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THE IMPACT OF MODERNIZATION IN THE PHILIPPINES V

GEORGE M. GUTHRIE
The Pennsylvania State University

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Ateneo de Manila

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Eleventh ~~and Final~~ Technical Report
June 1971

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Modernization: Its Impact in the Philippines V ("IPC Papers," No. 10). Alfonso de Guzman II and Julian E. Dacanay, Jr., editors. Quezon City, Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1971.

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GEORGE M. GUTHRIE
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Abstract

All papers in this report are based on the findings of projects supported by the Ateneo-Penn State Basic Research Program (APS/BRP).

Patricia B. Licuanan (APS/BRP Project Eight: Student attitudes and reference groups) studied the impact of modernization on Filipino adolescents. The study involved 200 high-school seniors from Manila, the principal city and the main source of modern influences, and from three other Tagalog communities located 100, 200, and 400 kilometers from Manila. The self-concept, reference groups, achievement motivation, and level of aspiration of the subjects were measured, and the influence upon these variables of distance from Manila, sex, and socioeconomic status was investigated. The findings suggest that exposure to such modern influences as industry and mass media in the city does not have as much effect on the variables cited above as might be expected from the literature on modernization. The findings also suggest that a minimum exposure to city influences has as much effect as a more extended exposure. Furthermore, Filipino adolescents show many modern attributes. Among them are the desire for such qualities as intelligence, dependability, and hard work; the attitude that peers are an important reference group; and the belief that education and professional jobs are of great value in life. At the same time, Filipino adolescents also see themselves as possessing many of the more traditional, interpersonally oriented Filipino traits. They desire to retain those traits, and still consider the family as an important reference group.

Ronald S. Himes (APS/BRP Project One: Cognitive mapping) defined the limits of the Tagalog lexical domain covered by the term *sakit*. He based his definition on 235 specific mental or physiological disorders recalled by informants in three research sites in Marilao, Bulacan. The definition helps in understanding the way in which Tagalogs perceive the world and place reality in conceptual order. The findings show that in contrast to Westerners who perceive reality as dichotomous (e.g., white lies v. black lies) and trichotomous (e.g., knife-spoon-fork), Tagalogs see the world in threefold, nontrichotomous structures. Each structure represents two binary divisions, one of which applies

to the whole structure and the other to half of it (e.g., the threefold structure child-father-mother includes two dichotomies, the parental-filial on the one hand and the father-mother on the other; the former dichotomy applies to the entire child-father-mother structure while the latter applies only to the father-mother half of the entire structure). The study reveals the virtual absence among Tagalogs of the notion of causality, the notion that one thing is the necessary and sufficient cause of another. Further, while fatalism exists in Tagalog concepts of suffering more or less to the same extent that it does in the West, Tagalogs, when speaking of disorders, mitigate the chance occurrence of illness by personal responsibility in caring for their health. Finally, whereas the Westerner may see himself as superior to his environment, the Tagalog considers himself at least equal to it.

Susan M. Bennett (APS/BRP Project Ten: Creativity among Filipino children) identified the environmental correlates of several distinct types of intellectual ability among 35 sixth-grade boys at a Quezon City private school. Data on ability and achievement were gathered by means of the Kuhlmann-Anderson Test and school records, while home-environment data were collected through questionnaires and supplementary interviewing of the boys' mothers. Statistical analysis of the data yielded the following findings: (1) children who start schooling at age three or four do better than those who start later; (2) having thought-provoking games at home is related to high achievement in school; (3) high achievement in school is associated with great interaction between parents and children at home; (4) achievement is related to the amount of time spent reading at home; (5) high achievement among children is associated with independence in or partial supervision while doing homework; and (6) parents of high-achieving boys tend to be well-satisfied with their sons' performance and expect them to do as well if not better in the future. The study pointed out the possibility of parents and educators' modifying those aspects of home and school identified in the study for the purpose of improving the conditions of creativity and achievement among children.

George M. Guthrie (APS/BRP Project Four: Urbanization and changes in values and motives) was concerned with determining the relative incidence of various personality problems among Filipinos and Americans and relating those problems to their cultural contexts. To a sample of 419 Filipino and American male and female college students was administered a structured questionnaire in English which inquired about a wide range of problems. The chi-square test was used to examine the statistical significance of the differences in responses between Filipinos and Americans as well as those between males and females. Contrary to the expectation that Filipino mothers would play a powerful part in Philippine family affairs, Filipinos reported even more

strongly than the Americans that it was the father who generally made the important family decisions. Sibling relationships seemed to be a greater concern among Filipinos than among Americans, but peers were considered by both groups to be as important as siblings and other kinsmen. Of the few differences in self-attitudes, the following seemed most significant: Filipinos more than Americans felt that they were under great social and academic pressure; at the same time, they reported no differences in confidence, intelligence, likability, and happiness. The most significant finding regarding goals and values was the tendency of Filipinos to indicate that college changed their outlook; among Filipino women, especially, there was a tendency to move away from the influence of their parents and into that of their friends.

Alfred B. Bennett, Jr. (APS/BRP Project Nine: The Filipino corporation manager) compared the backgrounds of 200 middle-level managers in sales and production with those of 92 Filipino manufacturing entrepreneurs described by Carroll in an earlier essay. The background characteristics associated with the entrepreneurs' development of a commitment to profit-orientation were also present in the backgrounds of the managers. However, characteristics associated with the entrepreneurs' development of a commitment to business ownership were not found among the managers. While the entrepreneurs were described by Carroll as having been exposed to "foreign" influences, the managers seemed more accurately described as "modernizing," that is, subjected to both "direct foreign" and "modern Filipino" influences. The question of the relation between religion and capitalism, one which appeared closed among entrepreneurs because Carroll found them to be overwhelmingly Catholic, was reopened in this study, for analysis of the religions of the managers' fathers revealed an overrepresentation of non-Catholics. With regard to mobility, it was found that the work ethic characteristic of the entrepreneurs was also characteristic of the managers. But while mobility among entrepreneurs was largely horizontal, that is, from prestigious traditional roles to equally prestigious modern roles, mobility among managers seemed vertical: many managers moved from traditionally less prestigious roles to prestigious modern roles. Finally, it was implied that Philippine institutions served as ample preadaptation to industrialization. The Philippine educational system, for example, while still in need of further upgrading its quality, seemed to have given the managers the necessary training to enable them afterwards to be upwardly mobile on their own.

Richard L. Stone (APS/BRP Project Two: Folk and official concepts of ownership) observed cop corruption and Manilans' attitudes with regard to it. He found that the crime rate among policemen appalled the press but seemed to bother the people little. Further, the bribery and extortion perpetrated by policemen seemed accepted by the victims themselves—drivers, vendors, and pedestrians. Because live-and-let-live economics, while it might explain the

victims' apparent indifference, could not completely explain the policemen's behavior, Stone suggested that perhaps the Filipino concept of power was itself ambivalent. Drawing from his two earlier essays, he argued that there existed in Philippine society a dual set of norms—an articulated Western code of justice and order, and an implied, traditional, and operational code of need and power. The policemen's illegal acts as well as the people's condoning of such acts could then be seen as the operation of that dual norm. While the policemen fulfilled their role as enforcers of the law in the Western sense, they also acted as traditional authority figures who possessed almost arbitrary powers. In the context of traditional norms, public property was a contradiction in terms, for it belonged to no one. Instead, whoever gained access to public property *first* owned that piece of property (whether it be the area of road one's vehicle occupied, the government lot untended and unmarked, or the appointive or elective office), owned as well the powers and privileges that attach to the property, and disposed of them as he, the transitory owner, saw fit.

The Impact of Modernization on Filipino Adolescents

Patricia B. Licuanan

It is the purpose of this study to investigate the impact of modernization upon Filipino adolescents. It seeks to describe today's Filipino youth after the strong dosage of Western influence of the past two decades; that is, to ascertain where they stand as they are influenced by traditional Philippine values and by the more modern values that accompany social change.

Modernization

Many countries in the developing world are experiencing a comprehensive process of change which Europe and America have been experiencing for some five centuries. This process of change is more than the sum of many small changes and has been referred to as "westernization" or, to use a more palatable though equally elusive term, "modernization." The people who are probably most affected by all of these events are adolescents who are being socialized into an adult society which itself is changing.

Part of the world-wide experience, modernization has been studied by various social-science disciplines, each focusing on different aspects of the process. Economists deal with modernization primarily from the point of view of man's application of technology in an attempt to increase the growth of output per capita. Sociologists and social anthropologists have seen modernization primarily in terms of the differentiation process that characterizes modern societies. They have been concerned with the way in which new structures emerge to take on new functions or functions once performed by other structures, and they study the differentiations within social structures that occur along with new occupations, new complex educational institutions, and new types of communities. Sociologists are also concerned with the disruptive features of the modernization process such as mental illness, violence, rising tensions, divorce, juvenile delinquency, and racial, religious, and class conflict. While political scientists have studied disruptive elements of modernization, they have been particularly concerned with the problems of nation and government building as modernization takes place (Weiner 1966).

Modernization of man

Some social scientists have chosen to look at man in modernization, emphasizing changes in individuals rather than in institutions. The psychologist is relatively a newcomer in this area. Emphasizing the individual's experience, psychologists are interested in the acquisition of the attitudes, modes of interpersonal relations, reference groups, and motivations that characterize modern man.

Even when we restrict the domain of our concern to individuals, we find different perspectives. McClelland (1966) stressed self-reliance and an achievement orientation as essential qualities of modern man. Black (1966), a historian, suggested that modern societies are characterized by the growth of new knowledge. The members of these societies have a developing capacity to understand the secrets of nature and to apply this new knowledge to their daily lives.

Anderson (1966) and Shils (1966), speaking from the point of view of education, emphasized the development of skills and a spirit of creativity. In a survey of people in six countries, Inkeles (1966) developed a "modernity scale," a measure of the degree to which individual respondents hold modern or traditional attitudes. He concluded that men in modern societies, irrespective of cultural differences, share certain ways of thinking. These attitudes include a disposition to accept new ideas and an openness to change; a democratic approach to the realm of opinion; a time sense that makes men more interested in the present and the future than in the past; a better sense of punctuality; a greater concern for organization, planning, and efficiency; a tendency to see the world as calculable; a faith in science and technology even in a fairly primitive way; and a belief in distributive justice.

Interest in the effects of modernization in developing countries has a history which goes back to the preoccupation of social scientists with urban-rural differences. Tonnies' (1940) *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, Redfield's (1947) folk and urban society, and Durkheim's (1947) organic and mechanical solidarity reflect a common concern with what happens when a social order is transformed from one wherein most people reside in small villages and are committed to working the land to one where the vast majority of inhabitants are urban based and committed to the development of a scientific-industrial way of life. A generalization drawn by these writers is that, as social change proceeds toward increasing urbanization and industrialization, certain changes will be observed with respect to the psychological attributes of the population.

In this study we were interested in changes in psychological attributes as modernization occurred, particularly the changes in adolescents who were most affected by modernization. Our study was designed to examine differences in adolescents who had been exposed to different degrees of modernizing influences.

Modernization in the Philippines

The Philippines has already gone through most of the stages which other emergent nations in Southeast Asia and Africa are experiencing. It was a colony of Spain for more than 300 years, a territory of the United States for almost half a century, a commonwealth for 10 years, and an independent nation for over 20 years. Each of these stages presented a set of influences which has been imprinted upon the culture, more strongly in the cities and larger towns than in the rural areas. Change in the people has occurred as the result of education, foreign ideas presented through mass media, and the impersonal atmosphere of city living. The urban Filipino is influenced by television, radio, movies, and newspapers which all draw heavily on American and other outside sources. The volume and persuasiveness of Western influences which began with Ferdinand Magellan has increased rapidly in the past two decades (Guthrie 1968).

Despite all these Western influences, how truly westernized is the Filipino? Bulatao (1966), a Filipino psychologist, refers to the split-level personality of the Filipino, suggesting that although many overt aspects of behavior seem quite westernized, there is a core of Filipino values which remains unchanged.

The split may well be due to the world in which the Filipino lives, a world that is in continuing flux, now Western and yet traditionally Filipino in many ways. And, as the Filipino in his adolescence faces his own personal transition from childhood, he also meets a world which offers fragments of both traditional and modern ways of life. It is in his adolescence, then, that the conflicting claims of two contrasting trends are experienced most acutely.

In Western culture, adolescents are expected to strive more for status based on their own efforts and competence, and to strive less for status derived from their relationship to parents, relatives, and peers. Adolescents are expected to be less dependent on the approval of their parents and to relate more intimately to their peer group. They are also expected to be more achievement oriented, more independent, and to exercise more initiative (Ausubel 1954).

But what happens to adolescent development in a culture such as the Philippines where youth and adults alike derive a large portion of their self-esteem from a system of mutual psychological support, emotional interdependence, and reciprocal obligations (Hollnsteiner 1970)? How does the Filipino adolescent of the 1970s react to Western influence when the traditional Filipino culture is less concerned with personal ambition and places greater value on close family ties (Bulatao 1970), smooth interpersonal relations, social acceptance, and cooperative effort (Lynch 1970)? Where does the Filipino adolescent stand as he is faced with traditional Philippine values and the new influences of a modern, westernized Philippines?

As the Philippines develops rapidly from traditional to modern, as more modern attitudes and values are introduced along with technology and more

complex social structures, one can ask how an adolescent reacts to these changes. Does modernization affect the way he thinks of himself? Does he stress interpersonal relationships and getting along with others or does he put more importance on independence or achievement? Does he stress different qualities as he becomes more modern? Which groups does he consider most important? In what situations does he consider them important? Is he strongly influenced by his family, or are his peers more important to him? Does his exposure to modern ideas influence his need to achieve or his aspirations? What are his aspirations in life? How much education does he want? What kind of a job does he seek? Whom does he consider a successful person? In this study we sought to answer these questions.

Self-concept, Reference Groups, Achievement Motivation, Aspiration

We are interested in the self-concept, reference groups, need to achieve, and level of aspiration of Philippine adolescents and how these change as they are exposed to modern influences. Essentially this study involves: (1) the measurement of self-concept, reference groups, need to achieve, and level of aspiration; (2) the investigation of the differences on these four variables that may exist among groups of adolescents who differ in their exposure to modern influences; and (3) the investigation of differences on these four variables that may exist among Philippine adolescents as a result of sex and socio-economic status. These four variables were selected for this study because of their prominence in psychological literature as well as their direct relation to the phenomenon of social change.

Self-concept

Interest in self-concept has a long history which can be traced to the thinking of theologians and philosophers and to the works of poets and writers. Theoretical and empirical literature on self-concept points to the fact that self is not innate. It is a developmental formation which is the product of interaction, from infancy onward, with the individual's physical and social environment.

Theorists such as James (1890), Cooley (1903), Baldwin (1895), and Mead (1934) emphasized the development of self through interaction with others. Thus the love and affection that parents have for a child and their attitudes toward him as he grows are tremendously important in forming his self-concept. After the early years of childhood many other persons beyond his family take on an increasingly important role in forming self: teachers, playmates, and friends. As an adult, his occupational associates and his spouse and children contribute further to this process.

As interactions differ with cultures, self-concept is affected by culture.

Hallowell (1954) saw an individual's perception of himself and others and the interpretation of his experiences within this framework as inseparable from the self/other orientations which are characteristic of his society. Thus it could be said that the way a person sees himself and others is a reflection of cultural values. As cultural values change with modernization, does self-concept also change?

Reference groups

The concept of reference group refers to any group, whether one is a member of it or not, with which he identifies. By this we mean that the group serves as a normative source of attitudes and self-identity for him. The value of this concept is derived from its ability to relate self to society, individual to group. A complex society and multiple-group membership bring about the likelihood of multiple reference groups.

The importance of the peer group in the adolescent scheme of things has been stressed in the area of the social psychology of adolescence (Ausubel 1954, Sherif and Sherif 1964). Another membership group which exerts pressures upon the adolescent is the family. Quite often the pressures from these two groups are mutually sustaining. Sometimes they are in conflict. Research on parent-peer pressures such as that by Rosen (1955), Haller and Butterworth (1960), Bealer and Willits (1961), and Brittain (1963) leads to the conclusion that both parents and peers exert influences upon choices made by adolescents; and when parent and peers disagree or have varying relevant information, the relative influence varies with the issue.

We are interested in whether or not these findings are also true for the Philippines. The notion of reference group is particularly applicable in the Philippines where values such as independence and rugged individualism have yet to gain prominence. Research on Philippine values has emphasized the importance that Filipinos place on others. Such important cultural concepts as *pakikisama* (getting along with others), *hiyâ* (shame), *amor propio* (self-esteem), *utang na loób* (sense of obligation) are all basically interpersonal in meaning and have to do with an individual's relationship with other people who are important to him.

One of the changes that is said to occur with modernization is the lessening of the importance of the family in an individual's life space. Thus we are also interested in the relative importance of parents and peers to Philippine adolescents.

Achievement motivation and level of aspiration

Observers of economic development have been impressed by the apparent importance of motivation factors. Level of aspiration experiments have provided the impetus for an extensive series of studies on achievement motivation.

McClelland and his associates developed a method by which fantasy productions are used to measure achievement motivation (McClelland et al. 1953, McClelland 1955, Atkinson 1958, McClelland 1961, McClelland and Winter 1968). The development of this measurement technique gave rise to countless studies on achievement motivation and a score of different findings many of which are difficult to reconcile. A new idea from McClelland that related the achievement motive to world history and economic development revitalized the achievement motivation tradition and tied together many of the findings. In his well-known study (1961), he used most of the countries outside of the tropics in his sample. Children's readers were scored for achievement themes. Margaret Mead has suggested that these stories are an important means by which a culture presents its values to new members. McClelland used two indices of economic growth. One was the "international unit" defined by economist Colin Clark as "the quantity of goods exchangeable in the U.S.A. for one dollar over the average of the decade 1925–1934" (Clark 1957:18). The other index was electrical output. His hypothesis was confirmed: the level of achievement motivation was predictive of subsequent increases in the rate of economic growth.

McClelland's study emphasized the differences that existed among countries in their concern with achievement. He attributed this achievement orientation to an ideology which would cause parents to stress achievement, self-reliance, and self-denial, the child-rearing values that Winterbottom (1953), Rosen and D'Andrade (1959), and Child, Storm, and Veroff (1958) had found to be associated with high achievement motivation.

Studies of adolescents and modernization have found an increase in achievement motivation with exposure to modern influences. Ausubel (1961) studied the Maori adolescents of New Zealand and their cultural contact with the predominant *pakeha* or European cultures. Matched groups of Maori and pakeha secondary-school pupils were given a variety of tests and interviews. The data showed that Maori adolescents in urban and rural areas have generally assimilated the pakeha pattern of educational and vocational aspiration which they encounter in school and in the surrounding culture. However, the author stressed that there was a greater similarity between Maori and pakeha subjects in their expressed educational and vocational aspirations than in those factors necessary for the internalization and implementation of these aspirations such as underlying achievement motivation, supportive traits and perceived pressures, and opportunities for academic and occupational success.

Philippine Values

The Filipino personality and Philippine values are much discussed in the popular media of the Philippines but systematic studies are not as readily available. However, enough studies do exist to provide an empirical basis for a

Subjects

Fifty high-school seniors (25 males and 25 females) were selected from each community. Usually the entire senior class of a school was contacted for the study since classes in provincial high schools were typically small. In Manila, two sections of a senior class were used. Subjects were eliminated randomly after the data were collected in order to have an equal number in each group. There was a total of 200 subjects.

Subjects were not selected according to socio-economic status (SES) but, since an analysis of the effects of sex and SES was desired, the subjects were divided into high- and low-SES groups according to the fathers' occupation. Subjects whose fathers were in small-time business, supervisory positions, white-collar and professional occupations made up the higher SES group while those whose fathers were in skilled or semiskilled trades, manual labor, or agriculture were in the lower SES group. It is important to mention, however, that our subjects were rated high or low in social class relative to each other. When considered in relation to the total Philippine population, our subjects came from families belonging to the lower-middle and lower classes. This is due to the fact that in the provinces, the wealthier families would generally send their children to school in Manila. The school from which we drew our Manila sample served a lower-middle-class area. The age of the subjects ranged from 15 to 20 years. Table 1 shows the mean age of the subjects in each group. The occupations of the subjects' fathers are shown in Table 2 and their educational attainment in Table 3.

Procedure

All measures except for the interview questionnaire were pencil-and-paper measures. Testing was done in groups in the classroom. Interviews were conducted individually.

Instruments and analyses

All instruments were devised in English then translated into Tagalog. The back translation technique was used, that is, having one translate the instrument

Table 1

Mean age of subjects.

Sex	Community			
	A	B	C	D
Males	16.2	18.0	18.2	18.0
Females	15.8	17.3	17.2	16.2

discussion on Philippine values. Much quoted are articles by Lynch (1970), Hollnsteiner (1970) and Bulatao (1970). Also relevant are papers by Bulatao (1965), Guthrie (1962, 1968), Lim (1968), Stoodley (1962a, 1962b), and Torrance (1965). Most of these studies seem to indicate that Filipinos value close relationships with others, closeness to the family, respect for authority, and self-effacement. They are also concerned with bettering themselves and their economic standing.

Thus we asked the question: Do these characteristics that seem to typify Filipinos vary according to modernizing influences? The selection of adolescents from four communities at varying distances from Manila made it possible for groups of adolescents under varying degrees of contact with the main source of modernizing influences to be studied simultaneously.

The Present Study

Hypotheses

This study is interested in some general aspects of self-concept, reference groups, achievement motivation, and level of aspiration of Filipino adolescents. However, theory and research on modernization as well as studies on Philippine values give reason for some specific hypotheses to be advanced.

As groups are more exposed to modern influences:

(1) The greater their tendency to have a self-concept based on autonomy and achievement;

(2) The less their tendency to have a self-concept based on good relationships with others;

(3) The less importance they give to their family as a reference group;

(4) The more importance they give to their peers as a reference group;

(5) The greater their need to achieve;

(6) The higher their level of aspiration.

Communities

Manila was considered Community A. The other three communities were approximately equal in size to each other (5,000 to 6,000 people) and were located approximately 100, 200, and 400 kilometers away from Manila. By selecting these communities we sought to manipulate exposure to such modernizing influences as education, industrialization, and mass media. A detailed description of Communities B, C, and D is provided by Guthrie (1970). All communities were Tagalog speaking.

Table 2

Occupations of subjects' fathers.
(All values are percentages; N = 200.)

Occupation	*Community*			
	A	*B*	*C*	*D*
Professional	16.0	2.0	12.5	2.1
White collar, commercial	32.0	12.2	8.4	6.4
Supervisory position, foremen	20.0	0.0	4.2	4.2
Small-time business	6.0	10.2	10.4	12.8
Skilled and semiskilled trades	2.0	8.2	6.3	8.5
Manual labor	8.0	20.4	8.3	0.0
Agriculture	0.0	42.9	47.9	57.4
Other	16.0	4.1	2.1	8.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 3

Fathers' educational attainment.
(All values are percentages; N = 200.)

Educational attainment	*Community*			
	A	*B*	*C*	*D*
No education	0	0	0	0
3 yrs. elementary	0	0	0	15.6
6 yrs. elementary	0	70.2	52.3	66.7
Partial high school	0	8.5	13.6	8.9
H.S. or vocational school, graduate, partial college	36.7	6.4	18.2	8.9
College graduate	63.3	14.9	15.9	0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

from English into Tagalog, then having another retranslate the Tagalog version into English and comparing the two English versions of the instrument. Adjustments were made on the Tagalog version until the original and the back-translated English versions corresponded satisfactorily.

Self-concept. The measure of self-concept was a list of 50 adjectives which each subject was asked to rank according to how well they described his real self, then his ideal self. The list was derived empirically by asking students to list adjectives describing themselves and how they would like to be. Additional adjectives were based on previous research on Filipinos. Thus the list was composed of adjectives which can be said to be salient to Filipinos (see Table 4).

A factor analysis was run on the real ratings and on the ideal ratings to determine what categories the subjects used in describing themselves.[1] Six factors were extracted for each set. The score of each subject on each of the factors (six ideal and six real) was derived, and the groups were compared on their scores for each factor. Pooling adjectives by grouping them into factors rather than comparing groups on each of the 50 adjectives gave higher reliability to our measures. Twelve community-by-sex analyses of variance were performed to see if the groups differed in the importance they gave each factor.[2] The overall mean rank for each adjective was also computed to determine the relative desirability of particular traits.

Reference groups. The term "reference groups" was defined as groups of people which were most salient or considered most important in different situations. The measure used here was a questionnaire made-up of 35 items in which a hypothetical situation was presented and the subject was asked to whom he would go or with whom he would like to be. These 35 items were made up of seven items for each of five types of situations—emotional, career, recreational, task oriented, and modelling. For example, "You have lost the money you have collected for your class as its treasurer. You are in a panic and you want to tell somebody so you can calm down and do something about it. Whom do you tell?" The subjects' answers were coded according to the following categories: (1) parents; (2) sibling; (3) other relative; (4) peer; (5) other adult; (6) other. The "other adult" category included teachers, counselors, priests, and so on, adults whom the subject knew personally. The "other" category included God, the saints, Jesus Christ, and so on, plus prominent personalities with whom the subject was not personally acquainted. The groups chosen most frequently for each type of situation were noted. Also the relative importance of parents and peers (which were the most frequently chosen groups) for each situation was examined. Using the subjects' parent-choice scores, which ranged from 0 to 7, a community-by-sex analysis of variance and a sex by socio-economic status were run for each of the five situations. The same was done for the peer-choice scores.

Achievement motivation and level of aspiration. To measure achievement motivation, four Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) pictures were used following McClelland's procedure (1953, 1955). Each subject received a set of the pictures with a sheet for each picture on which he was instructed to write a story about the picture. On the sheets were written the questions: (1) What is happening? Who are the persons? (2) What has led up to this situation? What has happened in the past? (3) What is being thought? What is wanted? By whom? (4) What will happen? What will be done? The subjects were told that they could write the stories in English, Tagalog, or a combination of both. Following McClelland's scoring system, a story could have a minimum score of −1 and a maximum score of 11. Points were given when a story included anticipations of success, and, generally, a concern with competing successfully with some standard of excellence. The subject's achievement score is the sum of his scores across all pictures. Thus in our study the scores could have ranged from −4 to 44. With a constant of 4 added to avoid negative scores, the highest possible score was 48.

The scorer did not know the community or sex of the subjects as she scored their stories. Before beginning to score these stories, the scorer had practiced intensively and had acquired extremely high correlations (above .90) with the Atkinson Manual (1958). Also, a month after she had scored the TAT stories for this study she picked out 50 stories at random and scored them again. The correlation between the two scores was above r = .90. Community-by-sex and a sex-by-SES analyses of variance were run.

The level of aspiration was measured by specific questions on an interview questionnaire about the subjects' educational aspirations, the type of job they would like to have, and so on. The responses to the open-ended questions were coded and the chi-square statistic was used to compare groups.

Results and Discussion

Self-concept as a reflection of cultural values

Table 4 shows the 50 adjectives arranged according to their mean rank across all subjects for the ideal self-ratings. In the second column is the mean rank the adjectives received for the real self-ratings. The correlation between the two sets of mean ranks was r = .93. Adjectives such as friendly, helpful, kind, humble, happy, and close to the family were rated consistently highest while adjectives such as quarrelsome, selfish, boastful, lazy, teaser, and hot tempered received consistently low ratings. Thus it would seem that a high premium is placed on traits that make for pleasant interactions with others while traits that prevent pleasant interactions are considered least desirable. These findings support previous studies on Philippine values which named *getting along with others* and *closeness to the family* as main Philippine values.

It is informative to note which adjectives showed considerable discrepancy between the two ratings. We arbitrarily chose a discrepancy of five points or more, slightly above the mean discrepancy 3.55, and identified those adjectives which were ranked differently as real and ideal ratings. The subjects reported that they were less intelligent, less dependable, less hard-working, less a leader, less popular than they would want to be. They were more polite, more thoughtful of others, more fun-loving, more adventurous, more ambitious and more likely to go along with others than they would want ideally. These two clusters of adjectives suggest that they see themselves as more traditional but that they would prefer to possess more qualities attributed to industrial people.

Factor analysis of both ideal and real ratings yielded six real-self factors and six ideal-self factors. The real-self factors were identified as: (I) interpersonally pleasant v. interpersonally unpleasant; (II) old-fashioned introvert v. modern "swinger"; (III) adventurous, untraditional v. safe playing, traditional; (IV) sociable and irresponsible v. unsociable and responsible; (V) unassertive v. dominant; and (VI) ideal leader v. nonleader. The ideal-self factors were (I) interpersonally unpleasant v. interpersonally pleasant; (II) unassertive and friendly v. assertive and unfriendly; (III) ideal leader v. nonleader; (IV) uninterpretable; (V) old-fashioned introvert v. modern "swinger"; and (VI) adventurous and untraditional v. safe playing and traditional. From here on real factors will be designated as *r* factors and ideal factors as *i*.

The six real-self factors and six ideal-self factors were generally interpersonal in character suggesting that when Filipino adolescents think of themselves and the person they would want to be they do so in terms of interpersonal categories. These findings lend support to research on social and cultural influences on self-concept.

