

# Landlessness in a village in Pampanga: Implications for policy reforms in agrarian communities\*

*Ma. Cecilia T. Medina*

Assistant Professor  
Department of Sociology  
College of Social Sciences and Philosophy  
University of the Philippines

---

---

## Introduction

Landlessness has been considered in much of the literature to be both the cause and symptom of chronic poverty and powerlessness in rural communities (Sinha, 1984:1). The phenomenon became a focus of concern not only in an effort to find solutions to rural poverty but also on the grounds of equity, social justice and even economic efficiency. Smaller family farms as against large farms have been viewed as more productive, thus providing the justification for policies aimed at the redistribution of small land parcels (Sinha, 1984:2). However, even with increased production in some agrarian reform areas, many rural peasant economies fail to absorb the yearly addition to the labor force as evident in the increasing rates of unemployment in the countryside. In Central Luzon alone, the rate of unemployment has risen to 42 percent or 1.16 million (*Philippine Daily Inquirer*, July 10, 1991:5). With the continued shrinking of the country's prime agricultural lands due to land conversion, institutional and environmental changes, overpopulation, farmers' indebtedness and rural poverty, the magnitude of landlessness in the countryside has been rapidly increasing.

Much of the studies on landlessness available today were conducted during the turbulence of the seventies. Under conditions of Martial rule, drastic

---

\* Paper prepared for the module on *Land Conversion and Land Transfers of the Conference on Alternative Rural Development Strategies: Findings from the Field* held in July 1992, under the sponsorship of the University of the Philippines-University of Amsterdam Joint Research Project on Agrarian Issues in Central Luzon.

changes in the agrarian landscape of Central Luzon were implemented. The Marcos Land Reform Program was initiated almost hand in hand with the introduction of new rice varieties that eventually led to the adoption of new labor arrangements in agriculture. While these programs had the objective of giving land to the landless and raising agricultural productivity in the countryside, they did not benefit all sectors of the rural populace. The landless agricultural workers in particular, remained poor and were effectively left out of programs which were supposed to bring about more social equity and higher incomes.

The landless agricultural workers have been described in the literature to be an assetless, marginalized sector and referred to synonymously as farmer's laborers, farm workers, agricultural hired workers, rural workers, etc. Having absolutely no control of or access to land, they rely primarily on selling their labor power in order to survive. They occupy the lowest status in the rural social system, living under harsh socioeconomic conditions and exploitative labor arrangements.

The number of landless agricultural workers has been increasing and this has been attributed to a host of factors. One reason is the shrinking of agricultural land due to land use changes as a function of the government industrialization policy and the conversion of prime agricultural lands for industrial or residential purposes. Rural indebtedness, poverty, overpopulation and institutional factors such as land reform have also resulted in increasing landlessness in the region. Some farmers lost their land due to environmental changes in the landscape of the region effected by various natural disasters. The recent Mt. Pinatubo eruption has covered many hectares of prime agricultural land in Central Luzon with lahar and pyroclastic deposits. The massive lahar deposits still on the volcano's slopes suggest that the problem of landlessness is far from over.

What are the prospects of the landless, given their marginalized conditions at present, to climb up the agricultural ladder? Could they, eventually, own land? Hayami, Quisumbing, Adriano (1990) have called for a deregulation of the land market that would lead eventually to the acquisition of lands by the landless. What implications for policy reforms can be drawn from the analysis of their present conditions?

This paper has the following objectives: a) to develop a typology of landless agricultural workers; b) to describe the process of their incorporation into the labor market and the reproduction of their households; c) to analyze the causes of landlessness; d) to analyze the possibilities and constraints of the landless gaining access to land; and e) to draw implications for policy reforms for the sector.

A holistic and structural perspective was adopted by the study in analyzing the condition of the landless agricultural workers and their households. The landless agricultural workers' households were seen in relation to other rural sectors such as the farmers, rural entrepreneurs and informal moneylenders.

While the term "landless" may refer to any segment of the population including professionals who may not own land, the landless agricultural workers referred to in the study are those members of the rural labor force who do not own land and whose primary source of income is the provision of labor services in various phases of agricultural production.

