY PROFILE

INTERVIEW GUIDE B: LEADER FARMER

INTERVIEW GUIDE C: SMALL FARMER

INTERVIEW GUIDE D: LEADER FISHERMEN

INTERVIEW GUIDE E: SMALL FISHERMEN

INTERVIEW GUIDE F: MIDDLEMAN

INTERVIEW GUIDE G: NON-AGRICULTURAL/NON-FISHING

## APPENDIX C

## INTERVIEW GUIDE A: COMMUNITY PROFILE

MUNICIPALITY:  
 MUNICIPAL CLASS:  
 POBLACION:  
 BARANGAY:  
 POPULATION:

- a. Total:
- b. No. of Households:

## A. PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

1. Size in terms of total land area
2. Boundaries demarcating the community's outer limits.
3. Terrain (Upland or Lowland)
4. Climate
5. Infrastructure
  - a. Bridges-
  - b. Airports-
  - c. Seaports-
  - d. Roads-
6. Physical Layout in relation to location of schools, markets, ports, health center and other services and facilities. (A map or sketch would be most useful here)

## B. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1. Origin of the community:
  - a. Year it was established
  - b. Official and "traditional" versions about the community's origin/s
2. Migration in terms of:
  - a. Movement to community of specific types of people
  - b. Moving out of specific types of people

## C. ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

1. Agriculture
  - a. Land use
    - a.1 Cultivated and non-cultivated area (has.)
    - a.2 Irrigated and non-irrigated area (has.)

- b. Crops cultivated and AVERAGE level of PRODUCTION (in unit)
- c. Other farm-related products and AVERAGE level of PRODUCTION (in unit)
- d. Percentage and/actual no. of families engaged in farming and their TENURE STATUS
- e. Market outlets (Specify where crops and other products are sold)
- f. Availability of resources for farming
  - f.1 laborers/workers (identify ratio%/actual no. of male, female and minor)
  - f.2 farm inputs (e.g. fertilizer, chemicals, etc.)
  - f.3 Farm tools and equipment
  - f.4 credit facilities
  - f.5 processing facilities (e.g. mills)
  - f.6 storage facilities
  - f.7 transportation
- g. Price of basic commodities (e.g. sugar, corn, rice, oil, etc.)

## 2. Fishing

- a. Name of fishing ground
- b. Extent/area of fishing ground
- c. Species of fish usually present and average yield (peak and lean mos.)
- d. Percentage and actual no. of families engaged in fishing
- e. Market outlets (Specify where fish are sold)
- f. Availability of resources for fishing
  - f.1 laborers/workers (identify ratio%/actual no. of male, female and minor)
  - f.2 fishing equipment and gear
  - f.3 credit facilities
  - f.4 processing facilities (e.g. drying and smoking)
  - f.5 storage facilities (e.g. iceplant)
  - f.6 transportation

## D. INSTITUTIONAL INFORMATION

### 1. Inquire about the PRESENCE or ABSENCE of SOCIAL SERVICES

- a. Health
  - a.1 Family Planning
  - a.2 Rural Health Unit
  - a.3 Nutrition Center
  - a.4 Sanitation
  - a.5 Others
- b. Education
  - b.1 Elementary
  - b.2 High School
  - b.3 College
  - b.4 Vocational
- c. Water Supply
  - c.1 Faucet
  - c.2 Well
  - c.3 Others

- d. Electricity (ask when it started, if there is electricity)
- e. Communication
  - e.1 post office
  - e.2 telegraph
  - e.3 telegram
  - e.4 telephone
- f. Technical/Extension services in agriculture or fishing. Get the names and address for each agency.
  - f.1 BAEX
  - f.2 BAECON
  - f.3 NIA
  - f.4 FSDC
  - f.5 BFAR
  - f.6 Family Planning
  - f.7 Others

NOTE: In describing the extent of community services, indicate and specify the roles played by the GOVERNMENT and NON-GOVERNMENT (private) agencies.

- 2. Identify the different types of organizations that exist in the community.
  - a. what functions do they perform?
  - b. what is the role or the extent of the organization's participation in government and non-government initiated activities/programs?