Modernization and self-concept

High scores on III-r, I-i, III-i, VI-i, and low scores on I-r, II-r, IV-r, V-r, II-i, and V-i were interpreted as indication of a modern self-concept. Thus a modern self-concept would consist of seeing oneself as less interpersonally pleasant, more of a modern "swinger," more adventurous and untraditional, more responsible though unsociable, more dominant and more a leader. It would also consist of wanting to be less interpersonally pleasant, more assertive though unfriendly, more a leader, more of a modern "swinger," and more adventurous and untraditional.

Table 5 shows the mean factor scores. The community-by-sex analysis of variance on each factor showed that in general the groups differed significantly on few of their factor scores. On factor III-r the communities differed significantly ($F = 4.241$, p less than .01) with Manila having a much higher mean score than the other communities. Manila respondents describe themselves as more adventurous and less traditional.

Table 4

Mean ranks of adjectives.

Adjectives	*Ideal self*	*Real self*	*Adjectives*	*Ideal self*	*Real self*
friendly	2.50	1.00	thrifty	24.06	28.00
intelligent	3.69	21.50	fun-loving	24.13	18.25
dependable	4.50	12.00	adventurous	24.63	19.88
helpful	5.00	5.44	modern	25.38	25.94
kind	5.63	5.50	popular	27.31	36.38
humble	8.13	7.50	serious	31.25	30.56
hardworking	8.50	19.13	sophisticated	32.63	31.13
happy	8.69	6.06	ambitious	32.88	23.13
close to family	9.81	6.94	follower	34.75	31.25
obedient	12.00	13.50	old-fashioned	36.25	37.31
goes along with others	14.13	7.75	shy	36.50	31.65
polite	14.31	7.19	dominant	36.75	40.25
gentle	14.63	18.19	loner	38.38	37.13
religious	14.63	17.13	easy-going	38.50	40.06
studious	15.44	19.88	changeable	40.25	36.00
generous	15.57	13.50	jealous	40.88	41.25
sociable	17.50	18.00	rebellious	42.19	44.88
independent	18.63	14.63	talkative	42.63	43.25
thoughtful of others	19.69	12.00	sad	43.81	41.75
self-confident	20.19	16.88	hot-tempered	43.88	40.06
leader	20.25	33.38	teaser	45.88	43.56
self-controlled	21.13	21.00	lazy	46.00	47.88
quiet	22.00	20.73	boastful	47.75	47.50
mature	22.38	24.50	selfish	48.25	48.50
sincere	23.50	20.63	quarrelsome	48.88	48.38

Table 5

Mean factor scores of Real and Ideal factors.

	Community				Sex	
	A	*B*	*C*	*D*	*Males*	*Females*
Real Self Factor						
I	0.2342	−0.2591	0.1590	−0.1336	−0.1036	0.0218
II	0.0731	0.2099	−0.0308	−0.2520	0.0219	−0.0218
III	0.3910	−0.2473	−0.0222	−0.1213**	−0.1560	0.1562*
IV	0.1140	0.1879	0.2536	−0.5560	0.0660	−0.0662
V	0.0404	−0.4806	0.2954	0.1444	0.0115	−0.0117
VI	0.1656	0.0675	−0.2225	−0.0104	−0.0219	0.0220
Ideal Self Factor						
I	−0.0989	0.1136	0.2547	−0.2702	0.0042	−0.0046
II	−0.0730	0.5399	−0.0550	−0.4116**	−0.1745	0.1747**
III	0.5127	−0.4750	−0.2003	0.1628	−0.0750	0.0752
IV	0.3232	−0.1675	0.2422	−0.3986	−0.0100	0.0102
V	0.1699	0.1614	0.1173	−0.1085	0.1712	−0.1711*
VI	0.0544	0.0115	−0.2182	0.1524	−0.0010	0.0010

*p less than .05 **p less than 01

Factor II-i showed significant community differences (F = 9.116, p less than .01) with Community D scoring lowest thus giving the more modern responses, that is, desiring to be more assertive and less friendly. Although significant differences were few, when we considered the direction of mean factor scores for the real- and ideal-self factors there was evidence to suggest that urban adolescents saw themselves as more modern while rural adolescents wanted to be more modern. While we predicted that urban subjects would show a more modern real self-concept as well as a modern ideal self-concept, and that rural subjects would be more traditional on both of these, our results might be explained from the following viewpoint. Urban adolescents saw themselves as possessing sets of traits which were associated with modernity and thus they had a modern real self-concept. On the other hand, rural adolescents did not feel that they actually possessed these traits, at least not to the same extent that their urban counterparts did, but desired to have them and therefore could be considered as having a modern ideal self-concept. So, in general, the urban and rural adolescents in our sample showed some kind of modern self-concept. Since we did not make separate predictions on the real and ideal self-concepts, Hypotheses 1 and 2 were only weakly supported.

Male-female differences in self-concept

On factor III-r females scored significantly higher than males with an F ratio of 5.409 (p less than .05). Thus females saw themselves as more adventurous and less traditional than did males. Differences on factor II-i (F = 7.105, p less than .01) showed males scoring lower than females thus desiring to be more assertive and less friendly. In factor V-i females scored significantly lower (F = 6.153, p less than .05) indicating that they would like to be more modern and fun-loving than do men.

These differences between males and females also showed interesting trends. Our female subjects saw themselves as possessing modern traits more than our male subjects did. When it came to what they wanted to be, both groups showed some desire for modern traits, but males tended to show their desire for modernity by rejecting the traditional friendly, "nice guy" type of traits while females demonstrated their modern ideal self-concept by desiring traits of leadership, achievement, and extroversion. These results suggested that our female subjects had a more modern self-concept than our male subjects.

Multiple reference groups among Filipino adolescents

To determine which of the different groups were considered important depending on the situation, the responses of all 200 subjects were added. Table 6 shows which reference group was chosen most often for each of the five areas. For each area the score of each reference group was out of a

possible total of 1,400. In general our subjects as a group considered peers the important group in recreational situations such as parties, sports, and such. Peers were also chosen for emotional situations such as quarrels with friends, depression, or confiding about one's boyfriend or girlfriend. Similarly, when one had to get a specific task done, peers were usually consulted. When the question of whom to emulate was asked, parents were the choice, and parents were also sought for advice regarding one's present or future career. Thus it seemed that the importance of particular groups to Filipino adolescents depended on the situation, with parents and peers the most salient reference groups. Our findings were consistent with the idea of multiple reference groups and with the research on parent and peer crosspressures on adolescents.

Our findings suggest that parents are chosen for areas which have a more long-term effect on one's life such as one's career and the type of person one should be. Peers are chosen for more immediate concerns. Since parents and peers were the most commonly chosen reference groups, we confined our analysis to these two referents. Groups were compared on the frequency with which they chose their parents as well as on their frequency of choosing peers.

Modernization and reference groups

Our findings show that, in general, Manila adolescents consider their parents to be a more important reference group than do the respondents from other communities. Since we originally hypothesized that urban adolescents would be less family oriented and more peer oriented than their rural counterparts, Hypotheses 3 and 4 were not supported. However, our findings, which were the opposite of what we predicted, could be reasonably explained thus: adolescents who are in school and generally education and career oriented in their aspirations turn to their parents if these parents are themselves educated and have careers. But when parents have no more than a sixth-grade education and are farmers, as was the general case with our rural subjects, they are a less important reference group. Thus it seems that the generation gap is greater in the rural areas where parental norms and values may be in conflict or at least different from the norms and values students encounter in school.

Sex and SES differences in the salience of parents and peers

In general our high-SES subjects seemed to give more importance to their parents than did our low-SES subjects, and males were more peer oriented than were females. The above explanation for why parents seem to be a more salient reference group to urban adolescents could also be true for high-SES students whose parents are more educated and career oriented than those of low-SES students. Women in the Philippines are traditionally expected to be closer to the family than men are. Thus our findings on sex differences were predictable.

Table 6

Total reference-group scores across all subjects.

Reference group	*Situation*					*Total*
	Recreational	*Modelling*	*Emotional*	*Career*	*Task*	
Parents	70	497	341	525	285	1,718
Siblings	209	69	57	44	153	532
Relatives	121	57	77	214	83	552
Peers	932	172	641	233	628	2,606
Other adult	28	146	244	339	201	958
Other	24	414	20	25	29	512

Achievement-motivation scores and educational and occupational aspirations

The community-by-sex analysis of variance on achievement motivation scores revealed no significant differences among the communities. Sex, however, showed significant differences with an F ratio of 8.582 (p less than .01). The mean score for females was 10.61 (S.D. = 4.76) while for males it was 8.69 (S.D. = 4.69). While the high-SES group had a higher mean achievement score (10.27) than did the low-SES group (9.32), this difference was not significant.

Tables 7 and 8 show how the subjects responded to questions on level of aspiration. The results of the chi-square analyses are also shown. There are three tabulations of percentages for each question: for community, for SES, and for sex.

In response to the question on how much education they desired, practically all subjects reported that they wanted a college education. There were no differences among groups. This reflects the high value given to education in the Philippines. However, in response to the question on actual plans after high school, while most of the subjects said that they planned to study, more Manila subjects said that they planned to do so. More subjects in the high-SES group (94.9 per cent) as compared to the low-SES group (74.8 per cent) and more females (91.0 per cent) than males (74.8 per cent) had study plans.

When they were asked about the occupation they desired, again most subjects in all the groups wanted professional jobs; however, Manila respondents had the largest percentage desiring these jobs (69.8 per cent). More of the high-SES group (67.1 per cent) wanted professional jobs than did subjects in the low-SES group (41.5 per cent) as did more females (55.3 per cent) than males (48.2 per cent).

Modernization and achievement motivation and level of aspiration

Exposure to modern influences did not seem to affect achievement motivation. Since no Philippine norms have been established for McClelland's measure of achievement motivation it was not possible to interpret the achievement scores we obtained as high or low. There were however no significant differences between urban and rural students; Hypothesis 5 therefore was not supported. With regard to level of aspiration, most subjects in all groups showed a high level of aspiration in their occupational and educational plans. Again more Manila adolescents gave responses demonstrating a high level of aspiration. Hypothesis 6 was supported.

The lack of significant differences among communities in the need to achieve, along with significant differences in level of aspiration in terms of plans after high school and occupation desired, may signify that there is a similar need to achieve in all students but the realities of the situation affect what one considers achievement. This difference is expressed in verbalized level of aspiration. Manila youth may have more opportunities to go to college and get professional jobs; therefore, they are more likely to aspire for these.

Sex and SES differences in need for achievement and aspirations

SES groups did not differ significantly in achievement scores but more high-SES subjects showed a high level of aspiration than low-SES subjects. Again it is possible that both groups feel a need to achieve but differ in what is considered achievement. Another possibility is that these results as well as the findings on community differences reflect the effect of social desirability. The existence of more opportunities for urban and high-SES students could be a factor that increases the social desirability of high educational and occupational aspirations and this may be reflected in the responses of our subjects.

Our results suggest that females have a greater achievement motivation and a higher level of aspiration than do males. These findings do not come as a complete surprise. In the Philippines there are women in most professions including engineering, law and medicine. They can be found in the halls of congress, sitting on judges' benches and running large business corporations. Nakpil (1963:24) had this to say:

> It is possible to say that the Filipino woman in general is aggressive, vigorous and madly ambitious. There is almost no limit to her intelligence or her capabilities. She will rise to every challenge, time after time, tirelessly and magnificently. She will take the world on her shoulders, even when she does not have to. She works endlessly to improve herself and the status of her family.

Bulatao (1965:16) writes:

> The Filipina is precisely a combination of "achievement through gentleness" and . . . underneath the soft exterior lies a capacity for anger as well as for action. Such an interpretation would match the well-known sagacity of women in business as well as their

Table 7

Subjects' plans after graduation with results of chi-square test.
(All values are percentages; N = 200.)

Plans	*Community*				*Sex*		*SES*	
	A	*B*	*C*	*D*	*Males*	*Females*	*Low*	*High*
Study	94.0	83.7	84.0	70.0	74.7	91.0	74.8	94.9
Work	6.0	16.3	16.0	30.0	25.3	9.0	25.2	5.1
	df = 3				df = 1		df = 1	
	chi-square = 10.29*				chi-square = 9.27*		chi-square = 13.55*	

*p less than .01

presence in the professions, particularly in the medical professions, where they can fulfill their achievement as well as nurturant needs.

These results are also supported by our findings on the modern self-concept of our female subjects.

Salary estimates

The subjects were also asked how much money was necessary each month in order to live comfortably, how much they would like to earn and how much they thought they would actually earn. In general the results seem to show that most groups felt that between ₱400 and ₱600 would give them a comfortable life. There were, however, some significant differences among communities as most subjects in Community B felt ₱400 or less could give them a comfortable life and an unusually large percentage of subjects from Community C felt that ₱1,000 or over was the necessary amount.

Most groups wanted to earn from ₱400 to ₱600 but significant chi-squares showed community, sex and SES differences with a greater percentage of Manila, high-SES, and male subjects choosing that category. More subjects in Community B than in any other community as well as male and low-SES subjects in all communities desired an earning of ₱1,000 or more.

There was more similarity in estimates of how much subjects thought they would actually earn. Most subjects predicted that they would earn ₱400 a month or less. This amount was less than they felt was necessary for a comfortable life or the amount they wanted to earn. Thus, in general, the subjects, regardless of group, wanted to earn a salary that would give them a comfortable life but they did not think they would actually earn that much. This discrepancy reflects the realities of the economic situation in the Philippines where a monthly salary of ₱400 to ₱600 would be high even for a college graduate.

Attitudes toward success

When the subjects were asked who was the most successful person they knew, personally or not, most of the Manila subjects (89.8 per cent) named someone in their immediate family, a response quite different from the other communities. Most subjects in Community B (66.7 per cent) named someone in the national government while most subjects in Community C (76.1 per cent) and Community D (43.8 per cent) chose adults in their community. Most high-SES subjects (62.7 per cent) chose someone in their immediate family while low-SES subjects (48.6 per cent) chose adults in the community. Males tended to choose national-government officials (33 per cent) while females chose adults in the community (42.3 per cent). The noticeably high percentage of Manila subjects and high-SES subjects who chose members of their immediate family as the most successful person they knew may be related

Table 8

Subjects' desired occupations with results of chi-square test.
(All values are percentages; N = 200.)

Occupation desired	*Community*				*Sex*		*SES*	
	A	*B*	*C*	*D*	*Males*	*Females*	*Low*	*High*
Clerical	7.0	38.6	34.8	15.9	10.9	30.9	31.1	14.3
Farming, technical, business	23.2	22.7	15.2	34.1	34.9	13.8	27.4	18.6
Professional	69.8	38.6	50.0	50.0	48.2	55.3	41.5	67.1
	df = 6				df = 2		df = 2	
	chi-square = 20.00*				chi-square = 12.25*		chi-square = 11.61*	

*p less than .01

to the tendency of both these groups to choose parents as their most salient reference group. These two groups may be more family oriented than the others. These results may also be due to the fact that urban and high-SES subjects are more likely to have successful relatives and, when asked to name the most successful person they knew, they chose their relative who is part of their real world instead of a more successful but more distant government official or businessman.

When asked to describe this successful person, Manila subjects (40 per cent) and those from Community B (46 per cent) tended to describe him in terms of actual achievement or success (e.g., rich, well educated, good leader). Communities C and D described him in terms of traits that would enable one to achieve (hardworking, intelligent, efficient). High-SES subjects described their successful person in terms of actual achievement while low-SES subjects, in terms of achievement traits. Males chose actual achievement; females chose achievement traits. For all groups interpersonal (kind, helpful, friendly) and traditional (close to family, good father) traits were not the main traits associated with success.

The choice of the most successful persons known and the descriptions of these persons showed that urban and high-SES students and possibly males thought of success in more concrete terms since they chose persons much closer to their everyday experience and described them not in terms of abstract traits but actual accomplishments.

Implications and Possibilities for Future Research

Contrary to what one might expect from the literature on modernization, exposure to the modernizing influence of the city did not seem to have much effect on the self-concept, reference groups, achievement motivation and levels of aspiration of Filipino adolescents as we assessed them. These findings bring into question the importance of communication and mass media for the development of modern ideas and attitudes. It is possible that a minimum exposure to modern ideas is necessary to affect values and attitudes of people. Beyond this minimum level of exposure, differences in effects are no longer noticeable. It would therefore be worthwhile to increase the range of the modernization variable by including samples from more severely isolated communities.

It must also be noted that all of our subjects were students exposed to modern ideas in the classroom. An investigation of the effects of education by including groups of out of school youth might be fruitful. It might also be profitable to undertake a more careful study of the effects of socio-economic status. In our study the high-SES group actually belonged to the lower-middle socio-economic class. A comparison with adolescents from the upper-middle-class bracket might yield interesting results.

Our findings on the modern self-concept and the achievement orientation of our female subjects suggests an intriguing area of study. We propose further research on the role of women in the Philippines and on the genesis of their achievement motivation.

Summary and Conclusions

This study was concerned with the impact of modernization on Filipino adolescents. Filipino adolescents like adolescents in other developing countries are being socialized into an adult society which is itself rapidly changing. Thus they are caught in a tug-of-war between traditional Philippine values and the more modern values that accompany social change.

High-school students were chosen from Manila, the principal city and the main source of modern influences, and from three other communities of approximately five thousand people located 100, 200, and 400 kilometers from Manila. Thus adolescents with varying exposure to modern influences such as industrialization and mass media were studied simultaneously.

Self-concept, reference groups, achievement motivation, and level of aspiration of the subjects were measured and the influence upon these variables of distance from Manila, sex, and socio-economic status was investigated.

Summary of Findings

The main findings of this study are the following:

(1) Subjects described their real self as being quite interpersonally oriented and thus traditional. Their ideal self, while also interpersonal, possessed more traits attributed to more modern and industrial people.

(2) In describing their real self, subjects used six categories: I. interpersonally pleasant v. interpersonally unpleasant; II. old-fashioned introvert v. modern "swinger"; III. adventurous, untraditional v. safe-playing, traditional; IV. sociable, irresponsible v. unsociable, responsible; V. unassertive v. dominant; and VI. ideal leader v. nonleader. When they thought of their ideal self, they used four of the same categories (I, II, III, and IV) and unassertive, friendly v. assertive, unfriendly. The categories were generally interpersonal in character.

(3) Urban adolescents saw themselves as more modern while rural adolescents wanted to be more modern.

(4) Females described themselves as more modern than did males. Both male and female adolescents wanted to be modern but this desire for modernity was manifested differently. In males it was demonstrated in a rejection of the friendly, "nice guy" type of traits while with females it was evident in their desire for traits of leadership, achievement and extroversion.

(5) Subjects had different reference groups depending on the situation. For recreational situations, peers were considered most important; for modelling situations, parents; emotional situations, peers; career situations, parents; and task-oriented situations, peers.

(6) Males were more peer-oriented than were females.

(7) Urban subjects chose parents as reference persons more frequently and peers less frequently than did rural subjects. High-SES subjects also chose parents more frequently. The explanation offered was that the generation gap between high-school students and their parents is greater in the rural areas where parents are less likely to be educated and have careers. This would also be true of low-SES families.

(8) Females had a higher achievement motivation than males. Distance from Manila or SES did not seem to affect the need for achievement.

(9) In all groups there was a high level of aspiration as seen in desire for education and professional jobs. However, more Manila subjects and high SES subjects had a high level of aspiration. More females had a high level of aspiration than males.

(10) Most subjects wanted to earn enough to give them a comfortable life (₱400 to ₱600 a month) but they did not think they would actually earn that much.

(11) Groups differed in the choice of the most successful person they knew as well as in the description of what made a successful person. Urban and high-SES subjects named members of their family as the most successful person they knew and described them in terms of actual achievement. Rural and low-SES subjects named persons in national government or prominent members of the local community and described them in terms of achievement traits.

The results of our study suggest that exposure to the modernizing influence of the city does not seem to have as much effect on self-concept, reference groups achievement motivation, and level of aspiration as one might expect from the literature on modernization.

Since all subjects tended to give relatively modern, as opposed to traditional, responses the results may imply that only a minimum exposure to city influences has as much effect as a more extended exposure.

Generally, Filipino adolescents, at least those whom we studied, show many modern attributes. They desire qualities of intelligence, dependability, and hard work. Peers are considered a very important reference group and a great value is placed on education and professional jobs. At the same time, however, Filipino adolescents also see themselves as possessing many of the

more traditional interpersonal oriented Filipino traits and desire to retain these traits. The family is still an important reference group.

In conclusion, it seems that Filipino adolescents have many traits associated with a modern society. However, they retain many traditional Filipino qualities. This may be an indication of a happy compromise between the old and new—an idiosyncratic mode of modernization by which the Philippines can remain Filipino and yet be part of the modern world.

Notes

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1. Factor analysis is a statistical technique used to group items according to common dimensions.

2. Analysis of variance is a statistical method used for the comparison of means in order to decide if some statistical relation exists between certain variables. A community-by-sex analysis of variance, for example, will determine to what extent the differences in mean scores are a result of the sex of the subject, the community to which he belongs, or both.

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Tagalog Concepts of Causality: Disease

Ronald S. Himes

This is the third in a series of articles on cognitive mapping in the Tagalog area.[1] The research on which these papers are based was conducted 1966–68 in the municipality of Marilao, Bulacan. Within Marilao, three sites were studied: the poblacion, or town proper, and the two barrios of Loma de Gato and Tabing Ilog. In each of the three sites a 20-per-cent sample of household heads or their delegates was drawn (Loma de Gato, 33; Tabing Ilog, 43; poblacion, 90; total, 166). The samples were drawn randomly, but non-native speakers of Tagalog were replaced.

As stated in an earlier paper (Himes 1967:138–40), Marilao proved to be an advantageous site for several reasons, one of which is the distribution of medical personnel and facilities. Loma de Gato, some seven kilometers distant from the population center, does not have a health clinic or resident physician, but a nurse employed in Manila does live in the barrio. As far as this writer knows, there is only one practicing herbalist (*albularyo*) residing in Loma, although many older persons possess a degree of herb-lore that approaches the specialist's knowledge. Loma, moreover, contains within its boundaries several acres of woodland, mostly secondary forest, which is rich in many of the plants needed in herbalist curing.

In contrast to this, residents of the town proper and its neighboring barrios such as Tabing Ilog enjoy ready access to doctors, dentists, pharmacies, and a health clinic, as well as to all types of traditional healers. Many of the plants, vines, grasses, and trees essential to the rural pharmacopoeia do not grow in the more heavily settled area. When this fact is added to the availability of doctors and pharmacies, it contributes to a preference for Western medicine, even among herbalists, in cases which rural residents, even laymen, would treat with herbs. One further note on the availability of medicines is in order: it is possible to buy nearly all patent medicines in a pharmacy without a doctor's prescription. Thus, when an informant is asked how a certain disease is treated, he is likely to answer in terms of highly specific pharmaceutical names. The same person will state that he consults no one in particular when the disorder in question befalls him. The reason for this is a prior, once-for-all-time

consultation with a doctor, a nurse, a pharmacist, or some sufferer of the disease who suggested the medication. Once the brand name of the medication is known it can be purchased over the counter without a prescription.

Purpose and Procedures

The purposes of the research were ethnographic and theoretical. The former, because little has been written in the past half-century on the Christian lowlanders of Luzon, whereas a great number of studies has been made among the mountain peoples of Northern Luzon. My theoretical interests lie primarily in the linguistic aspects of cognition, which I take to mean the ways in which a group of people perceive the universe they live in. More specifically, I am interested in the structuring of lexical domains and the relationship between the linguistic structure and that part of the universe to which the lexicon is applicable. In an attempt to discover similarities and differences in domain structuring, several domains of relative unrelatedness were studied, namely, kinship terminology, disease, property, and time. With reference to the cognitive domain of disease, the questions to be answered are these:

(1) What is perceived as disease, and is this a culturally valid domain?

(2) What are the diseases which are perceived and named, and can these diseases be ranked somehow with regard to cognitive saliency?

(3) For each specific disease, what are the attributed causes?

(4) Is there a structure within the disease domain which is similar to that found in other domains? If so . . .

(5) Does this structure tell us anything about notions of causality or about some more general thought process concerning relationships?

I shall attempt to answer these questions in the order given, after a brief statement on the techniques that I employed. Although the approach varied somewhat from one domain to another, the overall bias is that of ethnoscience, more evident perhaps in the eliciting procedures than in analytical techniques. An eliciting procedure differs from an analytical technique largely in the extent to which the informant is involved; both involve making clear the procedure used and following logical steps. Componential analysis is one analytical technique. Its usefulness, I feel, is limited to lexically bounded domains, such as kinship terminology of reference.[2] Even in such a domain, however, the analysis is easier to perform and has more meaning before the culture is learned thoroughly, just as it is easier to phonemicize a language before one has become very familiar with it. With regard to eliciting procedures, on the other hand, ethnoscience serves a more generally useful function. If the goal of the investigation is the discovery and elucidation of a belief system, caution must be

exercised to avoid biasing the data. Open-ended questioning which focuses on the taxonomic structure provides for this caution while still eliciting responses comparable from one person to another.

Most of the data were gathered in the interview situation.[3] However, all observations of therapy made during the course of the research indicated that what people said and what they did were not very far apart. It is, of course, impossible to ascertain if a person truly believes what he says about the etiology or cause of a disease. But without prying into the little black box of a man's mind one must take most assertions as parts of a belief system, rather than elements of a cleverly conceived fraud.

The order of events in disease interviews was as follows. First the informant was asked to mention disease names in free recall. The terms were then sorted according to whatever criteria the informant wished to use. Finally a more-or-less rigid schedule was followed to elicit specific data about each disease: diagnosis and diagnostician, etiology, therapy and therapist. In these interviews, as in all the others, the informant was free to choose whichever language he preferred, Tagalog, English, or a combination of the two.

Identification, Grouping, and Causes of Disease

That there is a culturally valid domain more or less equivalent to that of disease is unquestionable. When asked to discuss this domain or to recall specific disorders, informants evidenced no hesitation or confusion whatever. It is, moreover, a common theme of conversation, discussion, and argument. There is a term, *sakit,* which covers any and all phenomena considered 'disease' in English. This is not a one-to-one correspondence, however, since broken bones, snake bite, and all other disorders are as much sakít as are pneumonia and ringworm. Sakit is, then, any physiological or mental disorder, or abnormal condition of the mind or body. At other levels of the taxonomic hierarchy and in other grammatical structures, the word sakít means 'pain' as opposed to 'well-being' (*lusóg*) and 'general debility' (*hinà*), and it means 'general pain, ache' as opposed to 'sharp pain' (*hapdi, kirot*) and 'numbness' (*manhíd, ngalay*). At the topmost level, with the meaning of disorder, sakít contrasts with the cover terms of other domains, such as *sala* or *kasalanan*, which includes 'sin,' 'crime,' 'error,' and 'breach of etiquette.' Sakít has reference to disorders located in the body. The soul (*kaluluwá*) is not affected by sakít; it is affected by kasalanan. Medicine (*gamot*) is the primary treatment for sakít; prayer and the sacraments of the Roman Catholic Church are among the primary treatments for kasalanan. The soul is the major concern of the churches and the clergy, the body is the concern of the medical professions and professionals. Figure 1 represents a portion of the taxonomic structure relevant to the uses of sakit.

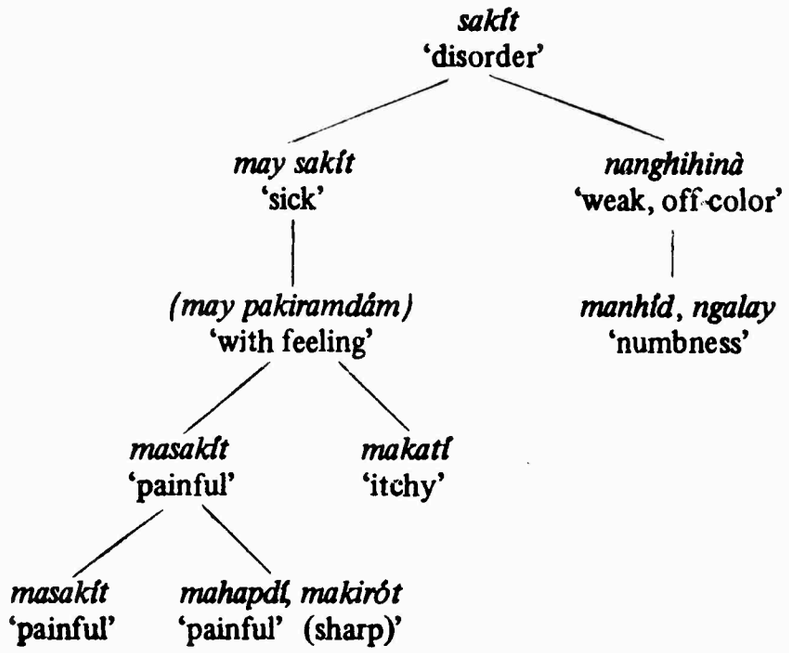

Figure 1: A portion of the taxonomic structure, in tree form, relevant to *sakít*

The purposes in asking informants to name disorders in free recall were: (1) to satisfy my curiosity as to what people first thought of when hearing the word sakít; (2) to observe the frequency with which specific disorders were mentioned; and (3) to prevent a skewing of the data in favor of what the outsider may want to hear. Frequency and saliency of recall tend to coincide; that is, those diseases most often recalled tend to be recalled first. The 10 most frequently recalled diseases for each barrio appear in Table 1. My third reason for approaching the disease domain open-endedly needs no explanation. For if I were to supply disease names myself, asking the informant to discuss disorders such as 'bewitchment and wandering-wind,' he might well react in one of two ways. Either he would ascribe to me an interest in a particular kind of disorder (superstitious diseases, diseases carried on the wind, and so on) or he might react as would the average New Yorker if asked to explain the humors and the vapors.