### The study site

Unlike most of the previous studies on the landless in Central Luzon that were conducted in predominantly rice villages, the study village, Barangay San Ildefonso or more commonly called Balitucan, is characterized as one with a multiple-cropping agricultural cycle. It is situated in a fertile plain at the foothills of Mt. Arayat in a village in Magalang, Pampanga, with a number of river systems crisscrossing the area. Because of the productivity of the land, and its being the largest barangay of Magalang in terms of size, there is a large concentration of farmers and landless agricultural workers in the village.

Being largely a rice and corn producing area, most of the farmers are agrarian reform beneficiaries. There are, however, portions of the village still planted to sugar, and therefore, are not covered by agrarian reform. Other agricultural products of the village include cowpeas and monggo. The villagers also plant a variety of vegetables and fruit trees in their backyards to supplement their income.

Since Barangay San Ildefonso is adjacent to the barangays that form part of the Municipalities of Concepcion, Tarlac and Cabaoc, Nueva Ecija and is accessible to urban centers such as Angeles City, it has been able to attract a number of migrants from the surrounding areas. Although road conditions to and from the village are poor and a bridge to the village has been impassable for almost a year, many outsiders frequent the area, sometimes on foot, because of the presence in the village of a barangay high school and a host of churches for Protestant, Catholic and Iglesia ni Kristo adherents.

### Landlessness in the village

The village economy in the fifties largely revolved around sugar production. Many of the older residents narrated stories of their arrival in the village to work in the haciendas of the Dizon, Morales and Baron families. From the

school site, one may see parts of the old railway tracks which used to transport sugarcane harvested in the village to the sugar centrals in San Fernando. With the growth of the population and the implementation of the land reform program during the seventies, more and more parcels of land were converted from sugarlands to rice and corn fields by the *kasamas* (tenants). In the process, however, a number of old sugar workers did not become agrarian reform beneficiaries since sugarlands were not included under the government program. They now form part of the landless agricultural workers in the village. Some of them have pending cases against their landlords in the court of agrarian relations in Magalang aimed at striking a better sharing agreement.

The other landless agricultural workers in the village were formerly agrarian reform beneficiaries who had lost their land through their indebtedness and through *sangla* or the mortgaging of lands. Some agrarian reform beneficiaries have also lost land because of the increasing population rate that led to the conversion of some lands to residential areas in the village. Purok V has a large concentration of landless and young families. One section of San Ildefonso is now more popularly called "Subdivision" because of the change in land use. What had once been very fertile agricultural lands have been sold for residential purposes.

The number of landless in the village has also increased especially with the entry of migrants into the village in the late seventies and early eighties. Some of the migrants previously owned land but also suffered from political or economic displacement in their places of origin. There were some who sought refuge in the village during the harsh militarization of the countryside in the nearby municipality of Capas, Tarlac. Others from Angeles City sold their lands when these were converted for commercial purposes, and since then have sought employment in the village. There are also cases of migrant sugar workers from Negros Occidental who worked in Tarlac but, finding working conditions in a hacienda very harsh, ended up working in the village. In addition, there are those from nearby villages in Magalang who come to the village during the rice planting and harvesting seasons for additional income. These account for the increasing magnitude of landlessness in the village.

In relation to the farmers who own land or are land reform beneficiaries, the landless comprise approximately 43 percent of the population in five puroks of the village included in the study (See Table I). They are concentrated in Puroks III and V. They may be classified into two types according to their place of origin: those who were born and raised in the study village and those coming from outside the village. Among migrants, there are those who are temporary settlers and those who are permanent settlers. The temporary settlers are those who enter and stay in the village for less than a year or remain there only until the completion of a particular phase of agricultural production in which they

take part. They may also be referred to as seasonal workers. Permanent settlers are those who remain for more than one year and are integrated into the kinship and social network of the community through marriage to a local resident, through permanent settlement of their families in the village or by living in a farmer's household to whom they may or may not be related. Generally, the landless take part in more than one agricultural activity in various periods of the year.

In a survey of the village that included fifty landless households from Puroks I-V, twenty-one respondents or 42 percent were born and raised in the village while twenty-nine or 58 percent of the household heads only migrated to the area. These migrants came from the towns of Concepcion, Capas and Tarlac in the province of Tarlac; Angeles City, Mexico and Mabalacat in the province of Pampanga. There were also those who came from the Bicol Region, Pangasinan, etc.