E. OTHER ENVIRONMENTAL BACKGROUND. INQUIRE ABOUT THE PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF:

- 1. Energy in terms of its source/s and utilization (specify all sources)
- 2. Ecology in terms of:
  - a. Land utilization
  - b. Deforestation
  - c. Pollution
  - d. Soil Erosion
  - e. Farming/fishing systems
  - f. Rainfall pattern (rainy and dry months)
  - g. Natural calamities (indicate occurrence and frequency)
    - g.1 flood
    - g.2 earthquake
    - g.3 drought
    - g.4 typhoon
  - h. Others

F. OTHER BACKGROUND INFORMATION

- 1. Lingua franca of the community (standard gauge: language used in public school, primary grades 1 and 2).
- 2. Research done in the community. Specify date, subject matter and by whom.

3. Names of leading businessmen and type of business they are engaged in (if possible, identify if they are middlemen)
4. Names of barangay officials
5. Names of parish priest/pastor and other religious leaders in the community
6. Names of principal, school supervisors and head teachers in/around the community
7. Prominent families in the community
8. Other remarks about the community

NOTE: Be sure to list down the name of the informant for every piece of information gathered.

## INTERVIEW GUIDE B: LEADER FARMER

## I. RESPONDENT'S IDENTITY

- A. Name:
- B. Age :
- C. Sex :
- D. Civil Status:
- E. Birthplace:
- F. Educational Attainment:
- G. Primary Occupation:
- H. Number of years in the community:
- I. Official designation in the community:
- J. Number of years in the official position occupied:
- K. Home Address:

## II. ECONOMIC FACTORS

- A.1 Manpower in the barangay
- A.2 Identify the TENURE STATUS OF THE FARMERS. Specify the percentage or actual number of farmers per tenure status. If leases or share-tenant, inquire on the average SHARING AGREEMENT. (Ask names of farmers)
- B. Determine the types of CROPS cultivated and the average LEVEL OF PRODUCTION per type of crop and INCOME earned.
- C. Aside from crops, find out other FARM-RELATED PRODUCTS that are cultivated/raised and the average level of production per type of product and income earned.
- D. Check other sources of income aside from answers in B & C.
- E. Look into the LEVEL OF TECHNOLOGY in terms of farm management practices that the farmers have adopted.
  - 1. variety of palay planted
  - 2. use of water
  - 3. method of planting palay
  - 4. method of seedbed preparation
  - 5. method of weeding
  - 6. use of arm tools and equipment
  - 7. use of fertilizer
  - 8. use of farm chemicals
  - 9. control of pests
- F. Probe how farmers' produce is disposed. Describe crop/product disposal in terms of:
  - 1. home/family consumption
  - 2. sold
  - 3. payment to creditors
  - 4. share of landlord
  - 5. others (irrigation fee, harvester-thresher share, etc.)

- G. Trace the channels of marketing the crops/products from farm to market towns (take note of the commodity flow for similar crops/products). Probe for the role of middlemen in the distribution process (take note of the advantages and disadvantages of having middlemen). Check what happens to unsold crops/products.
- H. Find out business enterprises present in the community. Determine their roles and functions. Focus also on these enterprises as source of farm inputs.
- I. Identify community resources (take note of percentage or actual number)
  - 1. HUMAN RESOURCES
    - a. Employment structure (male, female, and minor). Also probe for specific functions of each.
    - b. Other skills possessed/available.
    - c. Other occupations aside from farming that people are engaged in.
    - d. Average level of educational attainment.
  - 2. NON-HUMAN RESOURCES
    - a. Farm tools and equipment. Probe for:
      - a.1 Ratio/Proportion of those that are rented vs. bought
      - a.2 Preference for modern vs. traditional
    - b. Facilities for capital formation (credit and savings). Probe for the number of people who availed of facilities.
    - c. Processing facilities (e.g. mills)
    - d. Storage or warehouse facilities
    - e. Infrastructure. Probe for the actual and desired types/kinds of infrastructure.
    - f. Transportation. Probe for travel time from production site to market town.
- J. Probe for problems encountered (Should be related to Item IIA-I)
- K. What are the economic aspirations of the farmers? How are they going to achieve these? Do you think they will be able to achieve these?
- L. What are the farmers' attitudes towards work? Probe for answers.