The total number of disorders recalled is approximately 235 (Loma, 115; Tabing Ilog, 116; Poblacion, 198). Most of these disorders are well known

throughout the world; a few are peculiar to Southeast Asia, to the Philippines, or to the Central Tagalog area. These will be explained as they are mentioned.

Table 1
Ten most frequently recalled disorders mentioned by informants in Marilao (Bulacan) Poblacion and Barrios Loma de Gato and Tabing Ilog, 1968.

Rank	*Loma de Gato*	*Tabing Ilog*	*Poblacion*
1	influenza	fever	influenza
2	cold	tuberculosis	tuberculosis
3	fever	influenza	fever
4	malaria	cold	cancer
5	ulcer	cancer	pneumonia
6	tuberculosis	ulcer	ulcer
7	pneumonia	measles	high blood pressure
8	El Tor*	chicken pox	cold
9	appendicitis	stomach ache	asthma
10	asthma	appendicitis	heart disease

*El Tor is an infectious gastro-intestinal disease, similar in symptoms to cholera.

After he had mentioned disorders in free recall, the informant was asked to sort the recalled terms into piles of terms which belonged together, using whatever criteria he wished. This test had been developed in the earlier kinship investigation, where its major purpose was to elicit sorting criteria which might be identified with the components of a componential analysis. The sorting test was readily accepted by informants, where other tests (triads test, for example) were rejected, and the results proved to be productive.

With reference to disease, the most frequently used sorting criterion is location on the body (and systematic groupings). Disorders are grouped together and separated from others because they are all on the skin, or inside the body, or in the region of the head, or all have relevance to the blood, and so on. A large number of less frequently mentioned criteria were also used; these include prevalence, scientific v. superstitious diseases, diseases that must be treated by a doctor v. those which may be treated by an albularyo or by oneself, and many others. Another sorting criterion, more often used than the latter and only slightly less common than location, is one which involves a progression of disorders. This is quite often a statement of cause and effect: one disease leads to another or to others. The progression need not be causal, however; in some cases it is merely a statement that several diseases manifest first a single symptom. For example, fever precedes measles and flu. or gastroenteritis, ulcer, and

ectopic pregnancy originates in stomach ache. That many people group disorders in terms of a progression has proved useful in the analysis of causal relationships.

Even more important, most people do not use a single criterion in the sorting, but rather a combination of several. Thus a list of seven terms may be grouped into four piles:

Pile	*Term*	*Reason given*
1	fever	"usually leads to flu"
2	headache cough asthma	"they co-occur"
3	measles hives	"appear on the skin"
4	cold sore	"affects children"

None of the sorting criteria–location, co-occurrence, age of patient, progression–are used throughout the sort, but rather the groupings are made (on the basis of whatever criteria) and then rationalized according to the most salient characteristic shared by the disorders in the groups. This does not represent a series of binary divisions, such as internal v. external, children v. adults. Instead, a decision is made, and it is apparently based on a number of criteria handled simultaneously.

Moreover, the rationale for having created a group of terms is often pluralistic. Thus a group containing measles, chicken pox, breast tumor, and dandruff may be reasoned out as follows: they all appear on the outside of the body, they are all caused by neglect or unsanitary habits, and they all contain fever. One may well agree that fever does not necessarily accompany dandruff, and that part of this explanation is therefore incorrect. However, equivalence occurs frequently in the data and, in fact, in Philippine culture generally.[4] Stated as a rule, it takes the form: Things (or people) which are associated with each other in one way are equated in another. This rule indicates that once a grouping is made, its differentiation from other groupings no longer being necessary to explain, some important thing may be said about the group whether or not it is true of each group member.

Before going further into the patterns followed in the sorting exercise, I would like to discuss causes attributed to specific diseases. This information is drawn principally from the third part of the interview procedure, the schedule designed to elicit certain facts or beliefs about each of the disorders recalled: the description, etiology, therapy, diagnostician, and therapist. For each disorder recalled, the informant was asked the cause, or *dahilán.* Answers to this question may be grouped into four categories.

First, the cause is not known, the informant does not know the cause, or the disorder "just appears," "just comes out," and so on.

Second, the cause is located in some specific incident or condition, such as snake bite, heredity, accident, eating bad food, contact with bad women, and so forth.

Third, the disorder comes from another disorder. Here a problem arises. Although the question calls for a cause (*dahilán* ⟨ *dahil* 'because' + *-an* 'locative indicator'), informants often answered in terms of an origin or beginning, *pinagmulán* (⟨ *mulâ* 'beginning, source' + *pag*-WR-*an* with *-in-* 'completed action, object focus affix set denoting "to do to" ').[5] Thus, a likely answer to "What causes flu?" is *"sipón ang pinagmulán"*: "common cold is designated as the source." When this term pinagmulán is understood, then it is reasonable to consider that a single disease such as malaria may have several origins such as mosquito bite, fever, cold weather, and so on. From the reverse vantage point, a single disorder or condition may result in more than one disease. When this idea is expressed, the words used are *mauwí* 'to make one's home' or *uuwián* '(future) going-home place' and *tuluyín* 'to go on until (some point beyond the destination)'. Thus fever may 'make its home' in either malaria or meningitis, and either T.B. or bronchitis or whooping cough is the "going-home place" of cough.

Fourth, the most frequently mentioned cause of specific disorders is a combination of two conditions, one of which is a state of the body and the natural phenomenon. The principle involved is the Chinese menu choice: one from column A and one from column B. The two most common states of the body mentioned are hunger and fatigue, although others do occur: the state of having just awakened, being overheated, and so on. Column B is composed of a number of natural phenomena and the exposure of the body to them; the most common are being rained on, exposure to dew, the passage of time, exposure to heat or cold, and exposure to the wind. If the body is more or less in a normal state, and the natural phenomenon occurs suddenly, sickness may follow. In these cases, the suddenness or unexpectedness of the occurrence is either made explicit (*biglâ* 'suddenly') or it is expressed in the affixes *ma*-WR *-an*, a variant of the object focus affix *-in-* meaning 'to have done to oneself suddenly, involuntarily or unexpectedly.' Thus, a cause of the common cold is *náulanan akó*: 'I was suddenly or unexpectedly rained on.'

To summarize what has been said about the causes of specific diseases, several patterns are noticeable. Either a single cause is indicated or no cause is indicated. In the majority of cases, the disease is the outcome of some other disorder or disorders, or it is the end result of a situation in which the body encounters some natural phenomenon in an unexpected and/or deleterious

way. A single disease may have its origins in more than one other disorder, and a single disease may lead to more than one disorder. When a pre-existing disorder is not involved, then a condition of the body, such as hunger or fatigue, together with an encounter with something outside the body, such as rain or heat, is considered the origin of the disorder. Alternately, the body being otherwise normal, the encounter with the natural phenomenon occurs unexpectedly or suddenly.

The question may arise here as to whether there is a substantial difference between this concept and the Western notion of having a low resistance to disease. 'Low resistance' in the West is caused by lack of sleep, improper or irregular eating habits, excessive use of alcoholic beverages, and the like. The Westerner, it appears to me, is as much predisposed to illness under these conditions as is the Filipino to those singled out as disease causes: hunger *plus* getting rained on, fatigue *plus* exposure to dew, just having awakened *plus* getting wet, and so on. The difference between the two is one of emphasis and not one of kind. In the West it is believed that low resistance together with coming in contact with whatever happens to be going around—flu, cold, or whatever—will lead to illness. The Filipino emphasizes not the germs plus low resistance but rather the correct timing (*tiyempo-tiyempo*) of the two most important elements in the development of low resistance: internal predisposition and external mitigating circumstances.

This does not mean that the germ theory of disease causation is totally absent in the Tagalog belief system, although it may have a distinctly Filipino flavor. Some informants do mention 'germs' and 'virus' (English words) or *krobyo* and *mikrobyo* (< Spanish *microbio*) or *maliliit na hayop* ('small animals, insects, germs') as disease causes. The traditionally recognized cause of some skin diseases, some intestinal parasites, and some diseases localized in the combination of fatigue and stepping in dirt or mud; in the present belief system of some individuals, these disorders are caused by stepping on germs while fatigued.

Disease Causation and Wordview

The patterns of disease causation may be diagrammed as follows:

(1) ? → X — The cause of disorder X is not known.

(2) Y → X — The disorder X is the direct result of a specific incident Y; e.g., Vietnam Rose is the direct result of contact with bad women.[6]

(3) $\left|\begin{matrix} A \\ B \\ C \end{matrix}\right| \rightarrow X$ The disorder X is caused by, and/or progresses from, disorder A and/or disorder B and/or disorder C; e.g., malaria comes from mosquito bite and/or the change of seasons.

(4) $A \rightarrow \left|\begin{matrix} X \\ Y \\ Z \end{matrix}\right|$ The disorder X *or* the disorder Y *or* the disorder Z results from disorder or symptom A; e.g., fever may 'make its home' in measles or meningitis or malaria.

(5) $A + B \rightarrow X$ The state of the body A, together with the state of nature B, leads to disorder X; e.g., hunger together with getting wet causes *pasmá* (< Spanish *pasmar* 'to astonish, to cause spasms').[7]

(6) $B + S \rightarrow X$ The state of nature B, if it occurs suddenly (S), may lead to disorder X; e.g., sudden exposure to cold weather lead to whooping cough.

To these should be added another pattern, wherein the individual neglects an illness or performs an irresponsible action when the body is in an abnormal state.

(7) $A + I \rightarrow X$ The state of the body A, together with neglect or some action on the part of the individual (I), leads to disorder X; e.g., *pilay-hangin*[8] results from removing one's shirt when overheated; miscarriage results from lifting a heavy object during pregnancy.

These patterns (Nos. 1–7) are not for the most part mutually exclusive, but (with the exception of No. 1) they may be simultaneously true. This idea may be expressed graphically:

(8) $\left|\begin{matrix} A \\ B \\ C \end{matrix}\right| \rightarrow \left|\begin{matrix} X \\ Y \\ Z \end{matrix}\right|$ Disorder X *or* disorder Y *or* disorder Z may be caused by or proceed from conditions or disorders A and/or B and/or C. For example, pasma or cold or stomachache may result from stepping in water when tired; getting caught in the rain when tired; cold, rain, or stepping in water while hungry; stepping in water while overheated; ironing clothes when tired; washing one's feet when tired; and bathing immediately upon awakening.

The following pattern does not normally occur:

(9)	not-A B not-C	→	not-X Y not-Z	Condition B is the sole cause of disorder Y; disorder Y is the only disorder caused by condition B.

The expression "not normally" is used advisedly. There are some informants who do express themselves in terms of necessary and sufficient conditions as disease determinants. These people tend to have a high educational attainment or a thorough exposure to city life or both. They include lawyers, real-estate agents, nurses and medical technicians, the wife of a doctor, and a sprinkling of interested nonprofessionals.

The patterns expressed in No. 4 and No. 8 use the "exclusive or" with reference to disease outcomes. Fever may 'make its home' *either* in malaria *or* in meningitis. In a given case of fever, the outcome will be one or the other, but not both. When both disorder X and disorder Y can occur as the result of the same causes in a single case, they are combined into one term, one disease.

(10) A + B = AB Disorders A and B together constitute disorder AB. Thus, when fever and cold co-occur, they are considered one disease 'fever-cold' (*lagnát* + *sipón* = *lagnat-sipón*)[9]. Bronchitis (*brongkitis*) plus pneumonia (*pulmonyá*) constitutes one disease, *brongkonomonya*. Vomiting together with diarrhea is called 'vomiting and diarrhea' (*nagtataé't nagsusuka*), or *arriba y abajo* ((Spanish 'up and down'), or 'gastroenteritis.'

The pattern expressed in No. 8, above, still stands as the primary one.

Finally, mention should be made of fatalism. Some responses so indicate, either explicitly or implicitly. that fate or chance governs the occurrence of sickness. Some diseases just occur, they cannot be avoided; some people are merely luckier than others in the enjoyment of good health. These responses tend to be heard in reference to childhood diseases and to disorders such as the common cold, tumors, cancers, and other conditions which continue to puzzle Western medicine men.

Some people, Filipinos and Westerners alike, tend to draw the fate line closer to the disease than do others. In answer to the question "Why did your child contract malaria?" a man may attribute the disease immediately to fate or to the will of God. Often this cannot be pursued further; God, after all, works in wondrous ways. Others may attribute the disease to the bite of an affected anopheles mosquito, the bite in this case being random or chance. Or the mosquito bite may be the result of a walk in the woods at the proper (or improper) time of the year, and so on.

A related problem may be faced here also, that of whether Tagalogs should be categorized as having a personalistic or mechanistic worldview. It has been

claimed by social scientists in and about Manila that Filipinos resemble many peoples throughout the world in maintaining a belief that the world and particularly the fate of man are governed by personal beings which continually intervene or meddle in the affairs of men. In some parts of the Philippines disease is blamed on ancestral spirits who afflict their descendants for having neglected a ritual or for some similar reason. In other areas, disease is more often attributed to nature spirits who take offense at something done by mortals (neglecting to leave the first-fruits of the hunt or fishing expedition, urinating in the wrong place, and so on) or who inflict discomfort on man simply because it is in their nature to do so.

In Marilao, at least, such beliefs appear to be absent. The only purposeful disorder inflicted by a spirit is *lamán-lupâ* or *námatandâ*.[10] This is caused by having accidentally harmed a forest spirit (*nunô sa punsó*) in an anthill, tree, or vine. The only purposeful disorder caused by man, other than those resulting from disputes and the like, is bewitchment.[11]

Accidental causation, either by man or by nature, is overwhelmingly the norm. A case in point is the disorder known as *uhiyá* or *usóg* (when adults are afflicted) and *bales* (when children are afflicted).[12] The word *uhiyá* is derived from the Spanish *ojear*, which means 'to eye' or 'to inflict the evil eye (on someone).' In Marilao, the person is affected by being greeted by someone when he is hungry and overheated. The person who causes the affliction is quite unaware of it. What came to the area as an intentionally induced disorder has become a fortuitous combination of events or conditions.

Disorders caused accidentally by creatures other than man fall into the category of snake bite, virus infection, and the like. Those caused by nature are myriad. Wind, rain, cold, and all the conditions mentioned above fall into this category. In addition, many diseases are attributed vaguely to *panahón*, which means any number of things referring to transience: time, weather, season, era, menstrual period, and so on. *Panahón*, with all its components, is quite impersonal. Transience is in the nature of the universe and it is indifferent to man and to individual men. Further, belief in immanent justice appears to be limited to small children (cf. Flores 1964). Statements to the effect that one is punished or rewarded immediately in accordance with his behavior are completely lacking from the data. Also, statements to the effect that one gets rained on because somebody up there doesn't like him are quite absent. Getting rained on is one of those things that sometimes happen on an otherwise nice day.[13]

The Tagalog, then, does not see himself as singled out, because of his actions or in spite of them, to be the object of suffering inflicted by greater forces. He views himself instead as a part of the cosmos as likely to be rained on as is a mango tree. He may also be a causal agent since there are some things in the environment which can be changed. The Tagalog may not possess the scope—or the audacity—to try changing the weather but, with care and prudence, he

can usually avoid its bad effects. This viewpoint appears to me to be as mechanical as that attributed to the Westerner. The difference lies not in whether or not the things which control the world are personal or mechanical, but rather in whether man is superior, inferior, or equal to them. Whereas the Westerner may see himself as superior to his environment, the Tagalog considers himself at least equal to it.

Contrast Between Tagalog and Western Thinking

From the disease data we may conclude that the one-cause/one-effect pattern is rare. The expression that A alone leads to B alone is limited to a few people who have had extensive contact with the Western life-style found in Manila or to situations, such as snake bite, where the causal relationship between two events is immediately observable. The stating of alternative contributing factors to an illness and the expression of origins and progressions without causal reference (in the Western sense) indicate that events may be seen as related to each other without the one being the necessary and sufficient cause of the other. In short, Tagalog Filipinos do not codify and perceive reality in lineal terms, to use Dorothy Lee's (1959) wording. The Tagalog words used to express cause and those used to express result support this condition.

Dahilán does not mean necessary and sufficient cause. It means instead one of a number of possible causes; it also means 'attributed cause' or 'excuse' as in "He was late; what excuse (dahilán) did he give?" *Sanhî* means cause in the sense of motive or goal, as in "the cause for which we are fighting." Effect is either the Spanish derivatives *epektò* (< *efecto*) and *resulta* or verbal forms meaning outcome, possible or expected outcome, and so on (*kinalabsán, kálalabsán, kináhinatnán, kahihinatnán,* < *labás* 'to come out' and *datîng* 'to arrive').

The expressions recently created by the Institute of National Language to mean 'cause and effect' are:

sanhî at bunga	'motive and fruit'
puno't dulo	'beginning and end' ('trunk and extremity').

Neither of these, I feel, quite conveys the notion of an event or a thing which by itself necessarily brings about another event or thing.

I should also like to question the applicability and usefulness of the principle of binary opposition. or rather the extension of this principle in a linear sequence. Binary opposition appears in the taxonomic structures of both English and Tagalog at the lowest level. Both language-culture complexes contain, for example, the following taxonomic cells:

pox	
chicken pox	smallpox

parent	
father	mother

The linear extension of this principle in English creates an opposition to the higher level term (pox, parent) which is in turn dichotomized.

pox		tumor	
chicken pox	smallpox	benign	malignant

parent		child	
father	mother	son	daughter

This is not true of Tagalog, wherein the higher level contrast, when made, persists at the lower levels without further division. Thus, ideas expressed most easily in English (and probably in most Indo-European languages) in terms of a 2 x 2 table are expressed in Tagalog (and perhaps in most Philippine languages) in terms of a 1 x 2 table.

father	mother
son	daughter

as opposed to

father	mother
child	

summer	winter
spring	fall

as opposed to

hot season	rainy season
(September–February: no term)	

This appears in verbal categories as well (voice and mood in English, focus in Tagalog), and probably at lower levels of the linguistic hierarchy.

When progression within the cell is conceivable, the English pattern shows a preference for one-to-one movement: a son becomes a father, a daughter becomes a mother; tubercle bacillus leads to tuberculosis, and whatever it is that the anopheles mosquito carries leads to malaria. In the Tagalog pattern a child becomes a mother or a father (depending), fever becomes malaria or flu.

This is not to say that Westerners think only in terms of twos and Tagalogs only in terms of threes. The theme of triples and thirds runs rampant through Western thinking, according to Dundes (1968), but this usually takes the form of a trichotomy, a division into three equal parts each of which is mutually opposed to the other two. Diagrammatically, this may be represented as in Figure 2, the three spaces being filled with the appropriate terms: knife-fork-spoon, Father-Son-Holy Ghost, Paleolithic-Mesolithic-Neolithic, and so on.

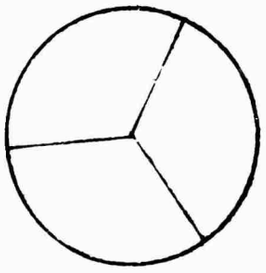

Figure 2. Trichotomous division.

The Tagalog pattern of three represents, by contrast, two binary divisions, one of which applies to the whole set and the other to half of it. In Figure 3, the generation dichotomy, that between parent and child, applies to the entire set, and the sex dichotomy, that between males and females, applies only to the parent half of the set. The son-daughter distinction does not occur except as 'male child' v. 'female child' (*anák na lalaki, anák na babae*).

	Male	Female
Parental generation	*amá*	*iná*
Filial generation	*anák*	

Figure 3. The basic Tagalog pattern, exemplified by nuclear family terms.

The Western pattern is then one of dichotomies and trichotomies. If the former is operative, the principle of binary opposition is extended to every level. If two elements belong somehow to the same universe, and one of these elements is known to be dichotomized, then it is assumed that the other element is similarly dichotomized. Disease and sin, for example, may be parts of a universe, "bad things." There are two kinds of disease: serious and light,

curable and incurable, and so on. There must also, then, be two kinds of sin: forgivable and unforgivable, mortal and venial, and so on. Just as kinds of disease may be dichotomized (chicken pox v. smallpox), so kinds of sin and crime may be dichotomized (white lies v. black lies, petty theft v. grand larceny). When the alternate Western pattern is operative, it takes the form of a trichotomy, and the three constituent parts are in mutual opposition. Knives, forks, and spoons are the three mutually exclusive components of the 'silverware' set. At lower levels the trichotomous division appears to persist: forks come in three general kinds (salad, dinner, and dessert) as do spoons (table-, soup-, and tea-).

The Tagalog pattern contrasts with both of the Western patterns. There is a dichotomy at one level, but not necessarily at another. The result is a threefold structure, but not a trichotomy. It corresponds in its essentials more closely with the ternary structures described by Lévi-Strauss (1963) developed by other methods and for other purposes. The significance of this for Filipino culture is this: what is true of one member of a set, in terms of containing component elements, is not necessarily true of another member of the set at the same level. Figure 4, a re-writing of Figure 1, is a graphic representation of how this rule applies to the set sakít.

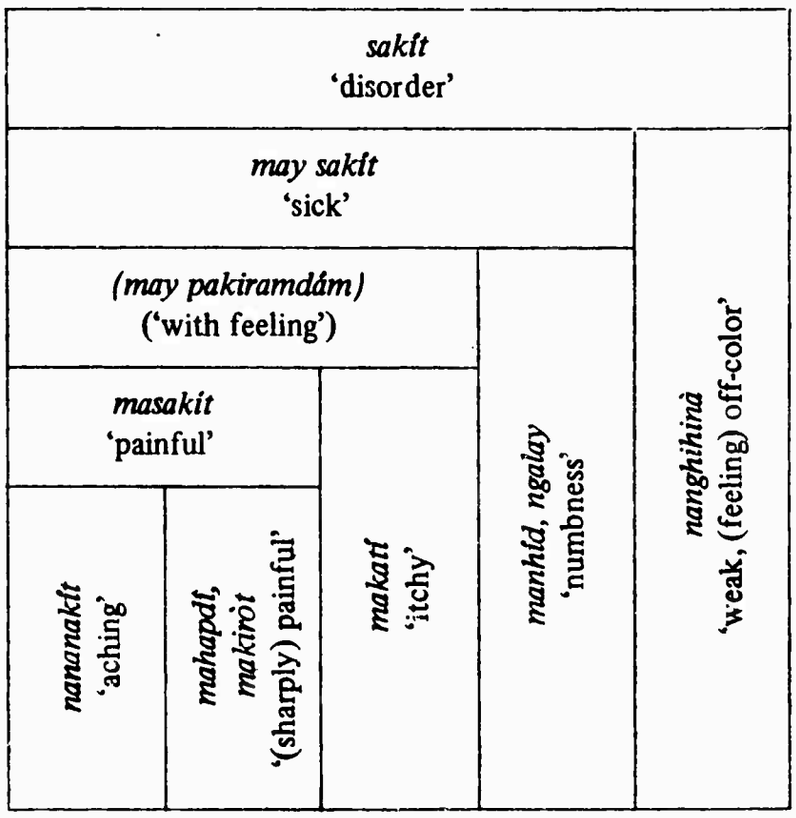

Figure 4. A portion of the taxonomic structure, in chart form, relevant to *sakít*.

There is a paradox posed by the simultaneous presence of this rule and the one mentioned earlier which states that what is generally true for most members of a set is assumed to be true for all. The difference between the two, however, that of the level at which one is speaking, is a very important one. Compared with sins, disorders are painful; indeed, 'disorder' (sakít) connotes 'painful' (*masakít*). At a lower level, say, skin disorder as opposed to internal disorder, it is not assumed that all disorders involve pain, skin disorders being more generally itchy. Here, it may be stated that all skin disorders are itchy, even though some members of this set may involve pain (*sugat* 'wound, lesion') or may involve no noticeable sensation at all (*purlak* 'piebaldness').

Summary

There is a Tagalog lexical domain with the cover term *sakít*, which includes all mental and physiological disorders. Some 235 specific disorders were recalled by informants in three research sites in Marilao, Bulacan. Combining frequency of recall and order of recall, it is possible to rank the disorder terms in an approximation to cognitive saliency. Specific diseases are caused by (a) no known factor, (b) a single factor or incident, (c) any one of a number of abnormal bodily states in combination with any one of a number of natural phenomena, (d) sudden or unexpected exposure to a natural phenomenon, and (e) any combination of two of the above except (a). Specific disorders originate in other disorders, and they themselves lead to further disorders.

The minimal meaningful structural unit, in the disorder domain, is a threefold cell containing two dichotomies, one of which applies to the entire set and the other to only half of it. This structure is replicated in other domains, such as that of referential kinship terminology, seasons of the year, and at the lower linguistic levels, such as that of verbal affixes.

Causality, in general, is not so dominant as it is in Western thinking. Instead, disorders occur in progressions, which may or may not be causal, from each other or from outside factors. The notion that one thing is the necessary and sufficient cause of another is virtually absent. A number of factors, either singly or in combination, lead to any one of several conceivable outcomes. Fatalism exists in Tagalog concepts of suffering more or less to the same extent that it does in the West: man suffers illness, and some men appear to suffer illness, and some men appear to suffer more than others, but the chance occurrence of illness is mitigated by personal responsibility in caring for one's health.

There is a strong predisposition toward stereotypy, in some contexts, in that members of a group formed for one reason are equated for other reasons. This co-occurs with another cognitive feature, applicable in other contexts, which provides for the reduction of one group member but not for another, at least not in the same terms.

Appendix

Questions asked in the disease interview

1. Recall as many diseases as you can, and mention each to me.

   Isipin ninyó ang lahát na sakít na nalalaman ninyó at isá-isá ninyóng sabihin sa akin.

2. Sort these slips of paper into piles or grouping which seem to belong together. Sort them into as many or as few groupings as you like.

   Pagsamásamahin ninyó ang mga papél na ináakala ninyóng dapat ipagsamasama. Maari kayóng gumawâ ng kahit na iláng grupo o tumpók na papèl na gusto ninyóng gawín, kahit na marami o kaunti.

3. What is the reason or idea that you had when you arranged each pile or group?

   Ibigáy ang inyóng katuwiran kung bakit ninyó ipinagsamasama ang mga papél na iyán sa bawat tumpók o grupo.

4. Give the location or part of the body particular to this type of disease.

   Saán-saáng bahagi o parte ng katawán nakikita o napápansín ang sakít na ito?

5. Give a description of this disease.

   Anú-anó pô ang napápansín o naráramdamán sa sakít na itó?

6. What causes this disease?

   Anu-anó pô ang mga dahilán ng sakít na itó?

7. What are the medicines or what is the therapy used?

   Anú-anó pô ang mga gamót na alam ninyóng ginagamit sa sakít na itó?

8. Whom do you consult for this disease?

   Sinu-sino pô ang mga manggagamot na inyóng kinukunsulta o sinasangguni sa sakít na itó?

Notes

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1. See Lynch and Himes (1967) and Himes (1967). These sources contain background to the area studied, relevant maps, and preliminary findings in the kinship domain.

2. See Hjelmslev (1957) on structural analysis.

3. The interview questions are provided in the appendix.

4. See Lynch (1970:19). Also, note the interchangeability of group members as group designator with the pronominal marker *siná*, as in *siná Monica*, 'Monica and her group' (Monica not necessarily being the leader).

5. WR signifies word root, which is this case is *mulâ*.

6. Vietnam Rose is a strain of gonorrhea highly resistant to treatment. It was brought to the Philippines by American military personnel on rest-and-recreation leave from Vietnam.

7. *Pasmá*, often itself the cause of other disorders, involves general debility, localized pain, and fever. The exact nature of pasmá depends on which part of the body is affected.

8. *Pilay-hangin* ('wind-sprain') is the sensation of having a broken bone, sprain, or broken blood vessel, but the pain moves from place to place within the body.

9. This may be synonymous with 'influenza' (*trangkaso*).

10. This involves general debility, severe pain in any part of the body, localized fever, often with 'delirium' and the appearance of insanity. The pain experienced by the patient corresponds to the part of the forest which was injured.

11. No cases of bewitchment were reported during the course of the field work. This appears not to be a widespread and firmly held belief in Marilao, and the term 'bewitchment' (*kulam*) is used almost exclusively in a joking sense.

12. This involves severe gas pains and stomach ache.

13. For what it is worth, the word *Diyós* (< Spanish *Dios*, 'God') is not treated grammatically as a person but as a thing. It takes the impersonal article *ang* instead of the personal *si*: *si Juan* 'John,' *si Nanay* 'Mother,' but *ang silya* 'the chair,' *ang nanay* 'the mother,' *ang Diyós* 'God.'

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Environmental Correlates of Educational Achievement among Metropolitan Manila Private-school Boys

Susan M. Bennett

It is generally recognized that individual differences in intellectual development are the product of genetic and environmental interaction. In recent years, behavior geneticists and social scientists have attempted to identify specific characteristics which facilitate or retard intellectual growth. Highly sophisticated techniques have been developed to study the impact of genetic factors, and these techniques promise to yield answers eventually. But to date, little information has been revealed. The efforts of social scientists have been notably more successful. Corroborative results of a number of studies indicate the importance of varied sensory stimulation and contact with adults in early childhood. Among older children, superior intellectual ability appears to be fostered by parental interest and assistance in intellectual development, particularly in the development of verbal skills. Other facilitative conditions are a social "climate" which encourages exploration and problem-solving and which exerts some pressure for achievement.

