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主 論 文 の 要 旨

論文題目

Change and Resiliency of Traditional Labor Institutions in Response to the Effects of Special Economic Zones: The Case of Mariveles, Bataan, the Philippines
経済特区の影響に対する伝統的な労働制度の変化と強靱性—フィリピン、バターン州マリベレス町の事例

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論 文 内 容 の 要 旨

As a response to the country's widespread unemployment, poverty and uneven development, the Philippine government promoted the creation of SEZs to boost the manufacturing sector, create employment and espouse regional development. However, as SEZs are developed in the countryside, they bring changes. SEZs create a high demand for laborers that competes with the farming sector, which results in changes in farming practices and in traditional labor institutions that govern how labor is organized, utilized and remunerated in farming communities.

In the Philippines, farming communities have developed traditional institutions that govern the access of people to scarce resources such as labor and land for livelihoods. These institutions are based on the values of shared subsistence, reciprocity, and patron-client relationships that are designed for communities to assure subsistence and to mitigate the risks associated to rice farming. The high-risk nature of rice farming in the country has provided incentives for farming communities, like the two villages in the study, to preserve their

traditional labor institutions. These are the institutions of *cabecilla* for planting and the *hunusan* for harvesting.

This study aims to explain how the establishment of an SEZ affects farming practices and traditional labor institutions in its surrounding communities; and explain why traditional institutions remain resilient while some are replaced. Understanding these is crucial in order to inform policy debates concerning benefits of rural industrialization as a means of job creation in rural Philippines.

As seen in the experience of Mariveles, the opening of the SEZ brought many benefits. It attracted labor-intensive garments and textile companies, which created employment for the villagers. Results from the survey indicated that there was a shift in the employment structure among the residents as most households shifted from farming and fishing to working in the zone and other service-oriented occupations. Furthermore, the SEZ generated employment opportunities among women as more of them found employment in the zone than men.

On one hand, SEZs can be a blessing because it created opportunities for low-skilled laborers. On the other hand, it can also be a curse, especially for the farming sector as it competed with farming for labor. This resulted in the scarcity of laborers in the farm, which in turn, resulted in changes in traditional labor institutions. Some institutions were replaced while some remained resilient. However, both the demise and retention of the traditional labor institutions resulted in changes in farming practices, the amount of labor employed by the farm, and access of people to farming, especially women.

The disappearance of the institution of *cabecilla* in the two villages was instrumental in the farmers' shift to direct seeding. The shift reduced the amount of employable labor from 15-20 persons to one person per

hectare. Furthermore, it also resulted in the disappearance of the traditional roles of women in farming such as transplanting and weeding. This in turn, created barriers for older women, who can no longer work in the zone due to their age and family responsibilities, in accessing farming as a viable livelihood.

The disappearance of the institution of *hunusan* in favor of wage labor in the village of Biaan prompted farmers to reduce the number of laborers in harvesting due to high wages. It also gave rise to a new system of organizing laborers through leaders. As a result, access of the greater community to the harvest was diminished and restricted among people with close relationships with the leaders. In the case of the village of Town Site, although the institution of *hunusan* was retained, the creation of harvest groups restricted the access of the greater community. Although at first, the harvest groups made it easier for farmers to organize harvesters, it eventually became restricted to the members of the harvest groups. This illustrates that traditional labor institutions are important in rural communities. Such institutions are means for the disadvantaged, specifically the landless and women, to gain access to livelihoods.

Both adherence to community norms and calculations of profit and cost were crucial factors in the decision of farmers and laborers to preserve or change traditional institutions. In simple terms, people calculate the monetary cost and return but they also calculate the short-term and long-term benefits presented by the community norms of reciprocity, shared income, and patron-client relations. The case of the institution of *cabecilla* illustrated that the weak exercise of community norms does not provide incentives for people to preserve traditional institutions amidst labor scarcity and rising wages. Although the high wages among planters strongly influenced the decision of farmers to shift to direct seeding, the discontinued practice of the institution

of *cabecilla* exacerbated the situation as it made it harder for farmers to search for skilled planters and supervise the transplanting. In the end, the amount of money that can be saved from shifting to direct seeding outweighed the benefits that were provided by the institution of *cabecilla*.