### III. INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS

- A. Check if there are organizations or associations among farmers. Find out roles and function in the community. Find out which are active and inactive and approximate size of membership.
- B. Also determine the extent of the organizations' participation in:
  - 1. government initiated activities/programs
  - 2. non-government/private initiated activities/programs. Probe for reasons for the extent of organizations' participation; identify the people who are involved, level of cooperation and level of success.

C. Assess the farmers' access to social services in the community.

1. HEALTH
  - a. family planning
  - b. rural health unit
  - c. sanitation
  - d. nutrition
  - e. others, e.g. herbolarios
2. EDUCATION
  - a. Elementary
  - b. High School
  - c. College
  - d. Vocational
3. WATER SUPPLY
  - a. faucet
  - b. well
  - c. others
4. ELECTRICITY (ask when it started, if there is electricity)
5. COMMUNICATION
  - a. post office
  - b. telegraph
  - c. telegram
  - d. telephone
6. TECHNICAL/EXTENSION SERVICES IN AGRICULTURE
  - a. BAEX
  - b. BAECON
  - c. NIA
  - d. FSDC
  - e. BFAR
  - f. Family Planning
  - g. Others

Inquire what other social services they need that should be made available to them.

D. Probe for problems encountered. (Should be related to Item IIIA-C)

IV. SOCIAL FACTORS

- A. Find out the social activities of the farmers.
  1. Do they attend fiestas, and other social gatherings?
  2. What are their recreational activities? Probe.
- B. What are the superstitious beliefs in farming? Probe.
- C. Do farmers feel they can control their lives/future? Probe.
- D. Determine the role played by the elite in the social structure of the community. Identify these people and their positions in the community. Explore how the farmers relate to/interact with the elite.
- E. Trace the migration pattern in the community.
  1. type and number of original/pioneer/native people
  2. type and number of people who moved into the community. Probe for reasons and place where they came from.

3. type and number of people who moved out of the community. Probe for reasons. Find out where these people went.
  4. check if migration has affected the community. Probe for answers.
- F. Probe for existing social problems in the community, e.g. peace and order, drugs, etc. (Should be related to Items IVA-E)

#### V. ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS

- A. Identify energy sources and energy utilization in the community.
- B. Find out the ecological conditions in the community.
  1. land utilization
  2. deforestation
  3. pollution
  4. soil erosion
  5. farming systems
  6. climate

What are the environmental problems? Why? Assess general reaction towards the present ecological condition of the community.

#### VI. AREAS FOR POTENTIAL DEVELOPMENT

- A. Find out potential areas for development where majority of the community people will benefit.
  1. ask for specific PROJECTS
  2. ask for possible sources of support (financial and technical)

#### VII. CHANGES IN LEYTE (1960-1980)

- A. What are the CHANGES that had taken place in the following:
  1. Technology
  2. Production
  3. Environment
  4. Standard of Living
  5. Level of distribution of income
  6. Others

How was it in: (a) 1960-71 (before martial law/old society)  
 (b) 1972-80 (during martial law/new society)

- B. Do you think life will be better in the future? Probe.

## INTERVIEW GUIDE C: SMALL FARMER

## I. RESPONDENT'S IDENTITY

- a. Name
- b. Age
- c. Civil Status
- d. Birth Place
- e. Educational Attainment
- f. Primary Occupation
- g. Number of years in the Community
- h. Home Address
- i. Mother tongue
- j. Number of children:
  - Boys
  - Girls

## II. ECONOMIC FACTORS

- A. Identify the tenure status of the farmer. Determine the area of the land he is tilling. If lessee or share-tenant, inquire on the average sharing agreement.
- B. Determine the types of crops cultivated and the average level of production per type of crop and income earned. Has crop production increased or decreased in the last 5 years?
- C. Aside from crops, find out the other farm-related products that are raised (e.g. livestock, poultry, etc.), level of production per type of product and income earned.
- D. Check other sources of income aside from answers in B and C.
- E. Look into the level of technology in terms of farm management practices that the farmer has adopted.
  1. Variety of paddy planted
  2. Use of water
  3. Method of planting paddy
  4. Method of seedbed preparation
  5. Method of weeding
  6. Use of farm tools and equipment (check whether modern or traditional, what is most frequently used).
    - 6.1 Does he own tools and equipment?
    - 6.2 How does he avail of tools and equipment?
  7. Use of fertilizer (check whether modern or traditional; when started using; what types).