The present article reports preliminary findings of a study of relations between conditions of home environment and intellectual abilities among Filipino grade-school children. The research strategy is described and applied illustratively to an analysis of relations between home environment and academic achievement The full research sample includes 524 sixth-grade children enrolled in five private schools in Manila and Quezon City. The subjects of the present limited analysis are 35 boys selected randomly for home study from the entire group studied at a single school.

The Research Strategy

The strategy of environmental research followed in the present investigation was first proposed by Bloom (1964). A basic assumption of his approach is that the totality of environment, the entire set of conditions, processes, and external stimuli impinging upon and interacting with the individual is a phenomenon so complex as to be "impossible to handle by present research

munity in the United States. He then rated each family on each aspect of environment, basing his ratings on the interview data. The sum of the three ratings constituted a family's total score for intellectual environment of the home.

Wolf reports a correlation of +.69 between this total score and the children's intelligence as measured by the Henmon Nelson Test of Mental Ability.[1] Following similar procedures and utilizing the same interview data, Dave (1965) found a correlation of +.80 between the home environment for educational achievement and the children's total scores on the Metropolitan Achievement Battery. Both correlations represent substantially higher degrees of association than have been reported between indices of family social status or economic well-being and measures of intelligence and achievement. More recently, Werner (1969) reports a somewhat lower, but still substantial correlation of +.53 between a single rating for educational stimulation of the home and the intelligence of 485 ten-year-olds on the island of Kauai, Hawaii. Werner adapted selected items from Wolf's interview schedule to evaluate the educational environment of homes in the Kauai setting. Her measure of intelligence was the SRA Primary Mental Ability Test.

The instruments and procedures developed by Wolf and Dave have been shown to be highly productive, reliable, and valid for the population they studied. Further research with other populations is needed to demonstrate the generality of their findings. Werner's success in adapting the instruments and scoring procedures indicates that the approach may be fruitful despite considerable variation in content and treatment of the environmental data.

That Bloom's strategy for environmental research can feasibly be operationalized is amply demonstrated by these investigations. It is also evident that levels of specific characteristics such as general intelligence and educational achievement can be predicted with a high degree of accuracy from information on limited aspects of a single physical environment identified as "sub-environments" for the development and maintenance of those particular characteristics. Information on the "how" of interaction gleaned by questions about what parents actually do with their children appears to predict more accurately than do indices of "symptoms" or "surface characteristics" of an environment such as the social status of the fathers' occupation or the family's dwelling type. This is in full accord with the expectation of theoreticians (Bayley 1967).

The Environment for Achievement

Evidence concerning the association of environmental factors with educational achievement was summarized by Dave (1965). Gross sociological characteristics such as social status and income have been used as indices of home environment in a number of studies. The association between indices of

methods" (1964:187). As an alternative, Bloom proposes that an analytical approach be taken during the initial stages of environmental research. Specifically, this means that research must begin with those aspects of the total environment which are most likely to exert the greatest influence on the particular human characteristic or characteristics to be studied. Bloom's reasoning is summarized in the following statement (Bloom 1964:186):

> We are led by the available evidence to begin by regarding environments as having a number of highly specific characteristics and as a result having highly specific consequences for human growth and development. We do not doubt a proposition that two environments similar in many characteristics and different in a few may have markedly different effects on the individuals who are in them. That is, the whole is likely to be more than a simple summation of the parts. We do suggest that the strategy of research on environmental variation begin with the attempt to describe and measure the specific characteristics of environments and then proceed to the study of the consequences of various combinations of these specific characteristics.

Several investigators have applied this strategy to the study of "environments" for educational and intellectual achievement. Their first task has been to define those aspects of the total environment most relevant for the particular type of performance they intend to predict. This and the other major steps typically followed can be illustrated by describing a study by Wolf (1964) which has been called "one of the most comprehensive and apparently successful attempts to relate parental influence to intelligence test performance of the child" (Freeburg and Payne 1968:172).

Wolf identified three aspects of the "intellectual environment" of the home based on his review of the research literature supplemented by inferences from the nature of intelligence tests. These three aspects are (Wolf 1964: Appendix B):

(1) Stimulation provided for intellectual growth, particularly the parents' present expectations and future aspirations for the child's educational attainment, the extent of their knowledge about his intellectual develment, and the nature of the rewards they give for his intellectual accomplishments.

(2) Opportunities provided for the child's vocabulary enlargement, his exposure to language usage of high quality, and parental emphasis on the correct usage of language in a variety of situations.

(3) Parental provision for general types of learning within and outside the home and provision and encouragement of the use of learning supplies, books, periodicals, and library resources.

After the relevant aspects of environment have been defined, they must be operationalized in the form of specific items of information. Wolf devised a 63-question interview schedule for this purpose and administered the schedule to the mothers of 60 fifth-grade children in a medium-sized Midwestern com-

this type and educational achievement has repeatedly been found to be low or, at most, rather moderate. Several investigators have stressed that while a child's social-class placement is generally related to his intellectual and educational performance, usually there is also substantial variation in the performance of children from the same class (Havighurst and Janke 1944, Gross 1959). Kahl observed that the use of such general indices had obscured many important differences among environments. This is illustrated by a study of Boston families of lower middle-class socio-economic status. Kahl demonstrated that families with aspirations for "getting ahead" exerted more pressure for their sons to do well academically and to attend college than families of the same status who were contented with merely "getting by." He found that for a group of equally intelligent boys, differences in parental pressure explained differences in the boys' educational aspirations far more adequately did than their social status (Kahl 1953:201).

Dave applied Bloom's research strategy in his own comprehensive investigation of environmental correlates of educational achievement. He first identified those aspects of the total environment likely to constitute the most effective environment for promoting educational achievement among fifth-grade students. He limited his attention to the educational environment of the home, excluding that of the school and of the community, on the assumption the home environment produced not only the first, but the "most insistent and perhaps most subtle influence on the educational development of the child" (Dave 1965:8–9). In support of this assumption, Bloom observed that the home environment was likely to exert a more powerful influence on educational achievement in the early school years than the typical school environment (Bloom 1964:121–22).

Dave emphasized six aspects of "process" in the home deemed likely to exert the most direct influence on educational achievement. These aspects, or "process variables", he derived from the theoretical and research literature on achievement in the fields of motivation, child guidance, learning, and socialization. They include: (1) Achievement press; (2) Language models in the home; (3) Academic guidance; (4) Activeness of the family; (5) Intellectuality in the home; and (6) Work habits emphasized (Dave 1965:13). Each aspect was further defined in terms of several specific characteristics. For example, "Achievement press" was more precisely defined as the actual educational attainment of parents, relatives, and friends; parents' aspirations for themselves and for the education of the child; their interest in academic activities, their standards of reward for the child's educational attainment; their knowledge of his educational progress; and their preparation and planning for his attainment of their educational goals. These and 14 other "process characteristics" were operationalized in the 63-item interview schedule developed by Wolf. Environmental data were collected through home interviews and homes were sub-

sequently rated on the six process variables and on total educational environment in the manner described for the Wolf study.

Systematic analysis of the relations between Dave's measure of educational environment and children's performance on the Metropolitan Achievement Test produced several noteworthy results:

(1) A correlation of +.80 between total scores for educational environment and achievement demonstrates that Dave's environmental measure has substantial validity as a predictor of actual educational achievement in his sample.

(2) Correlations between individual process variables and total achievement (ranging from +.66 to +.75) are also quite substantial. It is evident that the total score for overall educational environment predicts total achievement only slightly more accurately than do the scores for several individual process variables. The two process variables most highly correlated with total achievement (+.75 and +.74, respectively) are "Activeness of the family," representing the extent and content of parent-child activities and the family's educationally oriented use of television, books and other reading materials, and other media; and "Achievement press," described earlier. An environmental measure limited to either of these two aspects of family process may predict total educational achievement as effectively as more comprehensive measures, yet reduce the work for the investigator.

(3) When it comes to predicting children's performance in specific subject-areas of achievement, the data show that certain environmental variables are more important than others for specific subjects. For example, of the six process variables, "Achievement press" is the single highest correlate of achievement in Word Knowledge and Reading; "Activeness of the family" is the highest correlate of Language achievement; and "Intellectuality in the home" is the highest correlate of Arithmetic Computation. The evidence suggests that a fairly comprehensive measure of environment will be advantageous for predicting educational achievement in a variety of specific subjects. The measure should probably include at least one environmental process variable thought to have a direct influence on skill-development in each of the subject areas.

There is some indication that educational achievement may be predicted most accurately from a combination of information on process and status characteristics of the home environment. Dave's total score for educational environment predicted total achievement at a significantly higher level than did any one of three indices of environmental status, namely: indices of social class, father's occupation, and parents' educational attainment. However, the level of prediction was significantly enhanced when the total score for educa-

tional environment was combined with each of the three indices of environmental status.

Dave's findings raise a number of interesting questions for further study. It is evident that his measure of educational environment for academic achievement can be refined considerably and that the type of refinement most appropriate will depend upon the nature and scope of the achievement to be predicted. This appears to be a very fruitful area of research. Since process characteristics of an environment are largely subject to manipulation, information from studies of this type can potentially be used for developing programs to help overcome any environmental deficiencies identified. In some cases it may be possible to modify characteristics of the home environment. In other lementary programs may be more readily carried out by the school gencies.

The Present Study

The primary objective of the present study is to identify the environmental correlates of several distinct types of intellectual ability among Filipino grade-school children. This study is the first to apply Bloom's approach to environmental research in a Philippine setting. The full research sample consists of 524 sixth-grade children enrolled in five private elementary schools in Manila and Quezon City. A relatively privileged group was purposely chosen to maximize the general breadth of background experience from exposure to mass media, travel, and other extraschool educational opportunities.

The present limited analysis is designed to identify environmental correlates of academic achievement for one portion of the full research sample, a group of 35 boys. These boys were randomly selected for home study from the full research sample at one school. This brief introduction to the research data further demonstrates the productivity of Bloom's approach. It also provides illustrative examples of the differences in specific environment-behavioral correlates which should be anticipated among different populations.

The research sample

The 35 boys included in this analysis were selected in such a way that their home environments and educational achievement may be assumed to be representative of these characteristics in their entire sixth-grade class of 230 during academic year 1968–69. In this regard, there is little reason to believe that the 35 boys are not also representative of preceding and succeeding classes at the same school. The school in question is operated by a Roman Catholic religious order but is staffed almost entirely by lay teachers. It has a well-deserved reputation for demanding a high level of scholastic effort and achievement.

Measures of children's ability and achievement

The Kuhlmann-Anderson Test, Seventh Edition, Booklet D, was administered to the children during the first semester of academic year 1968–69. The test was administered by a well-qualified psychologist in the boys' regular classrooms. At the time of testing, the mean age of the boys was 12 years, one month, with a range from 11 years, three months to 13 years, seven months. The mean total raw score for intelligence[3] is 116.71, with a standard deviation of 13.59.[4]

Two measures of educational achievement are used in the present analysis. Both are average grades derived from school records. The first measure of achievement is the average grade in Reading and Phonics for the first semester of sixth grade. This is the semester in which the intelligence test was given. Reading and Phonics was selected as the major subject most likely to be directly influenced by home environment. This choice was influenced by Dave's finding (1965) that Word Knowledge and Reading were the two subjects most highly correlated (+.77) with his total score for educational environment. The boys' mean percentage score in Reading and Phonics is 82.71. The standard deviation is 3.81.

The second measure of educational achievement is more comprehensive than the first both in terms of the subject matter and period of study it represents. This is the boys' seventh-grade final average for performance in five major subjects: Language and Spelling, Reading and Phonics, Arithmetic, Science, and Pilipino. The boys' mean seventh-grade average (in percentage form) is 83.44 and the standard deviation is 5.04.

These percentage grades are based upon classwork and performance on regular weekly tests and quarterly examinations. At the school in question quarterly examinations are standardized and uniform standards of evaluation are applied in marking all sections of a given grade level. The extent of subject mastery represented by given percentage grades follows:

100–92	Superior
91–83	High average
82–76	Above average
75	Passing
74 and below	Unsatisfactory, failing[5]

Measures of home environment

Information on home environment was obtained from the boys' mothers during the summer following school year 1968–69 and the early months of school year 1969–70. The boys were beginning seventh grade at this time.

Mothers were initially contacted by letter by the principal of their sons' school and requested to participate in the study. They were subsequently contacted by telephone and, after indicating their willingness to participate, were visited by a trained staff interviewer and given a questionnaire to complete at their leisure. The mothers were requested to leave unanswered any question which seemed too personal. They were assured that as sources of information for the study, they would remain anonymous.

At a later date, after completing the self-administered questionnaire, each mother was interviewed for one or two hours by one of three young women on the interview staff. The interview concerned details of items in the questionnaire and topics involving sensitive issues or value judgments which frequently require probe questions for clarification. Either Tagalog or English was used by the interviewer, depending upon the apparent preference of the interviewee. For the present sample of 35 boys' mothers, 93 per cent of the interviews were conducted in English and 7 per cent in a combination of English and Tagalog.

The questionnaire and supplementary-interview schedule were designed to elicit information on process variables of home environments for two contrasting forms of intellectual ability: cognitive ability of the type measured by traditional intelligence tests, and divergent-production ability thought to be particularly important for creativity (Guilford 1967). The research instruments include a number of items on aspects of home environment relevant to academic achievement, but do not provide the comprehensive coverage of educational environment presented by Dave's overall measure or by any one of his six process variables.

Following are the process characteristics of educational environment whose relationships to academic achievement were investigated. (Each is categorized with the process variable it partially defines in Dave's measure.) All of the characteristics were predicted to have a positive association with achievement:

(1) Aspects of "Achievement press," including the parents' beginning the child's schooling at an early age, the extent of the mother's knowledge of his educational progress, her degree of satisfaction with his grades, and her level of expectation for his present and future educational accomplishments;

(2) "Academic guidance" consisting of parental supervision of homework coupled with encouragement of independent work by the child,

(3) Aspects of "Activeness of the family," including the variety of activities the child shares with each parent and the number of daily meals he ordinarily shares with one or both parents; and

(4) Level of "Intellectuality in the home" as indicated by parental provi-

sion of abundant reading materials and games with educational value and by the parents' and child's time spent reading.

The questionnaire and interview data were rated according to rating scales constructed following a preliminary review of the responses. The scales constructed for items included in the present analysis range from three to eight points. Some scales were objectively scored according to a point system. Where answers were given in numerical form, as in the case of the item on number of educational or "thought-provoking" games given the child in the past two years, the number was regarded as the score.

All the scales were independently scored by two trained coders. One measure of the reliability of the ratings is given by the percentage of cases in which the two raters were in perfect agreement and the percentage of cases with one and with more than one point differences. Perfect agreement ranged from 73 to 88 per cent of the cases and agreement within one point ranged from 12 to 26 per cent of the cases for those 14 items of environmental process data reported here.

Several indicators of nonprocess aspects of the home environment were also utilized. The "family complex," persons besides parents who "are a part of the family environment and may, and ordinarily do, play a role in influencing the child's behavior" (Bossard and Ball 1966:108) is grossly represented by two variables: the absolute number of household residents and the child's ordinal position. In calculating number of household residents, all family members, servants, boarders, and other persons regularly residing in the house for at least one year prior to and up to the time of the interview were counted. Longtime household residents who transferred elsewhere within the year immediately preceding the interview were also counted. The child's ordinal position was calculated on the basis of the number of full siblings living at the time of the interview. Coder agreement for the two family complex variables was perfect in 95 and 98 per cent of the cases.

Two aspects of environmental status are included in the present analyses, parents' educational attainment and economic well-being. An index of parents' educational attainment was based on the highest course or degree completed by both parents. Rater agreement was perfect in 93 per cent of the cases for this variable. No information on family income was solicited and no accurate index of economic well-being based on other types of information is yet available to distinguish among families at the relatively privileged level represented by this sample. In lieu of a more precise indicator, rough estimates of minimum annual income of husband and wife were based on their detailed occupational data.[6] For those families residing in certain well-demarcated residential areas, the data on occupation were supplemented by information on housing expenses. Minimum income estimates for 25 of the 35 families

in the sample were confirmed by independent raters. Only the estimates for sixteen cases, eight at the upper end (minimum incomes above ₱50,000) and eight at the lower end (minimum incomes below ₱20,000) of the full range occurring are used here. A second indicator of economic status is a rating of home furnishings based on observation recorded at the time of the home interview.[7] The independent ratings were in perfect agreement in 83 per cent of the cases and within one point of perfect agreement in the remaining 17 per cent of the cases.

Results

Correlations between individual characteristics of home environment and the two criterion measures of educational achievement are reported in Table 1. Of the 15 process characteristics, eight were found to be significantly associated with either or both measures of achievement. The two highest environmental correlates of achievement are found among those characteristics thought to represent "Achievement press." These are the grades the mother expects her child to earn and her degree of satisfaction with his past academic performance. In contrast, the other measure of the mother's educational aspiration for her son, the degree she expects him to attain in the future is not significantly associated with achievement. Moreover, the trend of association for this measure of aspiration—as for the measure of the mother's detailed knowledge of her child's current academic progress—is negative.

Other significant environmental correlates of achievement among the process characteristics are: entering preschool at an early age; parental supervision and encouragement of independent work on home assignments; the number of daily meals the child ordinarily shares with his parents; the variety of activities he shares with his mother; and the usual amount of time he spends reading. These variables show substantially lower relations with achievement than do mothers' expected grades and satisfaction with the child's past academic performance.

None of the family complex or environmental status characteristics listed in Table 1 are significantly associated with achievement. There is a marked, but statistically nonsignificant, tendency for boys from households with a larger number of residents to earn relatively low grades. Differences between the average achievement scores of the boys whose parents were at the upper and lower ends of the estimated income scale were found to be nonsignificant.[8]

Intercorrelations among the environmental variables are presented in Table 2. The various aspects of "Achievement press" are not highly associated with each other. However, the mothers' satisfaction with their sons' past academic performance is significantly correlated with the grades they expect the boys

to earn. Satisfaction is also significantly associated with homework guidance and with the boys' having entered school at an early age. The degree the mothers would like their sons to attain in the future is unrelated to any of

Table 1

Correlations of environmental variables with achievement criteria (N = 35).

Environmental variables	*Mean*	*Standard deviation*	*Achievement criteria*	
			Reading and Phonics	*Grade Seven Average*
Achievement press				
Satisfaction with grades	2.57	.88	.72**	.65**
Expected grades	1.71	.62	.56**	.65**
Expected degree	2.86	.85	-.14	-.02
Knowledge of progress	3.09	.74	-.17	-.15
Early entering age	3.17	.66	.35*	.33
Academic guidance				
Homework assistance	1.91	.92	.34*	.35*
Activeness of the family				
Meals with parents	2.03	.79	.48**	.37*
Activities with father	2.23	.66		
Activities with mother	2.49	1.07	.40*	.33
Intellectuality in the home				
Thought-provoking games	4.34	2.39	.23	.37*
Child's reading materials	3.77	1.21	.21	.11
Child's reading	1.60	.74	.31	.43*
Father's reading	2.97	.74	-.19	-.12
Mother's reading	2.77	.64	-.02	-.02
Family complex				
Ordinal position	2.86	1.69		
Household residents	5.31	2.80	-.33	-.27
Family status				
Parents' education	3.00	1.02	-.06	.01
Home furnishings	1.71	.61	-.14	-.19

*Significant at the 5 per cent level.

**Significant at the 1 per cent level.

Table 2
Intercorrelations among the environmental variables (N = 35)

Environmental variables	*EG*	*ED*	*KP*	*EA*	*HA*	*MP*	*AF*	*AM*	*TG*	*RM*	*CR*	*FR*	*MR*	*OP*	*HR*	*PE*	*HF*
Achievement press																	
Satisfaction with grades †	.41*	-.16	-.03	.42*	.49**	.52**	.06	.44**	.07	.12	.36*	-.19	-.12	-.23	-.13	-.03	-.17
Expected grades †		.14	.05	.26	.16	.43*	.13	.34*	.38*	.02	.19	-.14	-.16	-.20	-.23	.00	-.14
Expected degree †			.06	.00	-.05	-.03	-.08	.04	.00	.16	.09	.22	.00	.06	-.01	.60**	.25
Knowledge of Progress †				.20	-.03	.14	-.17	-.27	.09	.08	-.04	.11	-.08	.30	.30	.03	.11
Early entering age †					.26	.27	-.01	.33	.42*	.30	.38*	-.22	.09	-.10	.11	.08	-.02
Academic guidance																	
Homework assistance †						.24	-.05	.31	.08	.24	.46**	.08	.06	.08	-.21	.03	-.09
Activeness of the family																	
Meals with parents †								.47**	.13	.37*	.32	-.19	-.04	-.06	-.24	.07	-.34*
Activities with father									-.03	.30	-.10	-.21	-.25	-.11	-.34*	-.17	-.36*
Activities with mother †									.33	.42*	.21	-.01	.08	-.28	-.26	.02	-.13
Intellectuality in the home																	
Thought-provoking games †										.03	.19	.13	.16	-.12	-.15	-.03	.08
Child's reading materials †											.35*	.00	.08	.10	-.07	.16	-.01
Child's reading †												.03	-.01	.02	-.26	.11	-.06
Father's reading													.29	.31	.00	.30	.29
Mother's reading														.28	.24	.00	.27
Family complex																	
Ordinal position															.24	.18	.26
Household residents																.02	.25
Family status																	
Parents' education																	.32
Home furnishings																	

*Significant at the 5 per cent level.

**Significant at the 1 per cent level.

†Included in the full set of predictors for multiple-correlation analysis.

the other process variables investigated, but correlates substantially with the index score representing their own and their husbands' highest educational attainment.

There is a moderate degree of association between the cluster of related characteristics representing "Achievement press" and certain aspects of the child's involvement in activities with his parents and with parental provision for intellectual stimulation. Most notably, mothers who expect their sons to earn higher grades tend to share more activities with the boy and provide him with more thought-provoking games. Furthermore, mothers who are more satisfied with their son's past academic performance also tend to share more activities with him, and parents who began their son's schooling at an early age also tend to have provided him with more thought-provoking games in recent years.

A cluster of moderately associated variables representing parent-child interaction and parental provision for intellectual stimulation can be identified. Boys who more frequently share meals with one or both parents also tend to share more activities with their mothers. These two indices of increased parent-child interaction are, in turn, both positively associated with the size of the child's personal library of reading materials.

Multiple-correlation analysis was carried out at the computer center of the University of the Philippines.[9] The coefficient of multiple correlation between a combination of 11 environmental process variables (identified in Tables 1 and 2)[10] and Reading and Phonics and Seventh-Grade Average, respectively, are +.84 and +.86. This represents a very substantial level of prediction—a level higher than that which Dave obtained using a far more comprehensive measure of educational environment. Mothers' satisfaction with their sons' past academic achievement and the grades they expect the boys to earn are the first and second most important predictors among the 11 variables utilized.

Further multiple correlations were computed to determine whether the level of prediction would be improved by adding information on number of household residents, parents' educational attainment, or the child's intelligence to the full set of 11 environmental process variables. The multiple correlations were not significantly increased by adding any of these three non-process variables (Table 3).[11]

Finally, three process variables assumed to be more indicative of actual parent-child interaction and parental stimulation than of parent reaction to past academic performance were selected. Each of these variables—homework guidance, meals shared with parents, and provision of thought-provoking games—is moderately associated with the achievement criteria. The intercorrelations among the three variables are all positive, but nonsignificant. Coefficients of multiple correlation between the set of three process variables and both achievement scores are +.55. While this represents a highly signifi-

cant degree of association, it is significantly lower than that obtained using the full set of 11 process variables. Among the three environmental variables, meals shared with parents is the most important predictor of achievement in Reading and Phonics, while parental provision of thought-provoking games is the preeminent predictor of Seventh Grade Average. The level of prediction is not significantly improved by adding information on number of household residents or parents' educational attainment. However, multiple correlations of +.68 and +.66 are obtained when the child's intelligence score is used in combination with the set of three process variables. These latter coefficients are significantly higher than those obtained using only the three parent-child interaction variables, but the level of prediction remains significantly lower than that achieved with the full set of 11 process variables.

The coefficients of multiple correlation obtained with the various combinations of predictor variables mentioned above are summarized in Table 3.

The multiple correlations obtained for the present small sample of 35 boys must be considered as upward-biased estimates of the multiple correlations which would be expected in the entire population of boys represented by the sample. A more realistic estimate of the probable population values of the obtained coefficients was obtained by applying a correction formula.[12] The resulting estimates for the full set (11-variable), reduced set (3-variable), and reduced set of process variables supplemented by the boys' intelligence scores are as follow:

Environmental variables	*Probable population values of multiple correlations with Reading and Phonics and Seventh-Grade Average*	
Full set	.76*	.79**
Reduced set	.49*	.49*
Reduced set plus intelligence	.62**	.61**

*Significant at the 5 per cent level and **significant at the 1 per cent level.

As a general rule, the correction makes the greatest difference where the size of the sample is small and the number of predictor variables is relatively large. In the present case, the percentage of variance in the two achievement criteria associated with the full set of predictors is reduced substantially to 58 per cent and 62 per cent from the original estimates of 70 per cent and 40 per cent, respectively.[13] The drop in percentage of achievement variance associated with the reduced set of three predictors is less marked: from 31

Table 3

Multiple correlations of environmental variables with achievement criteria.

Environmental variables	Achievement criteria			
	Reading and Phonics		Seventh Grade Average	
	R	$R^2 \times 100$[a]	R	$R^2 \times 100$
11 process variables (full set)	.84**	70.3%	.86**	74.4%
Full set plus household residents	.85**	72.2%	.86**	74.4%
Full set plus parents' education	.84**	70.3%	.86**	74.6%
Full set plus child's intelligence	.84**	71.3%	.86**	74.4%
3 process variables (reduced set)	.55*	30.5%	.55**	30.4%
Reduced set plus household residents	.58*	33.2%	.56*	31.5%
Reduced set plus parents' education	.56*	31.3%	.55*	30.4%
Reduced set plus child's intelligence	.68**	45.8%	.66**	44.2%

[a]This figure indicates the percentage of variance in the achievement score that is associated with, or predicted by, the environmental variables combined with the regression weights used. The remaining percentage of the variance is still to be accounted for.

*Significant at the 5 per cent level.

**Significant at the 1 per cent level.

per cent to a corrected estimate of 24 per cent. Likewise, the corrected estimate of achievement variance associated with the reduced set of predictors and intelligence drops only from 45 to 38 per cent.

Résumé

For clarification of our findings, we will consider in greater detail each of the nine significant correlates of achievement reported earlier. It will be recalled that each of these characteristics was categorized under the "process variable" of which it was a part in the Dave study. Thus under Dave's first

variable, "Achievement press," we placed these three significant factors: (1) the child's early school entrance; (2) the mother's degree of satisfaction with his grades; and (3) the grades she expects him to earn. Under Dave's "Activeness of the family," significant correlates were two: (1) the variety of activities the child participates in with his mother; and (2) the number of daily meals he ordinarily shares with at least one parent. Under "Intellectuality in the home," we found these factors significant: (1) parental provision of thought-provoking games, and (2) the child's time spent reading. Finally, without further subcategories, we have Dave's "Academic guidance," or, more specifically, parental supervision of homework coupled with the encouragement of independent work by the child.

In the following paragraphs we will consider first the significant correlates of achievement categorized under "Achievement press." We will then turn to those representing "Academic guidance," "Activeness of the family," and "Intellectuality in the home."

Achievement press. The three significant correlates of achievement representing this variable were found to be significantly interrelated. The mothers of boys who entered school early tend to be satisfied with their sons' grades. Degree of satisfaction, in turn, tends to be higher among those mothers who expect their sons to earn relatively high grades.

Boys who began preschool or kindergarten at age three or four (31 per cent) tend to receive higher grades in Reading and Phonics at the sixth-grade level than to those who first entered school at age five (54 per cent) or at age six or seven (14 per cent). The same parents who began their son's schooling earlier also tend to have provided him with a larger number of thought-provoking games in recent years. Whatever their motivation, by these two measures these parents have exposed their sons to more extensive formal training and to more resources for informal intellectual stimulation than have the parents of boys receiving lower grades.

A mother's satisfaction with her son's academic progress was found to be the highest single correlate of the boy's actual grades. Most mothers reacted positively. One out of 10 (11 per cent) was very pleased and an additional one of every two (49 per cent) thought that her son's grades were "all right" or "good enough." On the negative side, one of every four mothers (25 per cent) had some reservations about her son's progress and one of seven (14 per cent) was definitely disappointed. This characteristic is also associated with measures of academic guidance, family activity, and the child's interest in reading. Briefly, those boys whose mothers were very pleased or satisfied with their grades tend to work independently on their homework, share several daily meals with their parents, participate in a variety of activities with their mothers, and spend some time reading at home every day.