The respondents were asked whether they previously owned land or not. Of the fifty respondents, 34 or 68 percent had never owned land while thirteen or 26 percent said they previously owned land (See Table II). Of the thirteen respondents who claimed that their families previously owned land, five said that their former lands were located in the village. These were mostly small-sized farms of about one hectare each in areas of the village such as Cataban and Apalit that are prone to flooding. Other respondents previously owned land in Bicol, Pangasinan, Tarlac, Nueva Ecija, Angeles City and Magalang, Pampanga (See Table III).

The landless who previously owned land gave the following reasons for losing their land. Three respondents lost their land due to indebtedness while two lost their land through mortgage or *sangla*. Two respondents sold their lands to pay for expenses incurred because of their wives' illness, while another two said that they sold their land when a family member went to work abroad. Two respondents abandoned their lands due to the tense political situation in their place of origin even though it was neither sold nor mortgaged. Another two respondents mentioned that their lands had been converted for commercial use (See Table IV).

### Land reform and the commercialization of agriculture

While land reform has made it possible for a number of *kasamas* (tenants) to become agrarian reform beneficiaries, it left out the sector of the landless agricultural workers as beneficiaries of the program.

Land reform also meant a drastic change in the production relations in the village. Before land reform, the *kasama* and his family worked hand in hand

with the landless agricultural workers in the landlord's fields. After land reform, new relationships emerged. The new agrarian reform beneficiaries became the main employers of agricultural labor who at times, with the help of various labor contractors such as the *mandarol* or *kapatag*, employed landless agricultural workers under various labor contracts and arrangements.

With the introduction of the new rice varieties and the use of various farm machineries came the rise of the various rural entrepreneurs. These include the traders and middlemen, the dealers of agricultural inputs, the owners of farm machineries, etc. The new agrarian reform beneficiaries who could no longer rely on landlord credit entered into various credit arrangements with these entrepreneurs and other informal moneylenders in order to obtain cash to buy necessary inputs, make amortization payments and shoulder the cost of using farm machineries and hiring agricultural labor. The influential role of the informal moneylenders may be seen in the mushrooming of *sari-sari* stores in the village. In the five puroks, there are at least fifteen *sari-sari* stores to service the credit needs of various families and households. It is in these stores that various transactions involving credit, buying and selling of inputs and agricultural products take place.

The various rural entrepreneurs who operate the credit and trade markets of the village are also most often participants in the agricultural labor market, through their direct dealings with the farmers and labor contractors or by being themselves part of the above mentioned groups. The more successful farmers, i.e., those with larger parcels of land and higher incomes, are the owners of farm equipment and machinery. They are also store owners who provide credit, are dealers of inputs, thresher operators and buyers of agricultural products. With the increase in the number of farmers going into corn production, there have also been an increase in the number of traders and buyers as well as thresher operators from outside the village. Some labor contractors, on the other hand, are also *sari-sari* store owners and providers of credit. There is a labor contractor or *mandarol* in the village who does not own land but owns a thresher and *sari-sari* store.

With land reform and the increasing commercialization of agriculture, the village has undergone increasing social differentiation such that one's position in the village becomes a function of one's access to, control, or ownership of land, labor and credit.

In the case of the landless agricultural workers as a sector, there is a trend towards increasing heterogeneity among them considering the variety of labor arrangements that they enter into and the constraints and conditions attendant

to the supply and demand for labor.

### Labor market conditions and constraints

Initially, the increasing commercialization of agriculture in the village and the use of new rice technology may have led to a greater demand for agricultural labor from the landless because of the shorter maturation period of the new rice varieties and a more intensive use of the land. The author observed, however, that during the rice planting season in 1991, the demand for labor decreased with more and more farmers adopting labor saving farm practices and maximizing the use of household labor or cooperative labor services involving neighbors, relatives and friends. This was done to save on labor costs considering the high cost of production inputs and the low selling price of agricultural products in the local market.

The eruption of Mt. Pinatubo led to further constraints in obtaining credit from moneylenders, what with the rising costs of basic commodities and a fear that the village may fall along the lahar corridor as was the case with the adjoining villages of Concepcion, Tarlac lying along the banks of the Parua River. In addition, given the presence of a number of evacuees and their farm animals in the village, a majority of whom were displaced farmers and farm workers, there was a hesitation to hire since not everyone could be equally recruited to work.