8. Use of farm chemicals (check whether modern or traditional; when started using; what types).
  9. Control of pests (check whether modern or traditional; when started using; what types).
- F. Probe how farmer's produce is disposed.
1. How is the produce sold? Compare channel of marketing with neighbors:
    - 1.1 Where does he bring his produce?
    - 1.2 Who buys the produce? (If middleman buys the produce, would he know where the middleman brings the produce?)
    - 1.3 How much of the produce is sold? How much is left for home consumption?
    - 1.4 How much does he sell his produce? (average) How is the price determined?
  2. Payment to creditors  
How are the proceeds of sales apportioned?
  3. Share of landlord (if any)
  4. Others (irrigation fee, harvester-thresher share, etc.)
  5. What happens to unsold crops/products?
- G. Human Resources
1. Manpower structure (focus on the family). Probe for specific work role of his family members as well as the members of other families in his neighborhood. Role of women and minors.
  2. Other skills possessed/available in his neighborhood.
  3. Other occupations of people in his neighborhood.
- H. Non-human Resources
1. Facilities for capital formation (credit and savings). Has he ever availed of these? Probe.
  2. Processing facilities
  3. Storage/Warehouse facilities
  4. Transportation of goods/products. Ask for the following information: availability of transportation, where goods are transported, cost of transporting, how transported, and travel time.
- I. Probe for problems encountered.

### III. INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS

- A. Check if there is a farmer's organization in his community. Has he ever participated in any activity of the organization? What is the position he holds? Ask for his perception of level of success of the organization.
- B. Check also membership in other organisations. (Government or non-government)
- C. Probe for problems encountered.
- D. Assess the farmers' access to social services in the community.

## IV. SOCIAL FACTORS

- A. Find out the social activities of the farmers.
  1. Do they attend fiestas and other social gatherings? Probe.
  2. What are their recreational activities? Probe.
- B. What are the superstitious beliefs in the community? Probe for beliefs related to production and farming. Advantages and disadvantages.
- C. Role of the elite in the community. Where does he go to if he needs help? (economic and non-economic assistance). Whom do people run to if they need help? (economic and non-economic assistance). Try to identify these people.
- D. Migration pattern
 

Ask if he and his spouse are natives of the place. If not, where did they come from? How long has he been staying here? Ask if he has plans of moving out of the community and why? How many people have moved out of the place and why?
- E. Problems
 

Probe for existing social problems and difficulties about his work and the community.

## V. ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS

- A. Find out energy sources they (he and co-farmers) utilize (e.g. fuel)
- B. Awareness of the ecological condition of their surroundings. What do they do about it? e.g. deforestation, pollution, soil erosion.

## VI. AREAS FOR POTENTIAL DEVELOPMENT

- A. Find out potential areas for development where majority of the community will benefit.
  1. Ask for specific projects
  2. Ask for possible sources of support (financial and technical)

## VII. CHANGES IN LEYTE (1960-1980)

- A. What are the changes that have taken place in the barangay in the following:
  1. Technology
  2. Production
  3. Environment
  4. Standard of Living
  5. Level of distribution of income
  6. Others

How was it in:

- (a) 1960-1971 (before martial law/old society)
- (b) 1972-1980 (during martial law/new society)

Probe for answers.

B. Do you think life will be better in the future? Probe.

- H. Trace the channels of marketing the fish from shore to market towns (also take note of the commodity flow of processed fish). Probe for the role of middlemen in the distribution process. (Take note of the advantages and disadvantages of middlemen). Check what happens with unsold fish.
- I. Find out business enterprises present in the community. Determine their roles and functions. Focus also on these enterprises as source of fishing inputs.
- J. Identify community resources (take note of percentage or actual number)
  - 1. HUMAN RESOURCES
    - a. Employment structure (male, female and minor) Also probe for specific roles of each.
    - b. Other skills possessed/available
    - c. Other occupation aside from fishing that people are engaged in
    - d. Average level of educational attainment
  - 2. NON-HUMAN RESOURCES
    - a. Fishing equipment and gear. Probe for:
      - a.1 ratio/proportion of those that are rented vs. bought
      - a.2 preference for modern vs. traditional
    - b. Facilities for capital formation (credit and savings). Probe for the number of people who availed of these.
    - c. Processing facilities (e.g. drying and smoking)
    - d. Storage facilities (e.g. iceplant)
    - e. Infrastructure. Probe for the actual and desired types/kinds of infrastructure
    - f. Transportation. Probe for travel time from shore to market town.
- K. Probe for problems encountered (Should be related to Items IA-I)
- L. What are the economic aspirations of the fishermen? How are they going to achieve these? Do you think they will be able to achieve these?
- M. What are the fishermen's attitudes towards work? Probe for answers.