The grades mothers expect their sons to earn correspond closely with the categories of "superior," "high average," and "above average" as defined by school authorities. Nine per cent of the boys are expected to attain superior grades, along with such tokens of recognition as academic honors and medals. One-half (54 per cent) are expected to earn high average marks, and the remaining group, a sizeable 37 per cent, are expected to achieve at a level above average. These expectations, like the mother's satisfaction with past grades, are related to several aspects of family activity and parental provision for the child's intellectual stimulation. Boys whose mothers expect them to earn higher grades tend to share more daily meals with their parents, participate in a greater variety of activities with their mothers, and have received a greater number of thought-provoking games in the two years preceding the interview.

Academic guidance. Boys who complete their homework with no assistance or with limited supervisory assistance from others tend to receive higher grades than boys who regularly request and receive as much assistance as their parents feel capable of giving. These same boys spend a greater amount of time reading at home than their lower achieving and more highly assisted peers.

Both the child's tendency to ask for help with his homework and his parent's mode of response influence this aspect of guidance. A few boys (9 per cent) are reported to do their homework entirely on their own, while the majority of boys (54 per cent) do ask help, most of them regularly. The mothers of the latter respond by helping in some way, but specify pointedly that they do not do all the work for their son. Rather, they supervise his work but require that he complete it independently. The remaining boys, a sizeable 37 per cent, tend to ask for homework assistance regularly and to receive as much help as their mothers feel they are capable of giving. The mothers of this last group of boys sometimes refer their sons to other adults they consider better qualified to help.

Activeness of the family. Two aspects of this general process variable were significantly associated with achievement. Both aspects, the variety of activities a boy shares with his mother and the number of daily meals he ordinarily shares with his parents, are also related to his mother's satisfaction with his grades, to the grades she expects him to earn, and to the amount of time he spends reading at home.

Supplementary data show that all but one mother have at least one leisure time interest. In addition, three-fourths of the mothers (74 per cent) have at least one hobby or practice some creative talent or special skill. One of four boys (23 per cent) was said not to participate in any leisure-time activity with his mother. The remaining three out of four boys share from one to three or

more of their mothers' activities. The specific types of activity shared by each mother and son have not been considered.

Those boys who participate in a greater number of activities with their mothers also tend to eat with one or both of their parents more often. At one extreme, roughly one-third of the boys (29 per cent) eat with a parent only occasionally, or at most, once a day. At the other extreme, one-third (31 per cent) regularly eat two, and often three, meals a day with one or both parents. The remaining boys (40 per cent) share meals with a parent once, or sometimes twice, a day.

Intellectuality of the home. Two of the characteristics categorized under this general variable are significantly correlated with Seventh Grade Average, but not with Reading and Phonics. These are the number of thought-provoking games given the child in the two years preceding the interview and the amount of time the child spends reading at home. Both characteristics are significantly related to several measures of "Achievement press." The child's reading time is also associated with his tendency to do his homework independently.

Approximately one of three (14 per cent) boys received two or fewer thought-provoking games. Another one-third (17 per cent) received three or four, and one-third (34 per cent) received from five to seven. Only those games which demand thought and some form of verbal or nonverbal intellectual skill, as opposed to those based primarily on physical dexterity or chance, were counted. Among the most frequently mentioned games of the former type were chess, monopoly, jigsaw puzzles, crossword puzzles, scrabble, and spill-and-spell.

As a group, the boys spend relatively little time reading at home. A majority (57 per cent) do no reading at home. Roughly one of four boys reads for less than one hour a day, while a small number (14 per cent) read as much as one to four hours a day. Parental provision of intellectually stimulating games is not significantly associated with this measure of the child's self-stimulation. However, another measure of parental provision is related to the child's reading time. The more extensive the boy's personal library of books, comics, and magazines, the more time he tends to spend reading at home.

We may summarize these findings regarding specific correlates of achievement by making just six general statements. The reader is cautioned that the following generalizations are *not*–repeat, *not*–true of *all* high achievers in the population we studied. Further, they are not true *exclusively* of the high achievers. But they do reflect statistically significant trends.

(1) Higher achievers at the sixth and seventh grade levels tend to have entered preschool or kindergarten at age three or four and, thus, to have had a longer exposure to formal education than lower achievers

have had. In other words, it appears that children who start their schooling at age three or four do better in school than those who start later.

(2) In the two years preceding the interview, roughly corresponding to the boy's grade-five and grade-six years, higher achievers tend to have received more thought-provoking games than lower achievers. That is, having thought-provoking games is related to high achievement in school.

(3) Higher achievers also tend to have had more interaction with their parents than have lower achievers. One indication of this tendency is that the higher achievers more frequently share meals with one or both parents. Another is that they participate in a greater variety of activities with their mothers than do the lower achievers.

(4) Compared with lower achievers, higher achievers tend to spend a greater amount of time reading at home.

(5) Higher achievers tend either to do their homework entirely independently or to receive only partial, supervisory assistance from their parents; lower achievers tend to ask and regularly receive as much help as their parents are able to give.

(6) The mothers of higher achievers tend to be well satisfied with their sons' past grades and to expect them to earn comparably high grades—superior or high average—in the future. In contrast, the mothers of lower achievers tend to be dissatisfied with their sons' past performance and to expect that their future grades will be "average."[15]

Discussion

We will discuss the implications of these findings from two perspectives. First, from the perspective of the researcher, we will consider the present status and future direction of research on home environment for educational achievement. Second, from the perspective of interested parents and educators, we will deal with some of the practical implications of this study for improving or supplementing the educational stimulation provided in the home.

Home environment for educational achievement. Just as Werner's study (1969) of intellectual environment complemented the earlier, more comprehensive work of Wolf (1964), the present study complements that of Dave and further demonstrates the productivity of the research strategy which they share. However, this study differs from Dave's in important respects. Dave's sample of American families represents the full range of social classes present in a medium-sized Midwestern community in the United States. In contrast, our sample is composed of Filipino families from an occupationally and

educationally elite group residing in the largest urban center in the Philippines.[16] The characteristics measured in the two studies also differ in three important respects: (a) the nature of the criteria of achievement, (b) the scope of the environmental data, and (c) the breadth of the data-base underlying each variable.[17]

Despite these differences, both this and the Dave study provide supportive evidence for three important generalizations:

(1) Educational achievement—whether measured by a standardized test of achievement or by teachers' grades for classroom performance—can be predicted with a fairly high degree of accuracy from data on the educational environment of the home.

(2) Educational achievement of both types can be predicted with significantly greater accuracy from data on what parents *do* in the home than from indices of environmental status such as parents' educational attainment.

(3) Overall educational achievement of both types can be estimated as well from data on relatively limited aspects of home environment as from Dave's comprehensive measure.

Further research is needed to test the applicability of these generalizations to other populations.

In some respects the results of the two studies are only in partial agreement. One case in point involves indices of environmental status. In both studies educational process variables predict achievement at a significantly higher level than do indices of environmental status such as parents' educational attainment. However, contrary to Dave's findings, we found no indication that school grades can be predicted more accurately from a combination of environmental process and status characteristics than from process data alone. Additional research is needed to determine the circumstances under which specific status characteristics can be expected to improve the prediction of achievement when combined with specific measures of home environment. Another task remaining is to identify the conditions under which the use of a measure of the child's intelligence will improve the prediction of his academic achievement.

In addition to these questions there are a number of tantalizing theoretical problems which may be attacked using the method developed by Wolf and Dave or adaptations of that method. Wolf summarized these problems in the following four questions: (a) "How stable is the environment"? (b) "What are the conditions which make for stability in an environment?" (c) "How can one assess the variety of environments affecting the child as he grows

older?" and (d) "What are the points when environmental intervention will have the greatest likelihood for success?" (Wolf 1964:104). Obviously, a longitudinal approach will be needed to answer questions such as these. Moreover, as Bloom has stressed (1964), we will probably need to supplement the quantitative evidence provided by Wolf and Dave's method with direct observation of ongoing interactions between the individual and important features of his environment.

When viewed in the context of the broad theoretical problems still awaitting solution, this study is obviously of limited significance. Nevertheless,it provides an initial basis for generalizing certain important results of Dave's study to another population and for establishing what variations in the relationship of certain environmental and achievement data may be anticipated. The characteristics of environment investigated here are obviously *not* the only nor even the most likely predictors of academic achievement in the population we studied. The following guidelines are suggested to maximize the theoretical and practical implications of future studies along these same lines:

(1) Longitudinal investigation should be begun at the time the children enter preparatory school.[18] Retrospective data on intellectual stimulation during the pre-prep years should be collected immediately and information on achievement and home environment should be collected each year for the duration of the study.

(2) Achievement data should be collected for individual subjects as well as for overall academic performance.

(3) Interview questions stressing what parents and other persons in the home *do* with the child should be supplemented by observational data on actual adult-child interaction.[19]

Such an investigation, if carried out over a period of from five to seven years, should provide some answers to several of the theoretical questions Wolf has raised. Specifically, they should indicate the following:

(1) The stability of certain environmental characteristics over the period covered by the investigation;

(2) The relationship of these characteristics *and* of changes in them to overall achievement and achievement in specific subjects over this period; and

(3) The period or periods in which overall achievement and achievement in specific subjects is affected most by the particular environmental characteristics.

Practical implications for parents and educators

Environmental characteristics which represents processes of parent-child interaction can, at least potentially, be modified. Thus, the results of studies like this one can give useful information about ways of overcoming the environmental deficiencies discovered among students. For example, Wolf (1964) suggested that "if the homes which students come from are found to be deficient in according rewards for academic achievement, the school should undertake to develop a greater system of rewards for such accomplishments, and perhaps, begin to work in concert with the home in insuring that academic achievement is acknowledged and rewarded" (Wolf 1964:104).

The following important limitations must be kept in mind in deriving practical implications from our results:

(1) We have demonstrated that certain environmental characteristics are *significantly associated* with school grades, but *not* that the characteristics have a simple *cause-and-effect* relationship with the grades.

(2) We have investigated very limited aspects of home environment and *not* necessarily those which may have the greatest impact on educational achievement.

In brief, our data suggest several things that adults may do to stimulate and improve achievement among children in schools such as the one we studied, but they do *not* offer any assurance that these activities will *produce* high-achieving students.

Three practical suggestions appear to be warranted by the findings:

(1) Enrolling children in nursery or preschool at three or four years clearly does not detract from their overall academic performance in later years. On the contrary, it may actually develop skills that will significantly improve achievement in some subjects. The advantages that may accrue to children who attend a school prior to beginning prep and first grade must be weighed against the added burden of expense for any given family. Alternatively, parents or other persons might provide special training at home during a child's preschool years. This kind of arrangement would probably enhance his later *academic* performance as much as, or even more than, formal training in a nursery or preschool.

(2) Parents should assist their children with homework by providing work facilities, reference materials, regular supervision and continuing encouragement. They should *not* succumb to the temptation—probably strongest among parents of low-achieving children—to do the work themselves. Homework assignments are designed to provide extra

practice on materials covered in class and to permit the teacher to assess the children's mastery of old materials before moving on to new ones. Thus, by doing the work themselves, parents do their children a double disservice. They not only give the teacher the false impression that the lesson has already been mastered, but also remove the children's opportunity to practice the *very* thing their grades will be based upon—self-reliant solution of familiar problems.

(3) Parents should make a special effort to spend time with their children sharing a variety of activities such as hobbies, sports, creative work, music, and the like. In other words, children may benefit academically from stimulating forms of contact with their parents over and above the parents' direct efforts to give academic guidance related to homework or preparation for examinations. Those parents who are unable to find the time for active, non-academic involvement with their children might be well advised to provide for the children, directly or through the school, other intellectually stimulating experiences. This might be done through participation in extracurricular activities at the school, through enrollment in special courses, or through contacts with educated and creative relatives, friends, or tutors. The corollary of this advice to parents is, of course, a reminder to educators that they make special provision for children known to have little contact with their parents or other stimulating adults at home.

Notes

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1. The major statistical technique employed in all analyses reported here is the Pearson product-moment correlation. The correlation coefficient, or "*r*," is an index number indicating degree and direction of relation between the same individuals' scores on two different measures. The coefficient may vary from -1.00, for a perfect negative relation; through 0, indicating that no relation exists; to +1.00, for a perfect positive relation. Positive correlations are found when the same persons who score high on one measure also score high on the other *and* the same persons who score low on one measure also score low on the other. Negative correlations are found when the same persons who score high on one measure have low scores on the second measure.

2. The Kuhlmann-Anderson Test is a verbal measure of general intelligence requiring facility in adapting to new situations, and in dealing with concepts, symbols, and relationships.

3. A person's "raw score" is a direct numerical report of his test performance. In the present case, it is the total number of questions answered correctly on the Kuhlmann-Anderson Test. Raw scores can be converted into derived scores (such as intelligence quotients) which indicate the individual's performance relative to a normative group. This was *not* done here because no norms of performance on the Kuhlmann-Anderson Test are available as yet for Filipino children.

The "mean" score, of course, is the arithmetic average of all scores in a group. The "standard deviation", in precise terms, is "the square root of the arithmetic mean of the squared deviations of measurements from their mean" (Guilford 1965:72–73). More simply, it indicates the degree of dispersion of all scores in a group, or distribution of scores. About two-thirds of the scores in one distribution fall within the range from one standard deviation below the mean to one standard deviation above the mean.

4. We refer here to standardization of procedure. All sections are tested with the same materials, following fixed procedures. The method of scoring is also fixed.

5. This scale is taken from the students' handbook published by the school.

6. Two published sources were used to estimate the likely range of annual income of men and women in specific occupations. These are: *Wage and Salary Survey in the Philippines 1969* and *Occupational Groups, Classes, and Salary Ranges of the Classification and Compensation Plans,* both published by the Wage and Position Classification Office, Budget Commission, Philippines. In addition, data on the socioeconomic status of Ateneo students (Lynch 1970) was consulted.

Since there is considerable variation in salary for any given position, estimates derived from these sources were confirmed by independent estimates made by individuals who have access to personal knowledge of salary scales in specific establishments.

7. The three-point rating scale for home furnishings was adapted from a scale formerly used for classifying homes by Robot Statistics, Manila. At one extreme are homes with furniture adequate for the family, but not expensive, and with few of the less expensive appliances and/or luxury accessories. At the other extreme are homes with first-class, expensive furniture; most or all luxury accessories such as a car, refrigerator, piano, TV, kitchen range, and the like, *plus* additional luxury items clearly indicating wealth. Among the items in this last category are a private swimming pool, expensive and elaborate landscaping, expensive antiques and oil paintings, and the like.

8. The *t* technique for testing differences between independent means for small samples was used to ascertain significance in the latter case. The *ts* of .566 and .728 were obtained for comparisons of achievement of boys from the upper and lower income groups in Reading and Phonics and Seventh Grade Average, respectively.

9. Multiple-correlation analysis produces a coefficient of multiple correlation, or "*R*," which indicates the strength of the relationship between one measure and two or more other measures taken together. Like the simple *r* which expresses the degree of

relationship between two measures, the R may vary from 0 through 1.00. An R of 0 indicates that no relation exists between the single "dependent" measure and group of "independent" measures, while an R of 1.00 indicates that the single "dependent" measure is fully accounted for, or perfectly predicted, by the group of "independent" measures.

10. Since the following variables were not significantly associated with the criteria of achievement and had little meaningful association with other environmental variables, they were excluded from further analysis: the variety of activities the child shares with his father, the father's and mother's reading time, the child's ordinal position, and the family's economic status as reflected in their home furnishings. Two process variables were included despite their apparent lack of significant relation with the other environmental variables and achievement criteria. These are the degree the mother expects her son to complete and her knowledge of his current academic progress.

11. A special F test is used to determine whether the multiple R computed with more independent variables is significantly greater than the R computed with a reduced set of variables. See Guilford 1965:403.

12. When multiple-correlation analysis is done for a sample smaller than 100 the multiple R obtained gives an unrealistically high estimate of the true R in the population from which the sample was drawn. A special formula is applied to "shrink" the obtained R to its more probable value within the population. For further details see Guilford 1965:401.

13. One way of interpreting the size and importance of a correlation coefficient is in terms of the value of the coefficient squared. R^2, the "coefficient of multiple determination," tells us the proportion of the *variance*—a single value representing all the individual differences taken from a common reference point (Guilford 1965:76)—in the dependent variable that is accounted for by the independent variables combined with a particular set of weights. For further details, see Guilford 1965:399.

14. The leisure-time activities most frequently mentioned by mothers are cooking and reading (both mentioned by 57 per cent), sewing (49 per cent), doing creative art work (31 per cent), gardening or caring for animals (31 per cent), and assembling or constructing model kits (23 per cent).

15. It should be recalled that the Reading and Phonics mark used as criterion of achievement was one component of the "past grades" the mothers were asked to evaluate. The Seventh Grade Average, on the other hand, represents "future grades" as it was based on academic performance subsequent to the date of the mothers' interview.

16. If parents' salaries were the only source of family income—which is probably *not* the case—23 of the 25 couples (92 per cent) whose joint salaries were estimated would fall above ₱10,000 per year. As of 1965, only 2.6 per cent of all Filipino families and 14.3 per cent of families in Manila and suburbs received more than ₱10,000 per year. (Bureau of the Census and Statistics 1968:5.) Thus, our sample may be said to be an economic elite. Moreover, they are also an educational elite. Sixty-three per cent of the fathers and 31 per cent of the mothers completed courses requiring a minimum of two years of study beyond a four-year college degree. In comparison, as of 1960 1.4 per cent of male Filipinos and .07 per cent of females 25 years old or over had completed five years of college education or more (Bureau of the Census and Statistics 1963:13). The figures for Manila are 6.7 per cent for males and 2.9 per cent for females (Bureau of the Census and Statistics 1962:30–6).

17. Dave's criteria of achievement are performance scores on a standardized test of academic achievement. Ours are teachers' grades for actual classroom performance over periods of one and two semesters, respectively. His variables and the process "characteristics" which they represent are those considered likely to exert the most direct in-

fluence on educational achievement. In contrast, since the present research was designed to study process variables of home environment most relevant to other aspects of intellectual development, our interview data provide a much more limited and less balanced coverage of educational environment than does Dave's overall measure or any one of his process variables. Each of Dave's environmental process variables is itself a composite measure based on mothers' responses to a number of questions assumed to represent one unified dimension of home environment for educational achievement. In contrast, each of the variables described in this paper represents, at most, mothers' responses to several aspects or details of a single question stem.

18. At the school from which the research sample was drawn, and at certain other schools in Manila, preparatory, or "prep," school is the first year of students' formal education. Prep school follows preschool (nursery, kindergarten) and precedes the primary grades.

19. Among the probable environmental correlates of achievement which were *not* investigated, but which should be studied in a population similar to ours are the following: (a) the nature and extent of home training given the child in reading, writing, and memorization *before* he entered school, (b) the content of the child's formal preschool or kindergarten training, (c) the nature and extent of tutoring given the child from the time he began prep to the termination of the study, and (d) the specific provisions made for the child's study such as a quiet, well-lighted place, a comfortable desk and chair, reference materials, and the like.

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Personality Problems and Culture

George M. Guthrie

Studies of culture and personality have been concerned with modal approved behavior patterns and, frequently, with the childhood antecedents of adult behavior shared by all members of a society. Ethnopsychiatric research, by contrast, has compared the incidence of various symptoms and, occasionally, the application of different treatment procedures. But relatively less attention has been given to the relationships between cultural demands and behavior problems. This is unfortunate because it is from this domain—the testing of relationships between society's demands and the individual's difficulties—that the greatest benefit from crosscultural research may come to clinical psychology and social science in general. Mead went to Samoa in 1927 with just such a purpose in mind and found, to her satisfaction, that the adolescents' problems in the industrial world were not an inevitable part of growing up. Very few crosscultural studies since then have explicitly set about to use other cultures as experiments in which theoretically important antecedents are examined to see whether they in fact lead to the behavioral consequences which theories of personality development have postulated.

This failure to treat other societies as natural laboratories is not wholly the responsibility of cultural anthropologists. The most serious impediment to such research probably lies in the theories as they are formulated. In the last analysis, many of the theories are basically untestable because they can account for any finding and because they often have no verifiable implications. Their fault lies in the fact that crucial variables are response-defined i.e. a process is inferred from observations and then the process is invoked to account for later observations. These methods of postulating and manipulating variables, which have produced such notions as unconscious drives, do not give rise to testable implications by which the theory can either be supported or refuted. There is a seductive explanatory value about psychodynamic formulations—very much like the early physicists' concept of ether—but there is little of predictive value if one changes the social context of an activity. Support for my contention lies in the fact that observations of behavior in

exotic settings have led to no changes in psychodynamic theories in the more than half century of their existence.

In contrast to the broad sweep of the foregoing, the present study is very modest. It is our purpose to study the incidence of various personality problems in samples of Filipino and American college students and to try to relate their problems to their cultural contexts. Knowing what we know about American and Filipino cultures, what differences can we expect in the personality problems and interpersonal behavior of respective members?

Culture and personality research in the Philippines has been enumerated by Lawless (1967). Some of the most important themes are social acceptance (Lynch 1970), the extended family (Stoodley 1957), and power (Guthrie and Azores 1968). Bulatao (1963, 1970), Jocano (1969), Hollnsteiner (1970), and many others have contributed to the development of a picture in which an emphasis is placed on social acceptance, family centeredness, striving for economic security, and avoidance of interpersonal hostility. In contrast, Americans place considerable emphasis on achievement, heterosexual attractiveness, and autonomy. The extended-family and multiple-obligation systems of Filipinos contrast sharply with the nuclear family of the United States and the goal of independence and separation from relatives.

In many ways a college education means the same thing to both groups in terms of a socially determined goal of graduation and a means of economic and personal advancement. Students, however, bring their personality patterns and problems to school with them. If cultural factors influence the pattern and incidence of problems, these factors should become most apparent as representatives of the two societies face similar sets of demands. In a sense then we have an experiment with subjects receiving the same treatment—college—and we are observing the effects of individual difference variables—cultures—on the nature and extent of some of the problems they report.

This research also has the practical purpose of suggesting to Filipino counselors how similar their students may be to American students. This issue becomes important because Filipino teachers have been influenced greatly by American theories of personality development, by American books and research, and often by advanced training obtained abroad, principally in the United States. They need to know how different Filipino students are from those of the more documented society and what some of the Filipino cultural factors are which may account for those differences.

The Present Study

This research was concerned with the relative incidence of various personality problems in samples of Filipino and American college students and with

the relationship of these findings to cultural differences in the two societies. We used a Student Attitude Survey (Guthrie, Kirchner, and Rohm 1966) designed to determine base rates of certain problems of American students. The survey, administered in English, inquired about the respondent's experience with a wide range of problems frequently encountered in counseling college students. The survey items are shown in Table 1. The American version had additional items on smoking, drugs, and recreation, items not appropriate for our comparisons.

The survey was administered to 102 male and 114 female students at The Pennsylvania State University, 92 males at the Ateneo de Manila, and 111 females at Maryknoll College, Quezon City, Philippines. All were majors in the liberal arts or education. Thirty per cent of the Ateneo respondents were sophomores and the balance juniors and seniors. More than 90 per cent of the other three groups were juniors and seniors. The Filipino sample's average age was one year lower than the American. Ninety-five per cent of the Filipino sample were Roman Catholic as were 25 per cent of the Americans, while 40 per cent of the American sample were Protestant and 25 per cent Jewish.

There were marked differences in the educational and occupational level of the parents of the subjects studying in their respective institutions. Fifty per cent of the Filipinos' mothers were college graduates, as were 75 per cent of their fathers. The corresponding figures for Americans were 15 per cent for mothers with a college education and 35 per cent for fathers. Paralleling these differences, 93 per cent of the Filipinos had a family head whose occupation was at the business or professional level, while the corresponding figure for the American sample was 62 per cent. The surveys were administered in classes at all three institutions but the students did not sign their names.

Results

The results are presented in Table 1. The chi-square test was used to examine whether the differences were significant, that is, whether they were of sufficient magnitude that we could expect to find them again if we repeated the study. With the number of subjects as large as it was in this study, some differences may reach statistical significance without being of any practical importance. The latter is largely a matter of judgment, determined in part by the social significance of the content of the question. In the presentation which follows we shall group the items, referring to them by their number in the table.

Both Americans and Filipinos indicate that they talk over their personal problems with others, even with nonrelatives. Both groups are somewhat

more reticent with nonrelatives of the opposite sex. This is especially true of Filipino college girls, 40 per cent of whom, in contrast to only 10 per cent of American females, would not discuss personal problems with a man who is not a relative (Items 1, 2, and 3).

Relatively few differences are reported in the domain of social participation and social confidence (Items 5 and 6). More Filipinos say they do not get along with the opposite sex as well as their peers do, something very few Americans admit (Item 7). Filipinos of this age group are more likely to prefer small rather than large social groups (Item 4). Filipinos, male and female, are less likely to report that they feel at ease in the presence of a person who is of higher status than they are (Item 8). The difference is not so great as one might expect from the description of *hiyâ* (shame) in the literature, but our results might be quite different if our sample had been drawn from a middle-class Manila or provincial setting. Similarly, in Item 10 a small majority of both groups say that they take the opportunity to meet someone new. Filipino males are more likely than Americans to report that they are too easily influenced by other people, while women of both groups report that they are more easily influenced than men (Item 9). In contrast to our expectations in light of the importance of his family to a Filipino, we find no difference between the two cultural groups on the relative importance of the opinions of those at home versus those whom he knows on the campus (Item 11).

The two groups report no differences in the happiness of their childhood (Item 12) nor in their present happiness (Item 15) when they compare themselves with their acquaintances. Fewer than one-fifth of the respondents feel they are worse off than others.

Relationships with parents could be expected to be different, particularly in light of the Filipino emphasis on advising and on unqualified acceptance of parental judgments. There is also a theme in Filipino folklore and literature which extols the special role of mothers. In light of all this, it is surprising to find few differences between Filipinos and Americans. Both groups see fathers as having more self-control (Item 13) and both groups tend slightly to feel that they are understood better by the mother than by the father (Item 14). Both groups report that they come from stable marriages (Item 16) and both groups feel that they have the support of both mother and father in their undertakings (Items 17 and 18). Both groups will usually follow the advice of either parent except that Filipinas express more doubts about their mothers' advice (Items 23 and 24). In light of the vaunted solidarity of the Filipino family, it is surprising to find that Filipinos express a slightly (nonsignificant) lower confidence in parental support.

While there are few differences reported in Filipino and American relationships with parents, there are differences in relationships with siblings. These

differences must be interpreted with the knowledge that American families are generally smaller than Filipino families. Filipino college girls report more than their American counterparts that they have been intensely jealous of a sibling (Item 19), even to the extent of entertaining desires to hurt that person (Item 20). In the same vein they report frequently that their mother favors a brother or a sister, while they themselves are their father's favorite (Items 21 and 22).

Consistently, but not significantly, Americans acknowledge that they have on occasion wished they had a different mother or father (Items 25 and 26). Filipinos, more than Americans, report that their father makes the major family decisions, a difference which reaches a significant level with the women.

Neither group feels that they have ever sensed that either their mother or their father did not want them (Items 28 and 29). Only slightly more than half of each of the four groups feel that they can talk over a personal problem with their mothers while only about a third of the Filipinos feel that they can talk over a problem with their father. This contrasts with one-half of American men in the sample who feel they can go to dad—a cultural difference which is significant. Although the difference is not significant statistically, American girls, more than Filipino girls report that they can talk over personal problems with their fathers (Items 30 and 31). Items 32 to 42 deal with the respondents' feelings of personal security and freedom from anxiety and depression. Neither group is a stranger to personal difficulties. In view of the Filipinos' Roman Catholic training, it is surprising to find that thoughts of suicide and actual attempts at suicide are as common among Filipinos as among Americans; and rather common in fact in both groups as a whole, despite the gravity of the act (Items 41 and 42). Almost two-thirds of Filipino males, as contrasted with one-third of Americans, feel that their religious beliefs have changed in college; half of the women from each culture report the same experience (Item 43). On several items (35, 37, and 38), Filipino males report more feelings of lack of personal worth than do their American counterparts. In contrast to the foregoing, on Item 46 more Americans report difficulty in relaxing. In an apparent contradiction, Filipino women are more likely to report that they take things too lightly while at the same time they and Filipino men are more likely to feel that life has given them a "raw deal" (Items 44 and 45). Finally, on Item 52 the men do not differ, but Filipino women are more likely to rate themselves less nervous than their peers.

Although social scientists emphasize *amor propio* ("sensitivity to personal affront") among Filipinos, only Filipino males report more frequently than American males that their feelings are easily hurt. This suggests that the individual may not think of himself as sensitive but rather as having a certain humanity (*pagkatao*) which cannot be ignored (Item 47).

In spite of the strong Philippine tradition of the equality of women, almost one-half of the Filipino college girls admit occasionally wishing they were men, an insignificantly higher percentage than that yielded by the Americans. Only 10 per cent of the men of either culture acknowledged occasionally wishing that they were women (Item 48).

While Filipinos of both sexes feel that they are under considerable social and academic pressure, and that they have to put up a front in a social group (Items 49, 50, and 51), the Filipino women individually think of themselves as less nervous than their fellow students more frequently than do American women (Item 52). Aside from about 10 per cent reporting that they see themselves at least as intelligent, liked, and happy as their classmates, there are no differences by sex or culture among all groups on Items 53, 54, and 55.