With the presence of other landless agricultural workers from adjoining villages, there is stiff competition for employment opportunities. Certain types of landless agricultural workers are effectively placed at a disadvantage through the practices and preferences of the labor contractors or *mandarols*. In rice planting, for example, fast-working and more skilled workers and non-students are preferred.

The village barangay council also plays an influential role in the determination of the daily wage rate and other conditions of work in the village. Every year, they meet with the labor contractors to set the wage rate for rice planting of the workers and the *mandarol*. In 1991, for example, the barangay council set the daily wage rate for casual work at one hundred pesos. It also standardized the cost of using the tractor, calculating the rental rate on a per hectare basis. They also determine the percentage of the rice harvest to which the landless are entitled. Unfortunately, the landless are not represented in these meetings and it is the farmers' and the labor contractors' interests that are best served.

The presence of other landless agricultural workers from adjoining barangays during the rice planting season has taken away some opportunities

for employment from the villagers. The presence of migrant sugar workers from Negros Province and Tarlac has led to a situation wherein sugar harvesting has become work done mostly by outsiders in work groups. The participation of villagers in sugarcane production has been marginal as they provide labor only during planting and harvesting in smaller sugar lands.

Other factors such as the composition of the farmer household has also affected the demand for labor. During the period of study, most farmers tried to maximize the use of household labor to reduce labor costs for hiring workers. Farmer families with less children in the village accrued higher labor costs and hired out more workers than those with larger families.

### Modes of incorporation of the landless agricultural workers into the labor market

There are various ways by which the landless agricultural workers are incorporated into the labor market. Those from the village are either approached directly by relatives, neighbors, friends, by a village labor contractor or by the farmer to render their services. Some sugar workers from Tarlac and Negros were recruited by labor contractors from their hometowns. Those who joined the rice planting groups and who came from adjoining villages in Magalang were approached by labor contractors from their area. The landless from San Ildefonso who enter various labor arrangements usually take part in more than one phase of agricultural production unlike the seasonal laborers from outside the village.

The landless agricultural workers may be classified in terms of the type of labor contract they enter into. First, there are landless agricultural workers hired on a daily basis and who are paid in accordance with the prevailing wage rate. This is an example of casual labor referred to by Adriano and Quisumbing (1987). This is the most common form of hired labor in the village. Those who engage in it are called *injeros* or *arawan*. They may assist in almost any farm task for a daily wage rate of one hundred pesos. This is the usual practice in the care of small parcels of rice, corn or sugarland.

The second type of landless agricultural worker is employed or contracted for a specific season of the agricultural cycle. For example, there are the landless agricultural workers who engage only in rice harvesting during the harvesting period. A variant of casual labor, it is referred to as seasonal contract labor. The workers receive a share of the harvest as payment (Adriano and Quisumbing, 1987). In San Ildefonso, the landless agricultural worker gets one fifteenth of the harvest.



A third form of labor contract is what is referred to as contract gang-labor (Adriano and Quisumbing, 1987). This is exemplified by the case of migrant sugar workers from Tarlac and Negros who come only during the sugar harvesting season. The cultivator contacts the leader of the gang or the *kapatas* (labor contractor) to get the services of the group. Remuneration is by piece rate which is shared equally among the gang. The group's remuneration is calculated based upon the tons of sugar harvested and weighed. The cash equivalent is then divided equally by the *kapatas* among the members of the group on a weekly basis.

The fourth type of labor contract involves workers employed on a yearly basis. They are tasked to assist the cultivator in all farm operations (Adriano and Quisumbing, 1987). If they are single, they usually live in the cultivator's house and are provided with food and clothing. If married, the worker's household is usually allowed to stay on the land of the cultivator. In both instances, the contract is exclusive in character.

In San Ildefonso, the more common variant of this form of labor contract is the *buwanan* or monthly contract. In the *buwanan* arrangement, the landless household takes care of the cultivator's farm operations. There are no restrictions, however, on the worker to work exclusively with one cultivator. He may seek casual employment with others and this is most often the case. A majority of landless agricultural workers work with more than one farmer at a time. They enter into a combination of labor arrangements with several farmers at the same time to earn more income. The *buwanan* seems to be more similar to the semi-attached laborer contracts wherein the landless is not only assigned to specific tasks in the employer's farm but is permitted by the latter to sell his labor to other farmers (Adriano and Quisumbing, 1987). The *buwanan* receives a monthly ration of two cavans of rice and two hundred pesos cash. Other activities such as caring for the farmer's carabao is also expected from the landless household, who in turn is able to borrow money and ask for food from their employer. Some farmers prefer a *porsientuhan* arrangement wherein the landless household after managing the farm, gets a share of the palay harvested. Since the landless household would want to get maximum profit from their work, farmers are also assured that they do their work properly to acquire a bountiful harvest.