### III. INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS

- A. Check if there are organizations or associations among fishermen. Find out their roles and functions in the community. Check which are active and inactive and approximate size of membership.
- B. Also determine the extent of the organizations' participation in:
  - 1. government initiated activities/programs
  - 2. non-government/private initiated activities/programs. Probe for reasons in the extent of organizations' participation; identify the people who are involved. Level of cooperation and level of success.

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- C. Assess the fishermen's access to social services in the community:
1. Health
    - a. family planning
    - b. rural health unit
    - c. sanitation
    - d. nutrition
    - e. others, e.g. herbolarios
  2. Education
    - a. Elementary
    - b. High School
    - c. College
    - d. Vocational
  3. Water supply
    - a. faucet
    - b. well
    - c. others
  4. Electricity (ask when it started, if there is electricity)
  5. Communication
    - a. post office
    - b. telegraph
    - c. telegram
    - d. telephone
  6. Technical/Extension services in agriculture or fishing
    - a. BAEX
    - b. BAECON
    - c. NIA
    - d. FSDC
    - e. BFAR
    - f. Family Planning
    - g. Others

Inquire what other social services they need that should be made available to them.

- D. Probe for problems encountered. (Should be related to Item IIA-C)

#### IV. SOCIAL FACTORS

- A. Find out the social activities of the fishermen.
  1. Do they attend fiestas, birthdays and other social gatherings? Probe.
  2. What are their recreational activities? Probe.
- B. What are the superstitious beliefs in fishing? Probe.
- C. Do fishermen believe they can control their lives? Probe.
- D. Determine the role played by the elite in the social structure of the community. Identify these people and their positions in the community. Explore how the fishermen relate/interact with the elite.

- E. Trace the migration pattern in the community
1. type and no. of original/pioneer/native people
  2. type and no. of people who moved into the community.  
Probe for reasons and find place where they came from.
  3. type and no. of people who moved out of the community.  
Probe for reasons and find out where these people went.
  4. check if migration has affected the community. Probe for answers.
- F. Probe for existing social problems in the community, e.g. peace and order, etc. (Should be related to Items IVA-E)

#### V. ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS

- A. Identify energy sources and their utilization in the community.
- B. Find out the ecological condition in the community
1. land utilization
  2. deforestation
  3. pollution
  4. fishing system, e.g. use of dynamite
  5. climate

What are the environmental problems? Why? Assess general reaction towards the present ecological condition of the community.

#### VI. AREAS FOR POTENTIAL DEVELOPMENT

- .. Find out potential areas for development where majority of the community people will be benefitted.
1. ask for specific PROJECT
  2. ask for possible sources of support (financial and technical)

#### VII. CHANGES IN LEYTE (1960-1980)

- A. What are the changes that have taken place in the following:
1. technology
  2. production
  3. environment
  4. standard of living
  5. level and distribution of income
  6. concessionaires in logging and mining
- How was it in:
- a. 1960-71 (before martial law/old society)
  - b. 1972-80 (during martial law/new society)
- Probe for answers.
- B. Do you think life will be better in the future? Probe.