American students said that they received most of their information about sex from friends or magazines while Filipinos indicated that they obtained most of their information from schools and/or books. This may be due to a differential availability of such magazines in the Philippines, although there is no shortage of romantic pulps. Noteworthy for both cultures are the low percentages of students who said their information came from parents, siblings, or the church (Item 56). The Filipinos, more than the Americans, see their college friends as more liberal than their friends at home. In contrast to the Americans, they did not see campus regulations as too restrictive (Items 57 and 58). It should be noted at this point that the American data were collected before the extensive removal of campus rules in 1969. Following the same theme, more Filipinos tend to report that college has changed their outlook on life (Item 59).

On the subject of a college education and future career, Americans are more satisfied than Filipinos with their choice of curriculum but are less satisfied than Filipinos with the choice of college (Items 60 and 61). There are no differences, however, in both groups' reported confidence in their career choices or in their general satisfaction with their college experience (Items 62 and 63).

Discussion

In light of the emphasis that earlier reports have placed on differences in the culture patterns of the two societies, it is surprising to find that there exists such a degree of overall similarity in reported personality and behavior patterns. The similarity is enhanced, no doubt, by the similarities of social demands the two groups face, enrolled as they are in institutions of higher learning, studying similar subjects (often using the same books), and in the final stages of preparation for entry into the modern industrial world. It must be borne in mind, however, that the Filipinos in this sample are from wealthy

families who have been exposed to a wider range of models of family relationships than is true of the vast majority of their countrymen. Nor are the American subjects a representative sample of all Americans. In social-science research one has to deal with samples rather than universes, and one must keep the problems of sampling in mind as one develops interpretations.

We shall discuss these results with reference to the family, the peer group, self-attitudes, and goals and values. In view of the powerful role of women in Philippine society, we predicted that mothers would play a predominant role in the lives of students. More than Americans, however, they report that the father generally makes the important family decisions; he also is the parent with whom they have more difficulty discussing problems. The women are more likely to reject their mothers' advice, and they join American women in often wishing they were men. Furthermore, contrary to the Filipino emphasis on the primacy of the family is the finding that the opinions of those he knows on campus are as important to him as the opinions of those at home.

In their fascination with the Filipino family, social scientists may have overlooked the importance of peer groups. Filipino males will discuss personal problems with nonrelatives. Filipino males and females report social participation and social confidence at about the same level as Americans. Filipinos see themselves as easily influenced by others, especially by those with whom they are in contact on the campus.

Sibling relationships within the family, especially problems of favoritism and jealousy, appear to be a matter of intense concern for the Filipino respondents. Outside the family, Filipinos report as frequently as Americans having many close friends and being received favorably by new acquaintances. These results suggest that peer groups may be as significant in these subjects' lives as siblings and other relatives.

There are few differences in self-attitudes. Most significant of these attitudes are that Filipinos are more likely to admit having had ideas of suicide, and that they feel they get a "raw deal" from life. Both Filipino males and females report more commonly than Americans that they feel they are under social and academic stress. On the other hand, Filipino students report no differences in confidence in their intelligence, likability, and happiness.

The most significant finding with respect to goals and values is the tendency of Filipinos to indicate that college has changed their outlook. The Filipino women have reached the stage where they are more likely than American women to reject their mothers' advice. Having reduced the importance of parents, our group of Filipina subjects were falling increasingly into the sphere of influence of their friends.

These results, in which fewer differences were found than previous research had led us to anticipate, need to be examined in light of the differences

which Lynch (1970:35–39) has tabulated. With the exception of the studies of communication networks, the data he cited are based on questions about the subjects' habitual attitudes rather than their responses to the college situation and its immediate accompaniments. We found little evidence of the pervasive role of the desire for social acceptance because we did not ask questions which would elicit it. When we asked about potentially intense personal relationships (Items 10, 11, 23, 24, 30, and 31), we found no evidence to support markedly greater concern for the opinions of others on the part of Filipinos. This is in keeping with our contention that personality traits and personality problems are influenced very greatly by the immediate social context and are not primarily manifestations of behavior patterns established almost irreversibly in childhood. Continuities of culturally approved behavior patterns are the product of the persistent demand characteristics of a society: change the demands by placing the individual in a new context and many of his persistent "culturally determined" behavior patterns will change. The demands of the college environment are sufficiently similar across at least two societies that a great similarity of attitudes and personality problems emerges. But when students go back to their homes where greater differences in expectations prevail, it is likely that greater differences in problems will emerge. This, however, is conjecture which would have to be verified by further studies.

Conclusions

The purpose of this research has been to examine the personality problems of members of two societies confronted by sets of demands which have many similarities. The fact that we find relatively few differences in outlook argues for a position which emphasizes the importance of immediate social factors as determinants of behavior. The effects of differences which may have existed in childhood experience and of other antecedent events are largely wiped out by imposing a relatively similar set of immediate expectations on all members of both cultural groups.

At the practical level, these results suggest that Filipino counselors can expect that, to the degree that the demands of college life in the Philippines are similar to those faced by students in other societies, Filipino college students will manifest problems and attitudes with base rates similar to those of students elsewhere. If this conclusion is sound, it follows that the performance of students is not predestined by cultural background but rather is subject to change under the impact of the ideals, expectations, and reinforcement contingencies over which college leaders have some control.

Table 1

Percentages of Filipinos and Americans responding to questions of Student Attitude Survey.

	Males		Females	
	American (N = 102)	*Filipino (N = 92)*	*American (N = 114)*	*Filipino (N = 111)*
1. *When you have a personal problem, do you talk it over with someone?*				
Yes, usually	34	40	60	57
Yes, occasionally	52	54	37	39
No	14	6	3	4
2. *Is there someone of the* same *sex who is* not *a relative with whom you can discuss personal problems?*				
Yes, more than three people	22	30	30	27
Yes, two or three people	56	46	57	50
Yes, one person	10	13	12	16
No	12	11	1	7
3. *Is there someone of the* opposite *sex who is* not *a relative with whom you can discuss personal problems?*				
Yes, more than three people	10	10	6	3
Yes, two or three people	26	30	52	28
Yes, one person	33	25	31	28
No	31	35	11	41
4. *When you plan an evening, do you usually prefer to:*			$p < .01$*	
Be by yourself	4	10		4
Be with a few friends	53	73	46	50
Be in a group with some friends	43	16	52	41
Be in a crowd	1	1	2	5
	$p < .01$			
5. *Today there is a great deal of discussion about the kinds of friendships people form. At this time do you have:*				
More than three close friends	50	60	58	60
Two or three close friends	44	33	40	33
One close friend	3	2	2	4
No close friends	3	5		3

*Probability of chi square when significant.

	Males		Females	
	American (N = 102)	Filipino (N = 92)	American (N = 114)	Filipino (N = 111)
6. *When you are with people of the same sex as you, do you feel:*				
Usually at ease	94	85	89	81
Usually at ease only when you get to know him	5	15	8	16
Usually uncomfortable	1		3	3
	$p < .05$			
7. *Compared with others, how do you get along with the opposite sex?*				
Better	28	32	26	30
The same	61	44	68	49
Not as well	11	24	6	21
	$p < .05$		$p < .01$	
8. *When you are with a professor or someone else of a higher position than you, do you feel:*				
Usually at ease	45	26	51	24
Usually at ease only when you get to know him	48	68	47	70
Usually uneasy, even after several meetings	7	6	2	6
	$p < .05$		$p < .01$	
9. *Do you think that you are too easily influenced by other people?*				
Yes	17	37	38	49
No	83	63	62	51
	$p < .01$			
10. *When you have the opportunity to meet someone new, do you usually:*				
Take the initiative	60	61	51	51
Wait to be approached	40	37	49	48
Avoid the situation		2		1
11. *We are concerned with what other people think of us. Whose opinion of you matters more to you:*				
The people you know on campus	44	52	46	52
The people you know at home	56	48	54	48

	Males		Females	
	American (N=102)	*Filipino* (N=92)	*American* (N=114)	*Filipino* (N=111)
12. *Compared with that of your friends, would you say your childhood was:*				
Happier	17	13	20	30
Equally happy	66	72	65	60
Less happy	17	15	15	10
13. *Which of your parents seemed to have more self-control, to be more stable?*				
Your mother	32	34	32	40
Your father	57	56	59	56
Not applicable, for instance if only one parent is living	11	10	9	4
14. *Whom do you feel understood you better?*				
Your father	42	35	32	40
Your mother	45	51	59	56
Not applicable, for instance if one parent is deceased	13	14	9	4
15. *How would you compare your home life with that of other students whom you know? Is it*				
Happier	27	25	32	31
Equally happy	60	62	54	54
Less happy	13	12	14	15
16. *Were your parents ever divorced or separated from each other?*				
Yes	4	4	15	3
No	96	96	85	97
17. *Do you think your mother generally supports you in your endeavors and beliefs?*				
Yes	85	73	80	69
No	11	24	17	26
Not applicable	4	3	3	5
18. *Do you think your father generally supports you in your beliefs and endeavors?*				
Yes	77	68	76	67
No	12	22	18	29
Not applicable	11	10	6	4

	Males		Females	
	American (N = 102)	Filipino (N = 92)	American (N = 114)	Filipino (N = 111)
19. *As a result of preferential treatment, have you ever been intensely jealous of a brother or sister?*				
No	77	89	72	66
A sister	7	5	11	22
A brother	4	5	6	11
I am an only child	12	1	11	1
	$p < .05$		$p < .01$	
20. *Have you ever been so jealous of a brother or a sister that you made plans to hurt him or her in some way?*				
Yes	4	11	8	18
No	85	88	82	81
I am an only child	11	1	10	1
			$p < .01$	
21. *Would you say your mother favored you or a brother or a sister?*				
Myself	19	24	8	8
A brother	6	10	5	24
A sister	4	5	8	14
No favorites	62	59	67	52
I am an only child	9	1	12	1
			$p < .01$	
22. *Would you say your father favored you or a brother or a sister?*				
Myself	19	12	16	36
A brother	8	12	10	7
A sister	5	14	8	12
No favorites	59	61	54	44
I am an only child	10	1	12	1
	$p < .05$		$p < .01$	
23. *Do you think that your world is so different from that of your mother that you would not follow advice she gives?*				
Yes	19	17	14	24
No	74	73	81	69
Not applicable	7	9	4	7
			$p < .05$	

	Males		Females	
	American (N = 102)	*Filipino (N = 92)*	*American (N = 114)*	*Filipino (N = 111)*
24. *Do you usually follow advice that your father gives?*				
Yes	68	70	68	78
No	17	17	22	15
Not applicable	15	13	10	7
25. *Have you ever been so upset or unhappy with your mother that you wished you had a different mother?*				
Yes	39	21	48	40
No	60	77	50	56
Not applicable	1	2	2	4
	$p < .05$			
26. *Have you ever wished you had a different father?*				
Yes	34	25	41	31
No	60	71	55	66
Not applicable	6	4	4	3
27. *Would you say your mother or father makes the major decisions in your family?*				
Mother	15	11	11	13
Father	40	58	29	46
Both	30	24	47	38
Not applicable	15	8	13	3
			$p < .01$	
28. *As a child, or recently, have you ever sensed that your mother did not want you?*				
When a child	7	7	5	4
Yes, recently	1	3	3	5
Both recently and as a child	4	1	7	4
No	86	87	82	85
Not applicable	2	1	3	2
29. *Have you ever sensed that your father did not want you?*				
When a child	5	10	7	3
Yes, recently	2	8	5	4
Both recently and as a child	4		5	1
No	82	78	77	88
Not applicable	7	4	5	4

	Males		Females	
	American (N = 102)	Filipino (N = 92)	American (N = 114)	Filipino (N = 111)
30. *We hear a lot about communications between parents and their children. Can you talk over your personal problems with your mother?*				
Yes	54	53	53	50
No	40	42	43	48
Not applicable	6	4	4	2
31. *Can you talk over your personal problems with your father?*				
Yes	51	35	37	31
No	37	55	56	66
Not applicable	12	10	7	3
	$p < .01$			
32. *If you have ever reacted to your personal problems by having a nervous breakdown, at what age did it occur? (If you have had more than one nervous breakdown, refer only to the first.)*				
No nervous breakdown	98	95	92	80
Before 13 years			3	3
13–18 years	1	3	1	12
over 18 years	1	2	3	5
			$p < .01$	
33. *It is said that there is a great deal of pressure on people today. Do you think that you will ever react to this pressure by having a nervous breakdown?*				
Yes	8	8	10	22
No	92	92	89	78
			$p < .05$	
34. *Have you found that your mood often or occasionally changes for no apparent reason?*				
Often	8	14	10	21
Occasionally	52	58	68	60
No	40	28	22	19
35. *Have you ever talked with a professional counselor in order to straighten out your personal problems?*				
Yes	32	51	34	23
No	68	48	66	77

	Males		Females	
	American (N = 102)	*Filipino (N = 92)*	*American (N = 114)*	*Filipino (N = 111)*
36. *Have you ever consulted a psychiatrist for help?*				
Yes	17	8	15	7
No	83	93	85	93
37. *Do you find that perhaps even when things are going well, you cry for no apparent reason?*				
Yes		10	19	29
No	100	90	81	71
	$p < .01$			
38. *Have you occasionally or often felt that you were so inept or dislikeable that you hated yourself?*				
Often	3	9	6	8
Occasionally	28	38	37	32
Once	11	19	15	18
Never	58	34	42	42
	$p < .01$			
39. *Have you occasionally or often been under such pressure that you felt completely alone and confused?*				
Often	6	11	6	13
Occasionally	59	57	66	44
Once	16	13	17	25
Never	20	19	10	18
			$p < .01$	
40. *Have you ever felt so confused or lost that you feared that you might be going insane?*				
Often		4	2	2
Occasionally	14	13	22	16
Once	13	14	22	22
Never	73	68	54	60
41. *Have things ever seemed so depressing or so against you that you had thoughts of doing away with yourself?*				
Often		1	3	4
Occasionally	10	20	19	11
Once	10	14	20	21
Never	80	65	58	64

	Males		Females	
	American (N = 102)	Filipino (N = 92)	American (N = 114)	Filipino (N = 111)
42. *Have you ever been so anxious or desperate that you tried to do away with yourself?*				
More than once		3	2	6
Once	1	5	7	9
Never	99	91	91	84
	$p < .05$			
43. *Living in a new environment can change a person. Do you feel that your religious beliefs have changed since you studied here?*				
Yes	34	62	41	50
No	66	38	59	50
	$p < .01$			
44. *Every day we encounter differing outlooks on life. Do you feel that you take things:*				
Too seriously	39	29	37	32
Too lightly	10	16	4	17
With a balanced outlook	51	54	59	51
			$p < .01$	
45. *There are many articles written on how the world treats individuals. Do you feel life has:*				
Treated you well	71	63	75	65
Treated you indifferently	25	23	24	22
Given you a raw deal	2	14	1	13
	$p < .05$		$p < .01$	
46. *We often hear of the importance of relaxing. Do you find it difficult to relax?*				
Often	77	11	16	7
Occasionally	25	52	67	45
Never	2	36	17	47
	$p < .01$		$p < .01$	

	Males		Females	
	American (N = 102)	*Filipino (N = 92)*	*American (N = 114)*	*Filipino (N = 111)*
47. *As a result of your experiences with other students, do you feel that your feelings are:*				
Easily hurt	18	30	33	28
About as sensitive as others	58	55	57	65
Hard to hurt	24	14	10	7
	$p < .05$			
48. *We are all aware that each sex has its advantages. Have you ever felt that you would be happier if you were of the opposite sex?*				
Yes, often			5	6
Yes, occasionally	11	11	38	44
Never	89	89	57	50
49. *We often hear about the abilities of today's college students. Do you feel that too much is expected of you academically?*				
Yes	17	43	16	55
No	82	57	84	45
	$p < .01$		$p < .01$	
50. *Do you feel that too much is expected of you socially?*				
Yes	15	32	10	30
No	85	68	90	70
	$p < .01$		$p < .01$	
51. *When you are in a group, do you feel that you are in a position where you must put up a front?*				
Often	6	11	6	7
Occasionally	65	76	53	68
Never	29	13	41	24
	$p < .05$		$p < .05$	
52. *Compared to other students you know, do you think you are usually more or less nervous than others?*				
More nervous	25	21	34	28
Less nervous	23	19	14	32
About the same	51	60	52	39
			$p < .01$	

	Males		Females	
	American (N = 102)	Filipino (N = 92)	American (N = 114)	Filipino (N = 111)
53. *At college you have perhaps met many new people. Do you think people generally initially react to you:*				
Favorably	73	77	80	86
Unfavorably	4	4	2	5
Indifferently	22	18	18	9
54. *Compared to most other students, do you feel you are:*				
Somewhat more intelligent	33	46	31	28
As intelligent	60	50	60	55
Somewhat less intelligent	7	4	9	17
55. *Compared with others you know, do you feel that your life is basically:*				
Happier	24	38	29	33
About as happy	66	52	64	54
Less happy	10	10	7	13
56. *From whom did you receive most of your information about sex?*				
Parent	4	3	14	8
Brother(s) and/or sister(s)	6		2	3
Friends and/or magazines	66	52	53	42
Schools and/or books	24	42	31	47
The church		2	1	
	$p < .01$			
57. *A good deal has been said in the last couple years about the changes in standards governing sexual behavior. Compared with your friends at home, would you say students here are generally:*				
More liberal	37	47	46	77
The same	59	41	51	16
More conservative	4	12	3	6
	$p < .05$		$p < .01$	
58. *On many campuses today there is a controversy over university control of students. Do you feel that students here are under:*				
Too many restrictions	62	30	67	5
The right amount of restrictions	38	63	32	82
Too few restrictions		7	1	13
	$p < .01$		$p < .01$	

	Males		Females	
	American (N = 102)	*Filipino (N = 92)*	*American (N = 114)*	*Filipino (N = 111)*
59. *It is said that college can change one's outlook on life. Would you say that as a result of your experience here you have changed?*				
A great deal	55	71	56	66
A little	40	29	40	32
Not at all	5		4	2
	$p < .05$			
60. *On campus we hear a lot about curriculum choice. Are you satisfied with your present choice?*				
Yes	84	61	79	51
No	16	39	21	48
	$p < .01$		$p < .01$	
61. *Knowing what you know now, if you were beginning college again, would you choose to come here?*				
Definitely	21	65	19	53
Probably	49	32	54	40
No	30	3	27	7
	$p < .01$		$p < .01$	
62. *When you consider your future in your chosen career, do you feel:*				
Confident	23	28	26	32
Relatively confident	49	46	46	36
Unsure	27	25	28	32
63. *When you look back on your educational experience here thus far, do you find it:*				
Very rewarding	28	42	28	26
Satisfactory	55	53	58	68
Unsatisfactory	17	4	13	6
	$p < .01$			

Notes

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George M. Guthrie was codirector of the Ateneo-Penn State Basic Research Program, a three-year (July 1966–June 1969) social research undertaking which was designed to study the impact of modernization in the Philippines. Dr. Guthrie was also director of the study of urbanization and changes in values and motives (APS/BRP Project Four). He is presently a professor of psychology at The Pennsylvania State University and has served as an assistant director of the Penn State Philippine Peace Corps Project. Among Dr. Guthrie's other major publications are *The Psychology of Modernization in the Rural Philippines* ("IPC Papers," No. 8), *Child Rearing and Personality Development in the Philippines,* and *Six Perspectives on the Philippines.*

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Managers and Entrepreneurs: A Comparison of Social Backgrounds in Philippine Manufacturing

Alfred B. Bennett, Jr.

Industrialization in the Philippines

Both in policy statements and in practice, the Philippines has expressed a commitment to industrialization, the complex socioeconomic process associated with the development of large-scale industry. By the term "industry" (in this paper used interchangeably with "manufacturing") is meant "the fabrication of raw materials into intermediate components and finished products by primarily mechanical means dependent on inanimate sources of power" (Moore 1965:4). For all practical purposes, Philippine industrialization began in 1949 with the institution of import and exchange controls designed to provide incentives for the establishment of manufacturing enterprises. Correspondingly, output from manufacturing grew by 12 per cent per annum during the first five years of the fifties and sustained an average annual growth rate of 9.5 per cent over the decade. Meanwhile, during the same period, agricultural output grew at a lower rate of 5 per cent per year. By 1959 the share of manufacturing in the total national output was nearly twice its 10 per cent contribution of 1948.

With decontrol in 1960, the rate of industrial growth slowed down to 3 per cent per annum. But apparently, the seeds of industry, planted during the favorable period of incentives, had grown roots deep enough to enable the budding industrial establishment to weather the less favorable conditions. With the new impetus to industrial growth dating from 1966, manufacturing progressed sufficiently to bring the annual growth rate figure to 6 per cent for the entire decade of the sixties.[1]

Although there is considerable ideological controversy as to *how* industrialization should proceed, few participants in the drama of the modern transformation of the Philippines would dispute that it is desirable for the nation to build a substantial industrial base, initially lessening dependence on imported manufactured goods and eventually developing major manufacturing exports. At the same time, however, it should be recognized that wherever widespread industrialization has occurred, it has been accompanied by

significant changes in society. While it can be anticipated that the exact form of societal change in the Philippines will differ from changes in other societies, it can be expected that, like social change everywhere, it will be discomforting.

Among the immediate changes that occur in industrialization is the creation of new occupations. Some of these new occupations may require behaviors similar to behaviors required in traditional occupations. It can be predicted that personnel whose preindustrial jobs have developed behaviors most similar to the requirements of industry will fill these new positions. For example, unskilled farm workers may have no opportunity to develop skills that would equip them to work above the rank-and-file level in industry, while educated landowners or their children might be the only individuals recruited into managerial and entrepreneurial positions. If this occurs, the new system essentially preserves the old relationships of power. On the other hand, it is also possible that the skills required in the new occupations will be different enough from the old that a man who had no chance to move up to landowner or commercial success might well have an opportunity for upward mobility to comparably prestigious positions in industry. Another possibility is that there may be institutions present in the old system that serve as preadaptations to the new, providing means to upward mobility in the new system that were absent in the old. This last situation seems to obtain in the Philippines, as this paper will show.

It is the interpretation of this paper that industrialization as it is occurring in the Philippines is in fact contributing to a reorganization of society. The reorganization in part consists of drawing personnel for prestigious positions in industry from families who themselves were relatively less prestigious in preindustrial society than their offspring have become industrial occupations.

These conclusions have been reached from analysis of two sets of data which are presented here. The first set consists of data gathered by John J. Carroll, S.J., in 1960 from a sample of Filipino manufacturing entrepreneurs (Carroll 1965). The second set of data was gathered in 1969 during the first phase of a continuing study of Filipino middle-level managers of manufacturing corporations in the Greater Manila area.[2] The entrepreneur data represent both a higher level of industrial status and an earlier period in Philippine history, but both entrepreneurs and managers are relatively high in prestige in present-day Philippine society. Both sets of data are presented here to carry further the interpretive framework Carroll developed for the entrepreneur data.

Carroll's framework suggests that entrepreneurs and managers should be similar in certain aspects of their backgrounds and different in others. These extensions of Carroll's generalizations approximate the backgrounds of the managers studied, but important discrepancies are also found. The comparison

of entrepreneurs' and managers' backgrounds suggests that geographical and socioeconomic diversity are represented more broadly on the managerial level than on the entrepreneurial level.

This finding is interpreted as an indication that the recruitment of managers in large-scale Philippine manufacturing is leading to a more far-reaching restructuring of Philippine society than was previously found to be true on the entrepreneurial level. It also raises the question of how the managers moved up from less prestigious backgrounds to relatively high status positions as managers.

It should be emphasized, however, that Philippine industrialization is only beginning, and it cannot yet be inferred that the entire Philippine social structure is being transformed by industry. While it is conceivable that this transformation of society by industry could happen, it has not happened yet, and this paper does not claim that it will happen; nor that if it does, that it will continue to develop in the same patterns that seem to be emerging thus far. It is nonetheless an implicit assumption that industrialization is one of the most significant forces at work in the modern transformation of the world and that its total impact on society is much broader than the apparent limits of the factory and its employes. Further implications of these assumptions for the data here presented are left to the reader.

Managers and Entrepreneurs

The entrepreneurial function comes first in the historical sequence of industrialization. The entrepreneur is the individual who performs "the overall coordinating function in bringing together the traditional factors of production to form a new industrial enterprise" (Carroll 1965:39). In Philippine industrial history, the decade of the 1950s with its government incentives might be called the decade of the manufacturing entrepreneur. This was a period in which new manufacturing operations were established while older small industrial firms were expanded to larger-scale enterprises. It is appropriate that Carroll's study, the most extensive, systematic, and thorough analysis yet completed of a Philippine population intensively involved in modern industry should deal with the Filipino entrepreneurs who founded large manufacturing establishments.

As the 1950s was the decade of the Filipino entrepreneur, the 1960s was the decade of the rise of the Filipino manager. Important organizational changes occurred in many large corporations during this period, changes that brought a shift away from the predominance of the entrepreneur to the increasing importance of the manager. It is appropriate in the 1970s, then, to study the Filipino corporation manager.

Because of the very different functions performed by the entrepreneur and the manager, it can be expected that quite different types of persons, coming from contrasting backgrounds, would successfully perform the two roles. The entrepreneurial role should require an aggressive, high-risking individual who starts a new enterprise largely through the force of his personality. The manager, on the other hand, should be a more consistent, steady, conservative individual whose personality is adjusted to keeping previously established enterprises going and growing.

In the country's history, however, certain conditions contributed toward reducing the differences between managers and entrepreneurs. First, there were not so many corporations to manage as there are at present, and often those in existence then were not large enough to require much managerial manpower. Second, there were more incentives to start new manufacturing operations in the 1950s than there were in the 1960s, so that a person who could well have founded a business in the 1950s might have found greater rewards in the 1960s in managing one instead. Third, the roles of both manager and entrepreneur in manufacturing contrasted with the roles of those in the traditional occupations, suggesting that the backgrounds that produced the former roles should be similar in many ways. In other words, what went into the making of entrepreneurs or managers should differ considerably from what produced farmers, lawyers, or even businessmen engaged in financial or commercial operations.

Drawing from his empirical data, Carroll offers a set of statements, though generalized and not intended to be more than tentative, that provides a starting-point in comparing the backgrounds of managers and entrepreneurs. He suggests that exposure of the entrepreneurs, and their families before them, to certain aspects of Philippine life is partly responsible for certain characteristics that distinguish them from other Filipinos (Carroll 1965:188). Of the characteristics he enumerates, two are pertinent for discussion:

(1) the entrepreneurs' commitment to a profit-oriented socioeconomic system as well as to its material and nonmaterial rewards; and

(2) the entrepreneurs' commitment to the rewards specifically associated with ownership of business within that profit-oriented socioeconomic system.

Summary of differences in managers' and entrepreneurs' backgrounds

If basically sound, Carroll's framework should predict differences in the backgrounds of the managers and the entrepreneurs. Since both the managers and the entrepreneurs participate in a profit-oriented socioeconomic system, it follows from Carroll's scheme that the backgrounds of *both* groupings should reflect exposure to the forces that he associates with the development

of a commitment to the profit-oriented system. In general, the data do show this to be the case, but with the very important qualifications that are discussed in detail later in this paper.

It further follows from Carroll's generalizations that the two groupings should *differ* in their exposure to the forces that Carroll associates with the development of the entrepreneurs' commitment to the rewards of business *ownership.* That is, while the backgrounds of the entrepreneurs include experience that led them to the industrial role of manufacturing business *ownership,* the managers' backgrounds, in contrast, should include experience that led them to a commitment to the rewards of manufacturing business *management.* The data show that this expectation is strikingly confirmed.

Carroll's second generalization regarding commitment to the rewards of business ownership predicts almost perfectly differences found empirically between the backgrounds of the entrepreneurs and the managers. His first generalization regarding development of commitment to a profit-oriented system, on the other hand, is heuristically useful in a comparison of the two groupings because in fact they differ in backgrounds when they would be expected from Carroll's framework to be similar. Consequently, this paper first delineates the differences between entrepreneurs and managers in those characteristics Carroll associates with commitment to business ownership and then proceeds to a discussion of the experience he relates to development of commitment to a profit-oriented socioeconomic system.

Ownership v. Management in Manufacturing

The primary difference between entrepreneurs and managers to be expected from Carroll's conclusions is that the entrepreneurs should come from backgrounds that exposed them to business ownership while the managers did not. This is shown to be clearly true by two indicators, while a third indicator is ambiguous.

Occupations of fathers

To provide direct comparability to the entrepreneurs, data on the occupations of the managers' fathers were coded according to the categories developed by Carroll. The following five categories were used (Carroll 1965:75–76):

1. *Independent:* an individual who bears, or at least shares, chief responsibility for the management of an enterprise—thus the owner-manager of a business or farm, but not a tenant farmer; a craftsman owning his own shop; the chief executive of a corporation, or a partner with a share in management; a son actually running the family business; in government, a cabinet member or provincial governor.
2. *Upper white-collar:* an individual who has some decision-making or technical responsibility in large enterprise but not the chief responsibility for the enterprise—thus a

member of middle management; a doctor, lawyer, or engineer employed in a technical capacity by business or government; a college professor.