### Work conditions of the landless agricultural workers

Because of the demands of certain tasks in agriculture, it becomes necessary for landless agricultural workers to work in groups or to form work gangs in order to secure some work from the farmer. In rice planting, for example, the landless are recruited by a *mandarol* or labor contractor who in turn is called by farmers when the need for their services arises. For the majority of the landless

agricultural workers, work paid on a daily wage rate has to be sought personally by approaching the farmers or *mandarins* and by relying on their extensive social network of kin and neighbors in the village. Without any secure work opportunity, the landless agricultural workers struggle on a day-to-day basis to find employment, even performing odd jobs for the farmer just to meet their daily subsistence requirements.

The wages and conditions of work are determined largely by the farmer-employer. When respondents were asked whether or not they had asked for an increase in wage or other benefits from their employer, thirty-six of the fifty respondents replied that they had not, while fourteen said that they did for a host of reasons (See Table V). Six respondents asked for a raise because of the increases in the prices of basic commodities. Two respondents justified their claim by telling the farmer that it would save him the cost of hiring more laborers. Four respondents told the farmer that what they had been receiving was not enough for their families' subsistence requirements. Another two respondents argued that their compensation was not equal to the work they performed (See Table VI). Thirty-six landless agricultural workers never asked for an increase in wages and compensation for the following reasons: they were afraid of what the owner might think, that she always computes every thing or "makwenta ako,"; they believed the payment received from other farmers is the same; the barangay council's rules have to be followed; they were ashamed to ask from the farmer who had been a constant companion; they cannot ask for an increase since it is the law; they have no right to ask since what they get is what is due to them for their work; and, lastly, they think that the wage rate cannot be changed (See Table VII).

### Reproduction of the landless household

Many household heads in the survey have other occupations or other sources of income aside from agricultural work. These include planting vegetables and fruit trees, tending and selling livestock, peddling of goods, working in other farms, assisting corn buyers as an *ahente*, engaging in crafts, fishing, etc. During slack periods, finding work is not always easy and the landless have to rely on their social networks.

A number of other family members also have to help in the reproduction of the household. Sons and daughters work either as househelpers, salesgirls in Angeles City, or as construction workers in various cities. For the majority of the households studied, there is one family member working outside the village to add to the family income.

A number of landless households also rely on what they can find in the field for their daily subsistence. Others plant fruit trees in their backyard, take

care of pigs or chickens, etc. They also rely on mutual assistance and sharing of food among themselves and with their employers.

When income is not sufficient, most of the landless approach their employers, kin and friends as well as moneylenders in the village and *sari-sari* store operators. This is their means of tiding over to the next meal. This has also allowed them to send their children to school, an investment which would in turn assist in the reproduction of the household.

While still very young, children of the landless assist their parents in doing housework and farmwork. In the village, they help in planting rice, feeding the livestock or tending the carabao, weeding, preparing the seedbed, bringing food and water to the fields, planting corn, planting sugarcane, holding the sack during threshing, picking cowpeas, etc. They also help take care of younger siblings to allow their parents to work.

When they were asked what they do to meet their daily requirements, twenty-four respondents said they resort to borrowing from stores or from those close to them when their income is not enough. Four respondents resort to peddling and selling goods in the village. Two recounted that they borrowed or got advance money from the *mandarol* or labor contractor. Another two said they asked their children to work in Angeles City. When in need, four said they get advance payments from their employers while twelve said that they would look for other available jobs, e.g., construction work or peddling. Two said they try to make the wife's earnings meet the family's daily requirements (See Table VIII).

When asked how they try to make sure they can get work in the fields, sixteen answered that they get advance payment or *patinga* from the labor contractors; six claim they do not do anything but are only concerned if there is any available job opportunity. Two try to get a *porsientuhan* arrangement. Four claim they do not need to get assurances of work since they are already part of a *buwanan* arrangement; three claim they do not work in other fields anymore but try to make themselves always available; four go directly to the field to see if there is a piece of land which will soon need harvesting. Two respondents said they approach the farmer early for employment while five respondents claim they offer to do odd jobs for the farmer (See Table IX).