## INTERVIEW GUIDE E: SMALL FISHERMEN

## I. RESPONDENT'S IDENTITY

- A. Name
- B. Age
- C. Civil Status
- D. Birthplace
- E. Educational Attainment
- F. Primary Occupation
- G. Number of years in the community
- H. Home address
- I. Mother Tongue

## II. ECONOMIC FACTORS

- A. Identify the type of fishermen in this community.
- B. Find out if they own banca and gear.
- C. Determine the species of fish usually caught and the average yield per species of fish (peak and lean months) and income earned.
- D. Find out if they engage in other income generating activities during slack season.
- E. Check other sources of income aside from C and D.
- F. Look into the level of Technology in terms of fishing management practices that the fishermen have adopted:
  - 1. type of banca used
  - 2. type of gear used
  - 3. type of fishnet used
  - 4. other fishing tools and equipment (e.g. sinker, float, rigging materials)
  - 5. fishing method used
- G. Probe how the fishermen's catch is disposed.
  - 1. How is catch sold?
    - 1.1 Where does he bring his catch?
    - 1.2 Who buys the catch?
    - 1.3 How much does he sell the catch? (average)  
Or how is the price determined?
  - 2. Who helps in marketing his catch?
    - 2.1 Are the family members involved in marketing?  
If so, how?
  - 3. Spoilage (What does he do with spoiled fish?)
  - 4. How much is left for home/family consumption?
- H. Resources
  - 1. Human Resources
    - 1.1 Management structure (focus on the family). Probe for specific work role of his family members as well as members of other families in his neighborhood.

## 2. Non-human Resources

- 2.1 fishing equipment and gear (specify type)
- 2.2 facilities for capital formation (credit and savings).  
Has he ever availed of these? Probe.
- 2.3 processing facilities
- 2.4 storage facilities

## I. Probe for problems encountered

## III. INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS

- A. Check if there is a fishermen's organization in his community.  
Has he ever participated in any activity of the organization?  
Probe. What is the position he holds? Probe for his perception of the level of success of the organization.
- B. Check also his membership in other organizations (government or non-government).
- C. Probe for problems encountered.

## IV. SOCIAL FACTORS

- A. Find out the social activities of the fishermen.
  - 1. Do they attend fiestas, birthdays and other social gatherings? Probe.
  - 2. What are their recreational activities? Probe.
- B. What are the superstitious beliefs in the community?  
Probe for beliefs related to production and fishing.
- C. Do fishermen believe they can control their lives? Probe.
- D. Role of the elite in the community  
Where does he go if he needs help? (economic and non-economic assistance) Whom do people run to if they need help? (economic and non economic assistance) Try to identify these people.
- E. Migration Pattern  
Ask if he and his wife are natives of the place.  
If not, where did they come from? How long have they been staying here? Ask if he has plans of moving out of the community and why. How many people have moved out of the place and why?
- F. Problems  
Probe for existing problems and difficulties about his work and the community.

## V. ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS

- A. Find out energy sources they (he and co-fishermen) utilize (e.g. fuel)
- B. Where do they fish most of the time?

- C. Ask if they are aware of water pollution and what they do about it.

VI. AREAS FOR POTENTIAL DEVELOPMENT

- A. Find out potential areas for development where majority of the community people will benefit.
  - 1. ask for specific projects
  - 2. ask for possible sources of support (financial and technical)

VII. CHANGES IN LEYTE (1960-1980)

- A. What are the changes that have taken place in the following:
  - 1. technology
  - 2. production
  - 3. environment
  - 4. standard of living
  - 5. level and distribution of income
  - 6. concessionaires in logging and mining

How was it in:

- a) 1960-71 (before martial law/old society)
- b) 1972-80 (during martial law/new society)

Probe for answers.

- B. Do you think life will be better in the future? Probe.

## INTERVIEW GUIDE F: MIDDLEMAN

## I. RESPONDENT'S IDENTITY

- A. Name
- B. Age
- C. Sex
- D. Civil Status
- E. Birthplace
- F. Ethnic Grouping/Nationality
- G. Primary Occupation
- H. Number of years in the community
- I. Home address

## II. BACKGROUND

- A. How long has he been doing this kind of business? How did he get started?
- B. Probe for other sources of income of the middlemen aside from buying and selling produce.
- C. Find out if he is involved in any organization in his community. If so, what is the position he holds?

## III. MARKETING

- A. Buying
  1. What products does he buy?
  2. From whom does he buy them? Probe whether he gets them from direct suppliers.
  3. Where does he buy the products?
  4. Does he have regular suppliers? Probe how transaction started between the middleman and the supplier and the length of time dealing with suppliers/producers.
  5. When does he buy the products?
  6. What are the terms in buying the products?
- B. Selling
  1. To whom does he sell the purchased products? Try to get the names of the buyers.
  2. Where does he bring the purchased goods? How are they transported? Does he own a vehicle? What kind?
  3. When does he sell the products? Does he process the products before selling? If yes, what are these?
  4. Does he sell all the products bought? If no, what percentage of products is sold?
  5. What does he do with unsold products?