3. *Professional:* a "free" professional—thus a doctor or lawyer in private practice.
4. *Lower white-collar:* one doing clerical, sales, routine supervisory, or educational work—thus a clerk in an office; a salesman; a factory foreman; a grade-school teacher; a security guard.
5. *Manual:* those who work with their hands and under supervision—thus a tenant farmer; a farm laborer or factory worker; a craftsman not owning a shop.

Table 1 presents the comparative data for managers and entrepreneurs on the occupations of their fathers when the managers were 16 years old and the entrepreneurs 18 years old. While 67 per cent of the entrepreneurs' fathers were engaged in "independent" occupations, only 34 per cent of the managers' fathers were so employed. Nonetheless, it is still true that "independent" is the modal occupational category for the managers, just as it is for the entrepreneurs. While the category with the second largest frequency for the managers is "lower white-collar" with 26 per cent, this is the least representative category for the entrepreneurs (only 3 per cent). Again in contrast, the second largest

Table 1

Filipino managers (N = 200) and entrepreneurs (N = 92) classified by father's occupation when the managers were 16 years old and the entrepreneurs, 18** (1969 and 1960).*

Father's occupation	*Managers*		*Entrepreneurs*	
	No.	*%*	*No.*	*%*
Independent	67	34	58	67
Upper white-collar	35	18	6	7
Professional	26	13	6	7
Lower white-collar	52	26	3	3
Manual	16	8	14	16
Total	196	99	87	100
No information	4		5	

*Except in cases when father had died before the respondent reached the age of 16. Where this occurred, occupation of the father at time of death is reported.

***Source of entrepreneur data:* Carroll 1965:76.

number of entrepreneurs' fathers (16 per cent) were employed as "manual" laborers, while this is the least representative occupational category (8 per cent) for the managers' fathers.

This classification of occupations of fathers is not intended to indicate social or economic status, but relative independence of decision-making authority (Carroll 1965:75). The owner of a one-hectare farm would be categorized as "independent" along with the owner of a 500-hectare plantation. The tendency for managers is to come from backgrounds involving neither extreme independence nor extreme dependence, that is, their fathers neither possessed nor worked under authority in an extreme form. Such experience fits with the respondents' own adult role of manager rather than owner.

Occupations of mothers

A second background characteristic that Carroll relates to the development of entrepreneurs is the participation of their mothers in business. The manager data are not grouped according to the same classification as the entrepreneur data, and this may contribute to the failure of the manager study to show the same kind of contrast on mothers' occupations that was found on fathers'. The managers were asked only if their mothers were housewives or "other," and asked to specify "other." While the entrepreneurs indicated that 14 per cent of their mothers were "active business women," even more of the managers' mothers were engaged in occupations other than housewife. A full 17 per cent are reported in this category, and an additional 6 per cent were housewives with secondary occupations. For an adequate interpretation of this background characteristic, further research is required.

Experience in family-owned firms

By a third, more direct indicator of exposure to business ownership the entrepreneurs are clearly differentiated from the managers. A full 25 per cent of the entrepreneurs had never worked in *any* organization other than their own, their father's, or their father-in-law's (Carroll 1965:81). In contrast, only 12 per cent of the managers' fathers (when the managers were 16 years old) either owned or worked in family-owned firms. Furthermore, only 8 per cent of the managers' wives' fathers were in the same occupational status. Only 20 per cent of the managers' fathers and fathers-in-law, therefore, worked in family-owned firms. This means that if every manager whose father or father-in-law had worked in family-owned firms also worked there, only 20 per cent of the managers would have had such exposure to business ownership. This also means that only 12 per cent could have been exposed indirectly as adolescents through their own fathers' work in family-owned firms.

Finally, only 29 of the managers (14 per cent) actually indicated that they had had *any* experience in firms owned by their families. Of these, 10 (34 per cent) reported that they had worked in family-owned firms for less than one year, and 14 (48 per cent) indicated that they had been in nonmanagement positions. Only 10 (5 per cent of all managers) reported that they had been in management positions for more than one year.

Even assuming the extreme possibility that the 23 entrepreneurs (25 per cent) who had worked *only* in family-owned firms on the one hand, and the 29 managers (14 per cent) who reported that they had had *any* such experience on the other hand, there is a significant difference between the entrepreneurs and managers in work experience in family-owned firms ($X^2 = 4.0559; p < .05$).

Commitment to a Profit-oriented Socioeconomic System

Carroll interprets the development of the entrepreneurs' commitment to the rewards of a profit-oriented system primarily as the result of foreign influence. He writes: "one can, in fact, view the process of change which brought about the commitment of the entrepreneur to a profit-oriented system as an evolution in Philippine society stimulated by cultural transfer from abroad" (Carroll 1965:189). It is somewhat arbitrary at what point in an evolutionary sequence a form is reclassified as newly "emergent" and no longer merely a variation of its earlier form. Carroll, in his interpretation of the development of the entrepreneur, regards as "foreign" a number of influences which could be considered simply as "modern." While it is true that large-scale industry itself, the Philippine educational system, and many components of the Manila environment *originated* outside the Philippines, it is also true that they have "evolved" under the influence of Philippine culture to become a part of contemporary Philippine life that is uniquely Filipino in flavor. Thus it is misleading to think of such permanent components of the modernizing Philippines as "foreign." Consequently, in this paper such variables are reclassified under "modern Philippine influence," and the foreign origin disregarded. Influences that have not become integrated into Philippine culture are left under the heading "foreign," with the qualifier "direct" added to distinguish them from some of the modern influences which could be considered indirect foreign influences.

With this reorientation toward the data, it becomes clear that the managers not only share the entrepreneurs' exposure to "modern Philippine" influences (or "indirect foreign" influences if one does not accept that they are emergent cultural forms), but have considerably more exposure. On the other hand, the managers, compared with the enterpreneurs, have experienced very little direct foreign influence.

Direct foreign influence

Foreign ethnic origin. One of the criteria for inclusion in the entrepreneur population applied by Carroll was an entrepreneur's having at least one parent born in the Philippines. This criterion was not employed in the manager study. Nonetheless, 5 per cent of the entrepreneurs had one foreign-born parent, while 14 per cent of the managers had one or two parents born abroad. It is a matter of interpretation whether these figures are considered important indicators of direct foreign influence. It should be noted that the manager study includes a large percentage of respondents who had one foreign-born parent and a percentage of respondents both of whose parents were born abroad. This means that a bias may have been introduced in the manager study toward greater foreign influence through foreign (or merely foreign-born) parents. Even so, the importance of "direct foreign influence" in other background characteristics is less among the managers than the entrepreneurs, suggesting that the influence of the environment outside the home was very important in the childhood of the managers.

No sampling restriction was imposed on either study for birthplace of grandparents. Approximately 20 per cent of both managers and entrepreneurs had foreign-born grandparents. Considering the larger percentage of foreign-born parents among the managers reported in the preceding paragraph, this is somewhat surprising.

The managers and entrepreneurs are very close in representation among their grandparents' birthplaces of China, Spain (assuming that most of those classified by Carroll under "Europe" were born in Spain), and the United States, as indicated in detail in Table 2.

Foreign language. Foreign language is also included here as indicative of direct foreign influence on the assumption that other foreign influences are likely to be present in homes where foreign languages are spoken. This is a conservative interpretation in that use of foreign language may in fact not indicate other foreign influences. The use of English might have been included as a "modern Philippine influence" rather than "direct foreign influence" since English is the medium of instruction in education above the elementary level and is frequently used in business.

Although 8 per cent of the entrepreneurs and 10 per cent of the managers had foreign mother tongues, the percentage figures are not high in comparison to the 1960 census figures for Manila. As Table 3 indicates, 8 per cent of the Manila population were found to have non-Philippine mother tongues.

Further, an indicator of "Filipinization" and "Alienization" was constructed from the language data in the manager study, as reported in Table 4. In the case of "Filipinization," the index is intended to show the tendency

Table 2

Filipino managers (N = 200) and entrepreneurs (N = 92) who have at least one foreign-born grandparent, classified by birthplace of that/those grandparent(s) (1969 and 1960).

Grandparent's birthplace	Managers		Entrepreneurs	
	No.	%	No.	%
China				
One or two grandparents	9	22	0	0
Three or four	7	17	8	38
Subtotal	16	39	8	38
Europe*				
One or two grandparents	14	34	8	38
Three or four	3	7	2	10
Subtotal	17	41	10	48
United States				
One or two grandparents	4	10	2	10
Three or four	0	0	0	0
Subtotal	4	10	2	10
Other combinations	4	10	1	5
Total	41	100	21	101
No foreign-born grandparents	157		71	
No information	2		0	

*For the managers, only Spain is represented.

Source of entrepreneur data: Carroll 1965:43.

during childhood for those with foreign mother-tongue influence at home to have received counter influence from their peer groups. In the case of "Alienization," the index is intended to show the tendency for those with Philippine mother-tongue influence at home to have received counter influence from their peer groups. The details of the variables summarized under each of these categories are indicated in Table 4.

Filipino managers (N = 200) and entrepreneurs (N = 92) and Manila population classified by language first learned in childhood (1969 and 1960).

Language	Manila population*	Managers		Index*** Manager/Manila	Entrepreneurs		Index*** Entrepreneur/Manila
	(Per cent)	No.	%		No.	%	
;buano	2	5	2	1.1	2	2	1.0
ıgalog	66	110	55	0.8	56	61	.9
›ko	6	12	6	1.0	–	–	–
nay-Hiligaynon	2	12	6	2.6	7	8	3.3
kol	4	13	6	1.7	5	5	1.4
mar-Leyte	4	–	–	–	1	1	.3
;pampangan	4	11	6	1.2	14	15	3.4
ngasinan	2	10	5	2.0	–	–	–
her Philippine	2	6	3	1.4	–	–	–
›n-Philippine**	8	21	10	1.4	7	8	1.0
Total	100	200	99	–	92	100	–

*From *Census of the Philippines 1960: Population and Housing, Volume 1: Report by Province: Manila* (Manila, Bureau of the Census and tistics, 1962), Page 30–8, Table 15.

'*Chinese, Spanish, and English; Chinese mother-tongue speakers represent 6.9 per cent of the Manila population.

:*The indices were constructed, following Carroll, by dividing the percentage of managers or entrepreneurs by the Manila percentage.

ırce of entrepreneur data: Carroll 1965:46.

Table 4

Filipino managers (N = 200) classified by whether they were linguistically or culturally "Filipinized," "alienized," or "reinforced" by playmates as children (1969).*

Process undergone with playmates		*No.*	*%*
"Filipinization" (Total)		46	23
Philippine language most often spoken with playmates, but no Philippine language was among first languages learned in childhood	6		
Philippine language most often spoken with playmates and both a Philippine and non-Philippine language were among first languages learned in childhood	40		
"Alienization" (Total)		20	10
Non-Philippine language most often spoken with playmates, but no non-Philippine language was among first languages learned in childhood	5		
Non-Philippine language most often spoken with playmates, and both a non-Philippine and Philippine language were among first languages learned in childhood	15		
"Reinforcement": no difference between language first learned and language most often used with playmates		134	67
Total		200	100

*"Filipinization" here refers to the process whereby a child who speaks a non-Philippine language as a mother tongue most often speaks a Philippine language with his playmates. "Alienization" refers to the process whereby a child who speaks a Philippine language as a mother tongue most often speaks a non-Philippine language with his playmates. "Reinforcement," used here in a nontechnical sense, refers to the process whereby a child most often speaks with playmates the language he first learned.

The tendency away from foreign influence is again apparent in this index. The majority (67 per cent) were "reinforced," i.e , did not receive a counter influence from their peer groups. But among the remaining 33 per cent who did, more than twice as many experienced a "Filipinization" process as experienced "Alienization."

Higher education abroad. The process of education of the managers is discussed in detail in the section, "Education of the managers." What is relevant at this point is the fact that among the managers in this study, only two received undergraduate degrees abroad, both in the United States.[3] In contrast, of the 66 entrepreneurs who attended college, 19 (29 per cent) did so in the United States, although not all 19 actually completed degrees there. It should be noted that 17 (14 per cent) of the managers who had traveled abroad indicated the purpose of their longest stay outside the Philippines was "education" (Table 7), although this represents only 8 per cent of all managers and 9 per cent of those who attended college.

Travel outside the Philippines. It is somewhat surprising to note that the age at which the managers first traveled out of the Philippines is rather high (Table 5). The median age for the first trip abroad is 31 years old. It is also surprising that 38 per cent of the managers had never left the Philippines. These figures suggest further that direct foreign exposure was not highly contributory to the making of the manager. This is further supported by the data in Table 6 which indicates that of those who did travel outside the Philippines, half were away for not more than six months. Furthermore, data in Table 7 show that 45 per cent of those who traveled out spent most of their time abroad on company-sponsored training. Presumably this was after the start of their adult careers, and their decisions to enter manufacturing were not affected by it. Such training might, however, have occurred prior to attainment of a position on the managerial level.

Modern Philippine influence

Early exposure to Manila or Manila suburbs and other urban areas. Table 8 indicates that 50 per cent of the entrepreneurs were born in Manila and the neighboring province of Rizal, a major portion of the population of which is within the Greater Manila area. If this is accepted as comparable to "Manila and suburbs" as defined in the manager study (see Appendix), a chi-square test indicates that there is no significant difference between the two samples on birth in the Greater Manila area.

Although the fact that 44 per cent of the managers were born in Manila and suburbs is clearly not representative of the entire Philippine population, of which some 80 per cent live in small rural communities, it is still somewhat remarkable that 54 per cent of the managers have been recruited into their

Table 5

Filipino managers (N = 200) who have traveled abroad, classified by age when they made their first such trip (1969).

Age at first trip abroad	*No.*	*%*
Born abroad	3	2
Before 12 years	8	6
12 through 20 years	11	9
21 through 24 years	14	11
25 through 29 years	22	18
30 through 34 years	28	23
35 through 39 years	23	18
40 through 44 years	10	8
45 years or older	5	4
Total	124	99
Never traveled abroad (38 per cent of all managers)	76	

Table 6

Filipino managers (N = 200) who have traveled abroad, classified by length of time spent outside the Philippines (1969).

Time outside the Philippines	*No.*	*%*
Less than 2 months	31	25
2 to 6 months	30	24
6 months to 1 year	22	18
1 to 3 years	20	16
3 to 5 years	8	6
5 to 10 years	9	7
10 to 20 years	4	3
Total who have gone abroad	124	99
Never traveled abroad (38 per cent of all managers)	76	

Table 7

Filipino managers (N = 200) who have traveled abroad, classified by purpose of longest trip outside the Philippines (1969).

Purpose of trip	*No.*	*%*
Vacation	11	9
Education	17	14
Business	23	19
Military	3	2
Company-sponsored training	56	45
Government-sponsored training	3	2
Occupation	8	6
Other	3	2
Total	124	99
Never traveled abroad (38 per cent of all managers)	76	

Table 8

Filipino managers (N = 200) and entrepreneurs (N = 92) classified by place of residence at selected ages (1969 and 1960).

Place of residence and age	*Managers*		*Entrepreneurs*	
	No.	*%*	*No.*	*%*
Manila and suburbs				
Immediately after birth	88	44	46	50
Six years old	87	44	no data	
16 years old	121	60	no data	
Elsewhere				
Immediately after birth	112	56	46	50
Six years old	113	56	no data	
16 years old	79	40	no data	

Source of entrepreneur data: Carroll 1965:50.

highly sophisticated present positions from the traditional influence they may have had in their childhood outside Manila. Table 8 indicates the pattern of geographical mobility to Manila the managers followed. By the time they were 16, 60 per cent of the managers were residing in Manila and suburbs. However, it is also important to note that between the time of their birth and the time they were six years of age—important years in personality formation—the percentage of future managers resident in Manila and suburbs remained almost constant at 44 per cent.

If other communities besides the primate city of Manila are taken to represent "modern Philippine influence," the managers were considerably more exposed to such influence than the Manila residence figures indicate. Table 9 shows the types of communities in which the managers lived immediately after birth, at age six, and at age 16. If chartered city and provincial capital are collapsed into a single category of "urban other than Manila," and poblacion and barrio collapsed to form the category "rural," there is a clear pattern of shift from rural to urban in the life histories of the managers. As in the shift from all other types of communities to Manila, the move away from the rural communities occurred between the ages of six and 16. While the percentage of managers resident in rural communities shrank from 40 per cent immediately after birth, through 35 per cent at age six to 19 per cent at age 16, the percentage of managers resident in urban centers other than Manila grew slightly from 14 per cent immediately after birth through 18 per cent at age six to 19 per cent at age 16. Combining the figures of urban, other than Manila, and suburbs, 19 per cent of the managers were resident in urban areas by the time they were 16 years old.

Another indicator of the managers' exposure to Manila (included in the manager study but absent from the entrepreneur data) is age at the time of their first visit to Manila. Of the intervals in which the data are grouped (Table 10), age two through five is the modal interval representing 33 per cent of those who indicated they were born outside the Manila area. However, with the high exposure suggested by other indicators reported in the other sections of this paper, it is surprising to find that as many as 26 per cent (29 managers) of those born outside Manila and suburbs had not even visited Manila at age 15. This figure represents a full 14 per cent of the total sample of 200 managers. Again, the more interesting fact is not that so many were exposed to Manila early in life, but that so many were *not* and yet were still able to move into middle-management in the biggest manufacturing companies in the Philippines. This point will be discussed further in "The route of upward mobility," below.

Carroll indicates that a disproportionately large number of entrepreneurs (15 per cent) spoke Kapampangan (referred to as "Pampango" by Carroll) as their mother tongue (Carroll 1965:46, 52–54). He suggests that the tradition of social unrest for which Pampanga is stereotyped may account for this high

percentage. As indicated in Table 3, however, only 5.5 per cent (rounded off to 6 per cent in Table 3) of the managers learned Kapampangan as their first language in childhood. The 1960 census of the Philippines reports that 4.4 per cent of the Manila population spoke Kapampangan as their mother tongue, giving the managers very close to the expected representation.

Higher education in Manila. The managers' exposure to modern Philippine influences through higher education in Manila was significantly higher than that of the entrepreneurs. While 65 per cent of the entrepreneurs attended college in Manila, only four of the managers who graduated from college did *not* do so in Manila, and two of these graduated from American universities.[4]

Education in technological and business-related subjects. Table 11 presents data on college courses pursued by the entrepreneurs and the managers. Opposite orientations toward business management and technology are apparent, with the entrepreneurs showing early orientation toward participation in the managerial levels of business and the managers developing skills of technology. Forty-two per cent of the entrepreneurs studied business-related subjects, twice the percentage of managers in these fields. Further, 29 per cent of the entrepreneurs studied law, a traditionally prestigious course in the Philippines, while only 2 per cent of the managers pursued this course. Finally, 71 per cent of the managers who attended college studied technology, engineering, or science, while only 23 per cent of the entrepreneurs were in these technologically oriented fields. Despite the contrasts emphasized here, it should be noted that both technological and business-oriented fields are highly represented in the educations of both the managers and entrepreneurs. Nonetheless, the managers' significantly higher participation in technological education supports the generalization that the managers received greater exposure to modern Philippine influence than did the entrepreneurs.

Religious Origins

Ever since Max Weber suggested in his *Protestant Ethic and the Rise of Capitalism* (1904) that there was a direct connection between the Protestant Reformation and the Industrial Revolution, attempts have been made to assess the relevance of the hypothesis to contemporary economic development. The question appeared to have been closed once and for all for the Philippines when Carroll found that only three of the entrepreneurs in his study were Protestants. This number represents 3 per cent of the total number of entrepreneurs studied, less than the percentage of Protestants in the country. The question has been reopened by findings on the religion of the fathers of the managers. The relationship of these findings to the extensive literature on Weber's hypothesis is too complex to be elaborated fully here. The following interpretation is preliminary and highly simplified.

Table 9

Filipino managers (N = 200) classified by type of community in which they resided at selected ages (1969).

Type of community	*Immediately after birth*		*6 years old*		*16 years old*	
	No.	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*
"Rural"						
Barrio	34	17	27	13	16	9
Poblacion	46	23	43	22	21	10
Total	80	40	70	35	37	19
"Urban, outside Manila"						
Provincial capital	20	10	22	11	25	12
Chartered city	9	4	14	7	14	7
Total	29	14	36	18	39	19
Manila or suburbs	88	44	87	44	121	60
Abroad	3	2	4	2	3	2
Anomalous*	0	–	3	2	0	–
Total	200	100	200	101	200	100

*Because of unsettled conditions during the Japanese occupation (1941–45).

Table 10

Filipino managers (N = 200) born outside Manila, classified by age at time of first visit to Manila (1969).

Age at first visit to Manila	*No.*	*%*
Less than 2 years	9	8
2–5 years	36	33
6–11 years	20	18
12–15 years	16	14
16–20 years	21	19
21–24 years	6	5
25 years or over	2	2
Total	110	99
Total born in Manila or suburbs (44 per cent of all managers)	88	
No information	2	

The manager study shows a representation for managers' *present* religious affiliation that is similar to that of the entrepreneurs, as presented in Table 12. The difference between the 90 per cent of the managers and the 96 per cent of the entrepreneurs who were Catholic at the time of the study may well be chance, as is also true for the very slight difference between the two groupings on Protestant affiliation. Even including the additional 5 per cent of the managers who associated themselves with other minority religious orientations, there is not a clear underrepresentation of Roman Catholics in the managers sample.

However, data were also gathered on the religious affiliations of the managers' *fathers* when the managers were children, and quite a different pattern emerges. Only 78 per cent of the fathers were Roman Catholic, while 8 per cent were Protestant (Table 13). If the fathers transmitted to their sons during their early years nontraditional qualities consistent with those which Weber associated with the Calvinist minority in Europe (and which more recent theorists have extended to other minority ideologies), then the apparent irrelevance of the Weber hypothesis to the Philippines indicated by Carroll's findings may be misleading. Roman Catholic religious affiliation in adult life may in many cases reflect convenience, for example, in marrying Roman Catholic women, while the nontraditional behavioral orientation learned from non-Catholic fathers in early socialization may persist.

Since the entrepreneur study does not provide data on the religious affiliations of the entrepreneurs' fathers, this hypothesis cannot be carried further with the entrepreneur material. However, it may be inferred that minority religions may well have been more highly represented by the entrepreneurs' fathers than by the entrepreneurs themselves. This inference is derived from the datum that there is no statistically significant difference between the present religious affiliations of managers and entrepreneurs, but there is a statistically significant difference between the managers' present religious affiliation and the religion of their fathers (using the McNemar Test for Significance of Changes, $X^2 = 16.4473; p < .001$).

Although the data on religious origins as presented here do not show a relationship between affiliation with minority religions and participation in manufacturing management sufficient enough to be taken as conclusive, they nevertheless reopen the question that appeared to have been closed by Carroll's study of entrepreneurs.

Table 11

Filipino managers (N = 200) and entrepreneurs (N = 92) who attended college, classified by major field of study (1969 and 1960).

Major field of study	*Managers*		*Entrepreneurs*	
	No.	*%*	*No.*	*%*
Technology, engineering, or science	131	71	15	23
Business administration, accounting, or economics	40	22	28	43
Law	4	2	19	29
Other	10	5	4	6
Total	185	100	66	100
Did not attend college*	13		26	
No information	2			

*Those who did not attend college represent 6 per cent of all managers, 28 per cent of all entrepreneurs.

Source of entrepreneur data: Carroll 1965:107.

Table 12

Filipino managers (N = 200) and entrepreneurs (N = 92) classified by present religious affiliation or belief (1969 and 1960).

Religious affiliation	*Managers*		*Entrepreneurs*	
	No.	*%*	*No.*	*%*
Roman Catholic	180	90	88	96
Protestant	10	5	3	3
Philippine independent Church	0	0	0	0
Free thinker	2	1	0	0
None	2	1	0	0
Other*	5	3	1	1
Total	199	100	92	100
No information	1		0	

*For managers: Iglesia ni Kristo, 1; Buddhist, 1; religion not specified, 3. For entrepreneurs: religion not specified, 1.

Source of entrepreneur data: Carroll 1965:56–57.

Table 13

Filipino managers (N = 200) classified by religious affiliation or belief of father during manager's childhood (1969).

Religious affiliation of father	*No.*	*%*
Roman Catholic	156	78
Protestant	17	8
Philippine Independent Church	11	6
Iglesia ni Kristo	0	0
Buddhist	4	2
Free thinker	8	4
None	2	1
Other	2	1
Total	200	100

Mobility of the Manager

The first sections of this paper have been intended to show that while the theoretical framework introduced by Carroll does in a very general way predict differences in the backgrounds of Filipino entrepreneurs and managers, they are not sufficiently specific to generate hypotheses that will distinguish specific Philippine high-level manpower groupings from each other. It was shown that the entrepreneurs received strikingly greater exposure to business ownership in their early years than did the managers, and that the exposure or lack of it apparently accounted for the entrepreneurs' tendency to go into business for themselves, and the managers' tendency to work in businesses owned by others.

It was then shown that while the entrepreneurs received more exposure to direct foreign influence in their backgrounds, the managers received more exposure to indirect foreign influence. These indirect foreign influences have become so much a part of contemporary Philippine life, at least in certain geographical areas and in higher socioeconomic strata, that they were relabeled "modern Philippine influence," rather than treated as foreign as they were by Carroll.

The next sections focus on one of the primary overall differences between the managers and the entrepreneurs—socioeconomic background. First, indicators showing that there is indeed such a difference are discussed. Then, assuming that there has been considerable upward mobility among the managers, the question of how the managers were able to move from relatively less prestigious backgrounds to their present high-status positions is considered.

Socioeconomic backgrounds of entrepreneurs and managers

Fathers' socioeconomic strata. To provide direct comparability to the entrepreneur data, the occupations of the managers' fathers were coded in the same categories employed by Carroll. The classification was intended to represent approximate income categories. The specific content of the categories, not elaborated in Table 14 for considerations of space, are as follows (Carroll 1965:87, 88):

1. "Upper": owners of major businesses; landowners with more than 150 hectares.
2. "Upper Middle": professionals (other than grade-school teachers); executives and officials in large business or government; owners of import-export, wholesale, or large retail businesses; landowners with 25–150 hectares.
3. "Lower Middle": those with white-collar or technical skills; grade-school teachers; first-level supervisors; owners of retail businesses with a few employees; landowners with less than 25 hectares but with some tenants.
4. "Lower": unskilled and semiskilled laborers; businessmen without employees (i.e., peddlers and sari-sari storeowners), tenant farmers and owner-cultivators without tenants.

Table 14

Filipino managers (N = 200) and entrepreneurs (N = 92) classified by father's socioeconomic position when the managers were 16 years old and the entrepreneurs 18 (1969 and 1960).*

Socioeconomic position of father	*Managers*		*Entrepreneurs*	
	No.	*%*	*No.*	*%*
Upper	9	5	32	36
Upper middle	87	44	24	27
Lower middle	83	42	15	17
Lower	18	9	19	21
Total	197	100	90	101
No information	3		2	

*Except when father had died before the respondent reached age 16. Where this was the case, socioeconomic position of the father at the time of his death is reported.

Source of entrepreneur data: Carroll 1965:91.

The socioeconomic differences implicit in the greater exposure of the entrepreneurs to business ownership are made explicit in these data. The category "Upper" in this coding system is very much upper, approximately corresponding to the upper class defined by Hunt and others (1963:101, 102) as representing only about 1 per cent of the total Philippine population. And yet 36 per cent of the entrepreneurs came from this privileged background. For the managers, on the other hand, only 5 per cent came from this extreme upper level, with 86 per cent coming from the "middle" levels.

An independent rating of managers' fathers' occupational status. For the manager data fathers' occupations were classified by a panel of 15 raters, chosen to represent a wide range of social status according to previous studies of occupational ranking in the Philippines. Each rater was asked to sort the 93 different specific occupations of the managers' fathers into six categories, ranging from highest to lowest "status." The extreme highs and lows were decided by agreement of 10 out of the 15 raters that the occupation belonged in categories I and II for the highs, and V and VI for the lows. The residual was then divided into two categories, represented in Table 15 as "Middle A" and "Middle B." "Middle A" represents those residual occupations which at least nine of the 15 raters placed in categories I through III. "Middle B" is composed of those occupations which at least nine of the 15 raters placed in

Table 15

Filipino managers (N = 200) classified by father's occupational status when the managers were 16 years old (1969).*

Occupational status of father	*No.*	*%*
Upper	40	20
Middle A	91	46
Middle B	51	26
Lower	17	8
Total	199	100
No information	1	

*Except in cases when father had died before the respondent reached age 16. Where this was the case, occupation of the father at time of his death is reported.

categories IV through VI. The residual from these criteria were assigned to the categories given in Table 15 on the basis of additional criteria, primarily land ownership.

In this rating system, "Middle-level manager, Large Manufacturing Corporation (below Vice-President, but above Supervisor)" was placed in "Upper." That is, the present occupational status of the managers was placed in the highest category. In this system, then, any manager whose father's occupation was placed in a category other than "Upper" may be considered upwardly mobile relative to his father's occupation.

The distribution of managers' fathers' occupations when the managers were 16 years of age, according to these categories, is given in Table 15. Only 20 per cent of the managers were not upwardly mobile relative to their fathers' occupations, 8 per cent moved all the way up from the bottom category, 34 per cent from the lowest two categories and 80 per cent from the lower three categories.