### Prospects and constraints for land acquisition among the landless

When the landless were asked how they see themselves in the coming year, the respondents expressed their hopes and anxieties about the future. Among others, they hope to survive, to make both ends meet, to find continuing work,

to lessen one's burden, to find luck and receive God's blessings for a better life, etc. Some are afraid and unsure about the future on account of present and future calamities (See Table X).

The fears and insecurities of the landless regarding the future are understandable given conditions of poverty and marginalization. Their lack of organization further aggravates their sense of powerlessness in the face of the structural constraints they experience in the labor market.

Conditions in the land market have favored the transfer and acquisition of lands among landowners and professionals. *Sangla* or the mortgaging of land has been practiced widely in the village for a number of years. Majority of the farmers included in a 1991 survey claimed that they had experienced mortgaging their land or knew of other farmers who had sold or bought land in this manner. This practice, albeit illegal, is carried out by the buyer of the land and its owner, with some barangay officials as witness. A written agreement signed by the barangay secretary and other witnesses states the amount of mortgage on the land and the duration of the agreement. A copy of the agreement is kept by the barangay official so that in case of conflict, the barangay can serve as arbiter. Informal land sales such as the *sangla* which have gained some degree of legitimacy have led to increasing landlessness. Many farmers who are deeply in debt tend to lose their land in this manner. However, there are farmers who are able to accumulate larger landholdings. There is a type of land sale by which, through a transfer of names and the payment of the remaining amortization or leasehold payments of the original owner, the buyer is able to acquire lands from land reform beneficiaries. Regardless of the type of transaction, it is usually the farmer and the farmer's children, rural entrepreneurs and returning professionals who are able to acquire and own land. The landless agricultural workers who find it hard to meet their subsistence requirements are not likely to be able to buy land even in the informal land market.

### Policy implications for agrarian communities

In view of the problems of the landless and their slim prospects of moving up the agricultural ladder, there is a need to review current policies that tend to maintain or aggravate their situation.

Instead of benefitting the landless agricultural workers, the present land redistribution program has effectively kept them from becoming beneficiaries. Considering the situation of indebtedness of the small farmers which the program has failed to address, and how this condition has resulted in the swelling of the ranks of the landless, adjustments have to be made to ensure that the agrarian reform beneficiaries remain in the agricultural sector. The rate

of land conversions, especially of prime agricultural lands, has to be controlled and the environment protected so that agricultural land is preserved and greater productivity is achieved. Given the shrinking size of agricultural land, every piece of land must be properly utilized. In planning for the development of specific areas, there is a need for an effective land use policy designed and implemented at the local level. Land settlement schemes implemented by the Department of Agrarian Reform and the present resettlement schemes of the Mt. Pinatubo Task Force have to be carefully studied and redesigned to benefit the landless agricultural workers. The agencies should not only ensure that land distribution is carried out without delay but must also monitor the effective use of the land for agricultural purposes. The failure of land settlement schemes in the past is that it had not absorbed the growing number of the landless in its vicinity, nor has it ensured the cultivation of land by its intended beneficiaries. Moreover, land intended for farming had been used for other purposes or were kept idle. Land parcels in settlement areas have also been mortgaged and sold to other parties over the years, while the people remain dependent on the settlement authorities for support.

In these settlement areas, group farming schemes and cooperatives among the landless can be organized, keeping in mind their heterogenous nature and the variety of labor contract arrangements that they have experienced. Any viable alternative must consider the present situation of the landless, their skills and levels of organization. A host of support services such as credit facilities and savings mobilization schemes may be adopted, hand in hand with skills training programs for the production of agri-based products and goods. This means that greater attention must be given to this sector in the formulation of rural development policies and programs which have neglected them as a sector in favor of the farmers.

**References**

- Adriano, Lourdes and Ma. Agnes Quisumbing  
1987      Tenurial arrangements and agricultural heterogeneity: Implications for agrarian reform. [Paper presented at a seminar on Agricultural Policy Research sponsored by the U.P. at Los Baños Agricultural Policy Research Program.]
- Hayami, Yujiro, Ma. Agnes Quisumbing and Lourdes Adriano  
1990      *Toward an alternative land reform paradigm.* Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila Press.
- Sarmiento, Juan  
1991      Pinatubo eruptions raise unemployment in Central Luzon to 42 percent. *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, July 10.
- Sinha, Radha  
1984      Landlessness: A growing problem. Food and Agricultural Organization Development Series No. 28. Rome: Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations.