6. If he is stationed in a small market town, does he bring his goods to bigger market towns?  
Describe the flow.  
If he is from a big market town, how are the products brought to smaller market towns? Probe for the outlets of his products.

C. Pricing

1. Determine the pricing of product. Probe for factors considered in pricing the products.
2. How much does he buy the goods from the suppliers/producers? (average per unit)
3. How much does he sell them? Trace prices in different market outlets.
4. Determine how prices change. (e.g. prices during peak or lean seasons).

IV. RELATIONSHIP AND ECONOMIC INPUTS

- A. What advantages does he derive from his business? Probe for relationships with suppliers (e.g. economic, social, political relationships)
- B. Ask if his business is a profitable venture to go into.
- C. What are the problems, difficulties and risks he encounters in his business?

## INTERVIEW GUIDE G; NON-AGRICULTURAL/NON-FISHING

- I. RESPONDENT'S IDENTITY
  - A. Name
  - B. Age
  - C. Sex
  - D. Civil Status
  - E. Birthplace
  - F. Educational Attainment
  - G. Primary Occupation
  - H. Number of years in the community
  - I. Official designation in the community
  - J. Number of years in the official position occupied
  - K. Home address
- II. COMMUNITY BACKGROUND
  - A. Population and Migration
    1. Approximate number of families in the community
    2. Migration in terms of:
      - (a) Movement to community of specific types of people
      - (b) Moving out of specific types of people
  - B. Historical Background
    1. Origin of the community—year it was established
    2. Official and "traditional" versions about the community origin
  - C. Lingua Franca
- III. ECONOMIC BACKGROUND
  - A. Main livelihood of people in the community
  - B. Other income generating activities of the people
  - C. Manpower structure

Probe for specific work roles of males, females and minors.
  - D. Cost of living
  - E. Level of production
  - F. Level of technology
  - G. Market outlets and commodity flow
- IV. INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS
  - A. 1. Inquire about the presence or absence of social services in the community.

2. Do the people avail of these services if ever they are present? Probe.
3. Probe for adequacy/inadequacy of the services.
  - (a) Health
  - (b) Education
  - (c) Water supply
  - (d) Electricity
  - (e) Communication
  - (f) Technical/Extension services
- B.
  1. Inquire about the presence or absence of organizations in the community.
  2. Probe for reactions and participation in government and non-government initiated activities and programs.
- C. Religious Sector. (Note: More applicable to religious leader respondents).
  1. Roles
  2. Programs/projects
- D. Financial Institutions (Note: More applicable to respondents like bankers and money lenders)
  1. Credit facilities and types of loans/credit
  2. Who avail of these credit/loans? Number of people?
  3. Reasons for securing loans
  4. Savings

## V. SOCIAL FACTORS

- A. Socio-cultural values
  1. Values and attitudes towards work
  2. Ethnic groups and stereotyping/ethnic conflict
- B. Social activities
  1. Community life (social interaction of people in the community)
  2. Recreation (recreational activities)
- C. Role of the Elite
  1. Determine the role played by the elite in the social structure of the community.
  2. Identify these people and their positions in the community.
  3. Explore how the people relate to/interact with them.
- D. Politics
  1. Role of leaders; Official leader and informal leader
  2. Power Structure
  3. Political participation and climate

## VI. AREAS FOR POTENTIAL DEVELOPMENT

- A. Find out potential areas for development where majority of the community people will benefit.
  1. Ask for specific projects
  2. Ask for possible sources of support (financial and technical)

VII. CHANGES IN LEYTE (1960-1980)

- A. What are the changes that have taken place in the following:
1. Technology
  2. Production
  3. Environment
  4. Standard of Living
  5. Level and distribution of income
  6. Concessionaires in logging and mining

How was it in:

- (a) 1960-71 (before martial law/old society)
- (b) 1972-80 (during martial law/new society)

Probe for answers.

- B. Probe for agents of change and the reaction/response of people to change/s.

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**APPENDIX D**

**PROJECT STAFF**

## APPENDIX D

## PROJECT STAFF

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