The importance of adhering to community norms was exemplified in the resiliency of the institution of *hunusan* in the village of Town Site. Although farmers pay more through in-kind shares and lose profits in the short-term; the institution of *hunusan* provided benefits in the long-term. By preserving in-kind sharing, farmers and laborers in the village of Town Site preserved the norms of reciprocity, income sharing and patron-client relationships. This, in turn, gave farmers non-monetary benefits, such as insurance in times of calamities and bad harvests and it preserved their status as patrons in the farming community. In addition, it gave the farmers a sense of regularity. Furthermore, by preserving the institution of *hunusan*, farmers avoided loaning from the informal market and gained assurance against shirking behavior among laborers.

These benefits were absent in the village of Biaan as the institution of *hunusan* was discontinued. By paying through wages, the norms of reciprocity and shared income were not preserved. It also made farmers prone to loaning. Although there is a preference among the farmers in the village of Biaan for the institution of *hunusan*, it cannot be sustained because of the absence of certain factors that make the institution resilient. The case of the village of Town Site illustrated that the fresh paddy market was crucial for the resiliency of the institution of *hunusan*. This market enabled laborers to convert paddies to money so they can participate in the market of other goods and services. Although vital, the presence of the fresh paddy market is not enough as adjustments had to be made to the institution to make it competitive with the prevailing farm and non-farm

wages. The adjustments came in two forms. One adjustment is the reduction in the tasks included in harvesting. The other adjustment is that the laborers organized harvest groups that eventually restricted the access to harvesting among their members. The first adjustment was done to make harvesting more attractive to laborers. The second adjustment is for members of the harvest group to gain access to as many harvest opportunities as possible, which increases their earnings.

In an environment where labor was tight due to industrialization, the advantage of traditional labor institutions over wage labor is that the exercise of community norms provides the people both short-term and long-term benefits. Thus, the key for traditional rural labor institutions to be resilient is through institutional adjustments while staying true to the core values and norms that define the institution.

This study contributes to the literature of evolutionary resiliency approach as it provides a case of an institution adapting to a changing environment without changing its underlying norms and values. Moreover, this study provides caution to scholars investigating institutional change, especially those who are studying traditional institutions, as it argues that what can be considered as institutional change under the equilibrium approach might only be adjustments and adaptations and does not necessarily equate to a creation of a “new” institution.

Over all, the significance of this study is fourfold. First, this study illustrates that rural industrialization through the creation of SEZs has negative impacts on the availability of farm laborers and the access of the landless and women to farming. These results provide caution or an alternative perspective to the sweeping claims of the advantages of non-farm employment and rural industrialization on agriculture and rural

development.

Second, the experiences of the two villages illustrated that traditional labor institutions are major driving forces in the production process in agriculture. How it changes and mediates exogenous factors of development are crucial in understanding agrarian changes and rural livelihoods. Thus, the lessons from this study add to the literature of the role of traditional institutions in development.

Third, as seen in in the village of Town Site, institutions have the ability to be resilient as it can adjust to changing environments without necessary changing its underlying norms and values. This illustrates the ability of institutions to provide continuity and be adaptive at the same time. It provides caution to scholars in treating institutional change as a by-product of institutional adjustments without considering the institution's adaptive capacity.

Fourth, the findings in this study illustrate that capitalist penetration in the agrarian sector does not automatically result in the adoption of capitalist modes of production or it alternatively lead to resistance or protests as many studies suggest. Experience from this study illustrates that it is not only possible for markets and traditional institutions to co-exist, but traditional institution can be resilient and can also be integrated with markets to continue to function so as the people can take advantage of its benefits.