



**UNIVERSITI PUTRA MALAYSIA**

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

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THE CASE OF A RURAL COMMUNITY IN SOUTHERN PHILIPPINES**

By

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

oleh

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November 1992

Pengerusi: Profesor Madya Dr. Abdul Halin Hamid

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

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

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

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

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

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### Background of the Study

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

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



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

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

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