**Table I. Number of household heads by occupation in Purok I-V  
Brgy. San Ildefonso, Magalang, Pampanga**

OCCUPATION	Number of Household Heads					TOTAL
	Purok I	Purok II	Purok III	Purok IV	Purok V	
Farmer	49	54	24	53	36	216
Worker	34	12	47	52	75	220
Driver	6	3	5	9	6	29
Electrician	1		1			2
Waiter	1					1
Teacher		1		1		2
Conductor		1				1
Carpenter			9	5	1	15
Vendor			1	2		3
Welder			1			1
Baker				3		3
Pastor				1		1
Mechanic				1		1
Employee					4	4
TOTAL	91	71	88	127	122	499

**Table II. Previous status of landless agricultural workers**

Previous status	Landless agricultural workers	
	Number	Percent
Landless	34	68
Owner cultivator	13	26
No response	3	6
TOTAL	50	100



**Table III. Location of previously owned land  
of landless agricultural workers**

Location of previously owned land	Number of landless agricultural workers
Balitucan, Magalang, Pampanga	5
Poblacion, Magalang, Pampanga	1
Angeles, Pampanga	1
Capas, Tarlac	2
Nueva Ecija	2
Pangasinan	1
Bicol Region	1
TOTAL	13

**Table IV. Reasons for losing land  
among landless agricultural workers**

---

Reasons for losing land	Number of landless agricultural workers
Sold to pay debt	3
Mortgage	2
Sold to pay hospital expenses	2
Sold for expenses incurred due to overseas employment	2
Abandoned due to peace and order problems	2
Converted	2
TOTAL	13

---

**Table V. Number and percentage of landless agricultural workers who requested increased wages**

Requested for increase in wages	Number of landless agricultural workers	
	Number	Percent
Yes	14	28
No	36	72
TOTAL	50	100

**Table VI. Reasons for requesting wage increases**

Reason for requesting wage increases	Number of landless agricultural workers
Increase in prices of basic commodities	6
To help farmers save on labor costs to hire other laborers	2
Present wage is not sufficient for family's needs	4
Present wage is not commensurate to work expended	2
TOTAL	14

Table VII. Reasons for not requesting wage increases

Reasons for not requesting wage increases	Number of landless agricultural workers
Compliance with barangay council's rule	12
All farmer's rates are the same	6
Fear of labelling	5
Shame felt towards the farmer	4
Wages are determined by law	4
Wage rates are according to perceived minimum wage	3
Compensation at par with work done	2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>36</b>

**Table VIII. Survival strategies of landless agricultural workers**

Survival strategies	Landless agricultural workers	
	Number	Percent
Credit arrangements with relatives, neighbors and informal moneylenders	24	48
Seek other jobs	12	24
Selling of goods	4	8
Credit arrangement with farmer	4	8
Credit arrangement with labor contractor	2	4
Child labor	2	4
Use wife's earnings for subsistence	2	4
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table IX. Strategies adopted by landless agricultural workers to ensure job accommodation**

Strategies for job accommodation	Landless agricultural workers	
	Number	Percent
Get cash advance from farmer-employer	16	32
Offers to do odd jobs for the farmer	10	20
Goes directly to the fields to work/harvest even without farmer's permission	9	18
Waits for job availability	6	12
Adopts <i>buwanan</i> arrangement with farmers	4	8
Does not work in other fields to make himself available to the farmer	3	6
Approaches the farmer for employment assurance	2	4
TOTAL	50	100

**Table X. Landless agricultural workers' hopes, aspirations and fears**

Hopes, aspirations and fears	Landless agricultural workers	
	Number	Percent
Uncertainty about the future	16	32
Hoping for continuous work	8	16
Hoping for changes and improvement in life	4	8
Hoping for unity and better life conditions	4	8
Hoping for good luck	4	8
Fear of the future due to calamities	4	8
Lessen life's burden	2	4
Strive to work harder for a better future	2	4
Hoping to make both ends meet	2	4
Hoping for God's blessings for a better life	2	4
Unsure of a better life	2	4
TOTAL	50	100