Land ownership of managers' families. In traditional Philippine agricultural society land ownership was the key to socioeconomic status. There was not necessarily a direct relationship between number of hectares owned and socioeconomic status, however, because some types of crops require more land than others to produce high income. Nonetheless, the total number of hectares owned by a family does give some indication of wealth, at least to the extent that high hectarage almost certainly means high socioeconomic status. Low hectarage, on the other hand, does not necessarily mean low socioeconomic status.

Table 16

Filipino managers (N = 200) classified by amount of land owned by their families when they were 16 years old (1969).

Amount of land owned	*No.*	*%*
No land at all	46	23
Less than 1 hectare	45	23
20 through 49 hectares	23	12
1 through 4 hectares	22	11
5 through 9 hectares	21	11
10 through 19 hectares	18	9
50 through 99 hectares	12	6
100 through 199 hectares	6	3
200 hectares or more	6	3
Total	199	101
No information	1	

Table 16 presents the distribution of land ownership of managers' families when the managers were 16 years old. Nearly half (46 per cent) of the managers' families owned less than one hectare of land, and 57 per cent owned less than five hectares. Only 12 per cent owned more than 50 hectares.

The route of upward mobility

This section discusses the route by which the managers moved up. It should be noted that a more detailed examination of the process in which fine distinctions are explored qualitatively would be preferable to the gross treatment of the entire grouping of 200 managers. Work is continuing in this regard, and a more elaborate discussion is planned for a later paper.

Under the earlier section of this paper dealing with exposure to Manila and other urban areas the aspect of geographical mobility has been discussed (see "Modern Philippine influence," above). This is clearly an important part of the route up for many of the 56 per cent of the managers who were born outside the Greater Manila area. The two additional aspects of the path of upward mobility discussed in this section are education and work experience.

Education of the managers. The Philippine educational system appears to be a key institution functioning as a preadaptation to the needs of industry,

and thus providing an important route up for the managers. This is not to suggest that the educational system is so good as it could be, or even so good as will be necessary for industrial growth to continue to bring a restructuring of the Philippine socioeconomic system. It is merely to indicate that the educational system has been sufficient to permit upward mobility into a prestigious level of large-scale industry for Filipinos whose fathers occupied lower status positions in the society.

Table 17 presents data on the elementary schools attended by the managers. Public elementary schools were attended by 72 per cent of the managers, with 48 per cent having attended public schools outside of Manila. This means that most of those who were resident outside Manila attended public schools, and about half of those resident in Manila attended public elementary schools. On the secondary school level, half the managers were still in public schools, as indicated in Table 18.

It is on the level of higher education, which can be compared directly to the entrepreneurs, that the greatest implications for Philippine educational policy are to be found. First, the managers in general completed a higher level

Table 17

Filipino managers (N = 200) classified by type of elementary school they attended (1969).

Type of elementary school	*No.*	*%*
Philippine public school		
Barrio	20	10
Poblacion	60	30
Urban outside Manila	15	8
Manila or suburbs	47	24
Subtotal	142	72
Philippine private school		
Roman Catholic	50	25
Other**	7	4
Subtotal	57	29
Foreign school, abroad	1	*
Total	200	101

*Percentage is less than 0.50.

**Protestant, 1; Chinese school, 4; neither Chinese nor religious, 1; orphanage, 1.

of education than did the entrepreneurs, as indicated in Table 19. While only 60 per cent of the entrepreneurs completed bachelor's degrees, 76 per cent of the managers did. Further, only one manager did not complete high school, while 19 (20 per cent) of the entrepreneurs did not complete high school.

Table 18

Filipino managers (N = 200) classified by type of secondary school they attended (1969).

Type of secondary school	*No.*	*%*
Philippine public school		
Academic course	85	43
Vocational course	13	6
Subtotal	98	49
Philippine private school		
Academic, Catholic	64	32
Academic, Protestant	3	2
Academic, non-Chinese and non-religious	29	15
Other*	2	1
Subtotal	98	50
Foreign school, abroad	3	2
Total	199	101
No information	1	

*Academic Chinese school, 1; vocational, 1.

Contrary to stereotyped thinking, it does not appear to be necessary to be educated in the "best" of schools to become successful in management of large manufacturing firms in the Philippines. Table 20 indicates that 23 different institutions of higher learning contributed managers, while only nine contributed entrepreneurs.[5] Table 21 gives a direct comparison of colleges from which entrepreneurs and managers received their degrees and reveals that 36 per cent of the managers who graduated from college went to schools other than the six that produced 94 per cent of the entrepreneurs who graduated. It is apparent that Philippine society is better represented by the managers than by the entrepreneurs, for the manager data show a larger

Table 19

Filipino managers (N = 200) and entrepreneurs (N = 92) classified by highest level of education completed (1969 and 1960).

Highest level completed	Managers		Entrepreneurs	
	No.	%	No.	%
High school not completed	1	*	19	20
Bachelor's degree not completed	48	24	18	20
Bachelor's degree or higher	151**	76	55	60
Total	200	100	92	100

*Percentage is 0.50 or less.

**Three managers who completed two-year associate degrees are not included in the figure.

representation of institutions of higher learning generally associated with lower socioeconomic status than the entrepreneur data do. Further, it is apparent that the inexpensive education offered by private, "profit-making" schools is sufficient to provide a start for capable Filipinos from which they can move on to higher status through the experience they gain on the job.

Work experience as a means of mobility for managers. Together with educational opportunity, advancement through work appears to have provided an upward route for many of the managers. Table 22 gives data on work experience of the managers during college. Forty-one per cent of the managers who attended college did no work at all while in school. On the other hand, 35 per cent held full-time jobs. This is consistent with the fact that 33 per cent of the managers supported themselves through college, and only about half (55 per cent) depended primarily on their parents for financial support for their college education.

These data further support the interpretation given the educational data in the previous section, that inexpensive higher education was very important for many managers.

The levels at which managers began their adult careers further fit into the pattern being developed here that a minimal education was sufficient to provide the initial entrance to big industry from which the capable individual of relatively humble origins could then make his own way through on-the-job training. As indicated in Table 23, 47 per cent of the managers began their

Table 20

Filipino managers (N = 200) who were graduated from college, classified by the colleges and universities from which they received their bachelors degrees; schools are ranked by number of managers graduated from each (1969).

School	*Rank*	*No.*	*%*	
Mapua Institute of Technology	1	37	24	
University of the Philippines	2	24	16	
Far Eastern University	3.5	14	9	
University of Santo Tomas	3.5	14	9	
Ateneo de Manila	5	11	7	
De la Salle College	6	10	6	
National University	7	9	6	
Adamson University	8	8	5	
Feati University	9	6	4	
University of the East	10	3	2	
Centro Escolar University	12.5	2	1	
Jose Rizal College	12.5	2	1	
Manuel L. Quezon University	12.5	2	1	
Other	12.5	2	1	
Letran College	19.5	1		
Lyceum of the Philippines	19.5	1		
Nautical	19.5	1		
Paterno	19.5	1		
Philippine College of Commerce	19.5	1		
San Beda College	19.5	1		6
Silliman University	19.5	1		
Tulane University (USA)	19.5	1		
University of San Agustin	19.5	1		
University of Wisconsin (USA)	19.5	1		
Total		154	98	
Not college graduates (23 per cent of all managers)		46		

Table 21

Filipino managers (N = 200) and entrepreneurs (N = 92) who were graduated from college, classified by the institutions from which they were graduated (1969 and 1960).

College/University	Managers		Entrepreneurs	
	No.	%	No.	%
University of the Philippines	24	16	19	34
Ateneo de Manila	11	7	14	25
De la Salle	10	6	0	–
University of Santo Tomas	14	9	7	13
Jose Rizal	2	1	7	13
Mapua	37	24	5	9
Other schools	56	36	3	5
Total	154	99	55	99
Not graduated from college*	44		37	
No information	2		0	

*Non-graduates represent 22 per cent of all managers and 40 per cent of all entrepreneurs.

Source of entrepreneur data: Carroll 1965:109–10.

careers at the bottom, either as salesmen, factory rank and file, or clerks in departments other than sales or production. An additional 20 per cent began at the lower supervisory level, and only 12 per cent began in higher management positions in production and sales, although there is an additional 22 per cent that began in "other" positions that could represent a range of levels. Only one manager began his adult career as a business owner.

Summary and Implications

In this paper the backgrounds of Filipino manufacturing entrepreneurs and of middle-level managers in sales and production are compared, using a framework developed by Carroll (1965:187ff.). The comparison indicates that Carroll's statements about entrepreneurs are applicable, in general, to the manager data. Thus the background characteristics associated with the entrepreneurs' development of a commitment to profit orientation were also present in the backgrounds of the managers. However, characteristics associated with the entrepreneurs' development of commitment to business ownership were not found among the managers.

Table 22

Filipino managers (N = 200) classified by their work experience while in college (1969).

Work experience in college	*No.*	*%*
Part-time jobs		
Related to college major or present occupation	17	9
Unrelated to college major or present occupation	26	14
Subtotal	43	23
Full-time jobs		
Related to college major or present occupation	37	20
Unrelated to college major or present occupation	28	15
Subtotal	65	35
Other jobs	3	2
Did not work while in college	76	41
Total	187	101
Did not attend college	13	

Table 23

Filipino managers (N = 200) classified by the level at which they began what they considered their adult career (1969).

Level	No.	%
1 Salesman	39	20
2 Factory rank and file	34	17
3 Clerk in department other than sales or production	20	10
4 Sales supervisor	1	*
5 Factory foreman	21	11
6 Lower management in department other than sales or production	17	8
7 Sales, advertising, marketing management at level higher than 1 and 4 above	2	1
8 Production management at level higher than 2 and 5 above	21	11
9 Other, except business owner	44	22
10 Business owner	1	*
Total	200	100

*Percentage is 0.50 or less.

Dividing the influence classified by Carroll as "foreign" into "direct foreign" and "modern Philippine" (or "indirect foreign") influence, it was found that while the entrepreneurs were exposed to more "direct foreign" influence than the managers were during their development, the managers were exposed to more "modern Philippine" influence. It is suggested that it is misleading to characterize the emergent Filipino corporation manager as "Americanized" or even "westernized," even though many managers say that this is what is happening to them. It is more appropriate and accurate to speak of the managers as being increasingly "industrialized," undergoing the same general process as those Americans, Japanese, Africans, and others who have become involved in modern large-scale industry. There is sufficient evidence from the current manager study to suggest that the sources of continuing moderniza-

tion in the Philippines should henceforth be sought less in foreign influence than in sources of change internal to the contemporary Philippines, regardless of their ultimate historical origin. The 1950s, in other words, may be characterized as the decade of the manufacturing entrepreneur and direct foreign influence; the 1960s should be called the decade of the manufacturing manager and the Filipinization of the behavioral aspects of Philippine industry.

The complex problem of the relationship between religion and capitalism is reopened. In terms of their present religious preferences, there are among managers and entrepreneurs as many Roman Catholics as can be expected from the percentage of members of this faith in the general population. However, investigation of religion of the managers' fathers reveals an overrepresentation of non-Roman Catholics.

While Carroll notes that there was considerable upward mobility among entrepreneurs, he also observes that "it still appears that, in terms of one's statistical chances of becoming a big businessman, it is extremely helpful to have had a father who was a big businessman" (Carroll 1965:100). In general, it is apparent that entrepreneurs, more than managers, came from backgrounds that gave them access to considerable economic means. Many entrepreneurs, it is true, moved in the course of their lifetime from the lowest socioeconomic category to positions high on the economic scale. However, a complex of indicators, including the institution of higher education attended, foreign travel, independence of father's occupation, and two measures of father's socioeconomic level, suggest that upward mobility is more characteristic of managers than of entrepreneurs. In other words, it appears that in the entrepreneurial stage of Philippine industrialization, the modal pattern was one of horizontal mobility from traditionally prestigious roles to the new prestigious role of the manufacturing entrepreneur. The succeeding phase, which saw the development of the Filipino manager, featured more commonly vertical movement from traditionally less prestigious backgrounds to the increasingly important modern role of the manufacturing manager.

The development of management manpower represented in this study did not come about as the result of feedback from the needs of industry to those Philippine institutions which might provide industry with the managerial personnel it needed. Rather, it must be concluded that the rudiments of institutions adequate for an industrial society were already present in the Philippines when the development of industry began in the years following national independence. One institution of particular importance for the needs of industry was the Philippine educational system.

Some of the implications of these findings are the following. The Philippines annually commits an extraordinarily large portion of its budget to education. Most of these funds go to the support of public elementary and

secondary schools, with another very large portion assigned to the University of the Philippines. It would appear from the high proportion of managers who received their elementary and secondary education in public schools that, in terms of managerial manpower development, this money is well spent. On the other hand, it is also apparent that a number of low-prestige, profit-making private institutions have also made a significant contribution to the training of managers at the college level. And this is to be expected. For in a developing country such as the Philippines, it is unrealistic to think that quality education, at least of the kind received in highly developed nations, should be available to a large percentage of the people. The cost is just too high. Despite this hard fact, government educational planners and high-level business management tend to think that quality education is a necessity—perhaps because they themselves received such training. In the light of the evidence presented in this study, it is possible to confront this kind of thinking and to make an argument for *minimal* education, always with an eye to save scarce funds for other projects of high priority. Private institutions with mixed motives have provided this minimum in the past while saving the government the expense of additional educational investment.[6]

This recommendation should not be interpreted as condoning poor quality education nor as a suggestion that great improvements in private, as well as public, education are not needed. On the contrary, the needs of management manpower can be expected to accelerate, and higher quality training will become more important as industry grows. The point being made is that something can be learned from the fact that individuals who could not afford quality education received a sufficient start nonetheless, and were able to make it on their own the rest of the way.

Finally, it is demonstrated that work was an important avenue of upward mobility for the managers. Beginning with work in college, a large number of managers worked their way up from lower levels of employment to their present relatively high positions.

Appendix: Methodological Considerations

In his study of entrepreneurs Carroll used four criteria to define the research population. The general objective was to identify the Filipinos who had been responsible for the founding of successful nongovernment manufacturing organizations, success being indicated by the companies' having reached medium size by 1960. More specifically the criteria used in defining the research population, that is, all qualifying entrepreneurs, were size of company, type of industry, entrepreneurial role, and cultural identity of the entrepreneur. The final population of qualifying entrepreneurs was 92, all of whom were included in the study.

Definition of the manager research population involved not only criteria similar to the four used in the entrepreneur study, but also additional applied conditions. Even among the four common criteria, however, there were some important differences that should be considered in any interpretation of the similarities and differences in backgrounds of the two populations. The final selection of the manager sample followed the drawing of a sample of 24 companies representative of the 55 companies that met the criteria for inclusion in the research population. Within these 24 companies 200 managers qualified and were available for inclusion in the study. All 200 were studied.

Size of company

Carroll began his identification of the research population by consulting a list prepared by the Philippine government's Department of Labor. The list, according to the Department of Labor, included all establishments that employed more than 99 persons at the time (1960). He used additional lists to supplement this. The median size of the 92 companies included in his final population was 194 employes.

Size was also a criterion for selection in the manager study, but a different definition was used. The basic list from which further eliminations were made was that published by *Business Day* in August 1968: the 124 largest industrial and mining corporations in the Philippines in 1967, based on sales. In terms of the criterion of size used in the entrepreneur study, that is, number of employes, the median in the manager study was 500 employes, considerably larger than in the entrepreneur study. The smallest company in the manager study employed 60 persons, less than would have qualified for the entrepreneur population, and the largest employed 10,945 persons.

Type of industry

The next step in the definition of qualifying entrepreneurs was to determine which of the companies were actually engaged in manufacturing. Carroll included all companies on his list that were reported to be engaged in the industries included under "manufacturing" according to the Standard Industrial Classification, with the exception of the following which he writes are either "not manufacturing in the usual sense of the work" [sic] (Carroll 1965:209–210), or tended to be too geographically dispersed to be practicable: sawmilling, sugar milling, processing of abaca, ramie and nipa, newspaper and magazine publishing, and automotive repair work.

The manager study employed a different approach to the operationalization of "manufacturing." The personnel managers of all corporations qualifying on the criterion of size were asked by questionnaire if their companies or any subsidiaries were engaged in "manufacturing, that is, the fabrication of raw materials into intermediate components or finished products by primarily mechanical means dependent on inanimate sources of power" (definition of "industry" by Moore 1965:4). Qualifying companies were later grouped according to Standard Industrial Classification for proportionate sampling.

The resulting corporation samples are indicated in the table below. All industries represented in the manager study are also represented in the entrepreneur study, but additional industries are included in the latter.

Occupational role

After he had identified qualifying companies, Carroll then moved to identify the individuals who had performed the entrepreneurial function in those companies. He defined "entrepreneur" as the individual who performed "the overall coordinating function in bringing together the traditional factors of production to form a new industrial enterprise" (Carroll 1965:39).

It was on this criterion that the two studies differed most, and it was this difference which the present paper attempted to account for. The managers, in contrast to the entrepreneurs, occupied the middle-level management positions that fell between vice president and supervisor, noninclusive. In some cases, particularly in companies with parent firms in the United States, a different terminology was used, but there was little difficulty in obtaining agreement from company representatives as to equivalent managerial functions.

Cultural identity

The final criterion used by Carroll in definition of qualifying entrepreneurs was cultural identity. He did not specify his reasons for limiting the population to individuals who were "legally and culturally Filipinos," although it was clear that interpretation of his data would be facilitated by control over as many variables as possible, including "culture." Carroll included only entrepreneurs who were citizens of the Philippines and had at least one parent born in the Philippines. Some enterprises were eliminated prior to determination of their founders when there was strong evidence that they were dominated by aliens.

Taking into consideration Carroll's elaborate discussion on determining cultural identity in his study of entrepreneurs, a chain of reasoning apparently different from Carroll's was followed in the manager study. Instead of limiting the study to individuals who were "Filipino" in the legal and ideological sense as Carroll did, the manager study intended to represent Philippine managers who were *permanently* a part of the Philippine industrial complex. Similarly, it was deemed desirable to represent companies that were permanent, not merely those that were dominated, legally or in fact, by individuals who were legally and culturally Filipinos. The criterion for selection, then, was permanence, and managers who were temporary residents of the Philippines, in most cases specifically to fill managerial positions in companies with parent firms in the United States, were eliminated. From the final sample of 200 managers 197 (98 per cent) were citizens of the Philippines, two of China, and one of the United States. The managers were not asked if they had one foreign-born parent (five entrepreneurs had one foreign-born parent), but 171 (86 per cent) had no foreign-born parent, the additional 14 per cent having had either one or both parents born outside the Philippines.

It should be noted that although Carroll compared his findings to the national and Manila census figures, these data include aliens resident in the Philippines while his sampling did not.

A further important difference in the companies included in the two studies is that the manager study specifically included 12 companies with parent companies in the United States (called "*Taga-States*" companies in the study), and 12 that had no parent firms outside the Philippines ("*Tagarito*" companies). This decision was made for reasons irrelevant to the present paper, but important to the continuing research of the manager project. Further, within the 12 Tagarito companies there was no attempt to retain only companies that were founded or controlled by individuals who were legally and culturally Filipino.

Geographical location

In addition to these four criteria used in definition of research populations in both the entrepreneur and manager studies, additional criteria were used in the manager study. One of these was location of the manufacturing establishment in the area of Manila and suburbs. This area was defined initially by inspection from the air of the distribution of industrial buildings near Manila, and it was finally determined that the

area enclosed within the perimeter defined by contiguous settlement outward from the city of Manila coincided with the distribution of most industrial buildings. Small maps showing this area were sent to the personnel managers of the 124 largest industrial and mining companies in the country to provide an operational definition of the "Greater Manila area" to be used by them to determine whether or not their companies qualified by this criterion.

When individual managers were assigned to areas outside the Greater Manila area they were eliminated from the study if their families (that is, spouses and children) resided outside that area.

Department

A second criterion used in definition of the manager research population that was not used in the entrepreneur study was the department within which the managers worked. Again for reasons irrelevant to the present paper but basic to the primary objectives of the manager project, only managers in sales and production (including engineering and quality control) were included in the study.

Representativeness of the two populations

Carroll emphasized that the companies, and the entrepreneurs, included in his study could not be considered representative of Philippine manufacturing in general, since he was concerned with a relatively narrowly defined population of entrepreneurs and their companies were largely incidental to this primary interest. The companies included in the manager study, on the other hand, may be considered representative of companies meeting the following criteria:

(1) Manufacturing

(2) In the greater Manila area

(3) Among the largest 200 corporations in sales in 1967

(4) Having either:

(a) no parent company outside the Philippines, or
(b) a parent company in the United States

Within these criteria for inclusion of corporations, managers in the study may be considered representative of the following:

(1) middle-level sales

(2) middle-level production

Summary of comparability of the populations

Although there are some important differences in the organizations with which the entrepreneurs and the managers were involved, they are generally comparable. The primary difference between the two populations is their occupational roles: on the one hand, as founders (entrepreneurs) of manufacturing establishments of medium to large size, and on the other hand, as managers of large manufacturing corporations.

An important difference between the two populations that was not discussed was the different points in Philippine history at which the two studies were undertaken. During the period in which the entrepreneurs founded their enterprises there were fewer opportunities for professional managers than was the case when the manager

Corporations, managers and entrepreneurs, by industry.

Industry	Companies in managers study		Managers		Entrepreneurs and their companies	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Food and kindred products	10	33.3	51	25.5	6	6.5
Tobacco manufacturers	1	3.3	4	2.0	1	1.1
Textile mills	3	10.0	20	10.0	7	7.6
Lumber, wood and cork (except furniture)	1	3.3	5	2.5	7	7.6
Chemicals and chemical products	5	16.7	37	18.5	9	9.8
Fabricated metal industries	5	16.7	42	21.0	6	6.5
Transportation (assembly) and transport equipment	2	6.7	13	6.5	5	5.4
Rubber products	2	6.7	19	9.5	6	6.5
Petroleum and coal	1	3.3	9	4.5	2	2.2
Electrical machines, apparatus, appliances and supplies	–	–	–	–	7	7.6
Footwear, other wearing apparel and made-up textiles	–	–	–	–	11	12.0
Furniture and fixtures	–	–	–	–	5	5.4
Printing and allied industries	–	–	–	–	4	4.3
Leather, leather and fur, except wearing material	–	–	–	–	2	2.2
Non-metallic mineral products except petroleum and coal	–	–	–	–	7	7.6
Basic metal industries	–	–	–	–	2	2.2
Miscellaneous manufacturing	–	–	–	–	5	5.4
	30*	100.0	200	100.0	92	99.9

*One large diversified company is classified by the products of its several Manila manufacturing establishments, so that although only 24 *corporations* were included in the manager study, 30 *plants* were included.

study was going on. Further, there were government incentives to undertake manufacturing entrepreneurship that were not present at the time of the manager study. There was, then, the very real possibility that if the managers included in the 1969 study had lived in the milieu of the entrepreneurs, they would have founded rather than managed manufacturing organizations. Further consideration of these economic variables must await a later paper.

Finally, there was an important difference in the ages of the two populations that would raise intriguing qualifications to be considered in evaluating the differences and similarities between managers and entrepreneurs. While the median age of the entrepreneurs was 53, the median age of the managers was 40. Furthermore, Carroll found that the median age at which the entrepreneurs founded their companies was age 40. The possibility thus appears that the managers might at a later date become entrepreneurs.

Data gathering techniques

Data on the entrepreneurs were gathered in 1960 by John J. Carroll through interviews. The interview schedule was presented in his book (1965:220–226). Data on the managers were gathered in 1969 by Alfred B. Bennett, Jr., using two self-administered questionnaires which were followed up with interviews when necessary to resolve ambiguities in responses.

Notes

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Alfred B. Bennett, Jr. is a Ph.D. candidate in anthropology at the University of Hawaii. He first came to the Philippines in 1962 for two years as a Frontier Intern of the World Student Christian Federation. He served as the Executive Officer of the Philippines Peace Corps Survey (he is co-author of its final report) and returned to the Philippines for his doctoral-dissertation fieldwork in 1968.

1. The economic figures in the preceding paragraphs come from David (1970).

2. See "Appendix" for sampling and other details on methodology.

3. Two managers indicated that they completed degrees but did not specify the institutions. While it is possible that all four completed degrees outside the Philippines, the figure would still represent less than 3 per cent of the total of 154 who completed college. Other managers may have studied abroad without completing undergraduate degrees there.

4. Two managers who indicated that they had graduated from college did not indicate their schools. The manager study does not include data on location of colleges for respondents who did not graduate–respondents representing an additional 33 managers or 16 per cent of all managers. Further details on the education of the managers are elaborated in the section on route of upward mobility.

5. Two managers indicated they completed college degrees (classified in Table 20 as "Other") but did not name the institutions from which they were graduated so that there may have been as many as 25 different schools.

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Lagay and the Policeman: A Study of Private, Transitory Ownership of Public Property

Richard L. Stone

To Adelina Palanca and her husband, Marcelino Borromeo, it was living death on the night of April 11, when five policemen of Parañaque beat them up with fists and pistol butts. To Rosalinda Leonor, it will always be living death to remember the night last year when another Parañaque policeman shot and killed her husband in cold blood.

These cases are not isolated ones, but are typical of countless others that have been taking place with increasing frequency in countless places around the country. They typify the named and unnamed victims of the rule of lawlessness that has become more and more prevalent over these past few years.

Not long ago a woman physician was molested in her own car by policemen in Quezon City. Six months ago, four ruthless policemen in Cebu banded together to kill a helpless man. In Manila, a drunken policeman shot and killed a young man inside an Ermita eatery with absolutely no provocation. A group of policemen in Pasay City swooped down on a transient foreigner and robbed him of his precious possessions in broad daylight. In Parañaque again, a mother lost her son when policemen ganged up on him and left him dead in a trash can.

If he is not a politician, with a private army of hired gangsters, the Filipino cannot be safe again . . . . With every man tyrannized by an agent of government—often a policeman, but sometimes also the judge, the fiscal, the politician in public office—the process of combustion accelerates. Indeed, often it is enough that government simply fails, out of laziness, or incompetence, to provide protection for the citizen, or to inspire his sense of security. For all the good health and material prosperity cannot generate contentment and that sense of well being that democracy promises as long as the citizen has to live in constant fright or peril because crime goes unchecked and unpunished. And in 1967, the mass of Filipinos do not even have good health and material abundance to alleviate their total insecurity at the hands of the lawless . . . .

The policeman gone wrong is the enemy within. Against the ordinary criminal, the citizen is forwarned, and so forearmed. But the policeman who violates the citizen's trust renders him doubly defensive; he turns on him the same weapon the citizen put in his hand for their common protection. By his deed, all the values of human life—faith, love, and charity—are traduced (Weekly Graphic 33 (46):1–2).

So reads an editorial in one of the sensational weekly periodicals of Manila. While it may emotionally overstate the case in the tradition of all good muckraking, it nevertheless touches on a number of points for discussion. It also expresses a common image that the average Filipino has of the policeman. Such a stereotype is bolstered in fact by headlines in the daily and weekly press and by published results of surveys conducted by such agencies as the National Bureau of Investigation (NBI) and the Police Commission (Polcom).

One such survey conducted early in 1967 showed that an average of 48 police officers were directly involved in the commission of crimes every month. This meant that, on a yearly average, almost 2 per cent of the country's police force were themselves involved in criminal activity. This writer conducted a quick, headline-and-title survey of metropolitan dailies and weekly periodicals and found that during the period January 1, 1967 to January 30, 1968, a total of 113 news stories, feature articles, and editorials were about crimes committed by policemen. That meant an average of one "police" story every three days. Of that number, a full 23 cases were explicitly of cop corruption, in particular, of policemen's using their authority for extortion.

Just after Manila Police Chief Ricardo Papa revealed that 203 "erring policemen" had been punished during the fiscal year 1966–67, I mentioned this to one of my key informants, a taxi driver, and asked him what he thought of this. His reply was brief, cynical, and illuminating: *"203 lang pala? Bakit hindi ang lahat ng pulisya? Walang matapat: masamang lahat."* ("Only 203? Why not all cops? They're all crooks.")

His response is not unique. During the last year (1967–68), I asked more than 1,000 people (those of whom I kept a record) from all strata in the Philippines what they thought of policemen. Of that total, only two persons felt that any policeman was completely honest while the majority felt that all policemen were in some way corrupt. In a more formal survey of residents in two squatter communities, an item about policemen was included (see "Appendix"). Respondents were almost unanimously of the opinion that policemen were, by role definition, corrupt. This was not due to any pressure brought to bear on them as squatters, but because of behavior they associated with the police, most particularly in reference to traffic policemen and to foot patrolmen who harassed sidewalk vendors and hawkers. Respondents also singled out as evidence of corruption policemen's being linked with illegal activities (gambling, prostitution, smuggling) either as partners or politicians' protectors.

Why this impression of the policeman? Police Commission statistics provide some answers. For example, 69 per cent of local policemen are totally ignorant of their specific duties. Only about 8 per cent of the country's 31,000 city and municipal policemen are college graduates and only about 33 per cent finished high school. The remainder are either elementary-school graduates, or have even less formal education. Commission records also show that only 5,373 city policemen and 3,211 municipal policemen possess civil service eligibility, an official standard qualifying them to hold their jobs. The others are, in effect, interim or temporary appointments. The average age of Filipino policemen is 44 years old–mature by any standard.

Low wages are often cited as causal factors in the breakdown of law enforcement among the law enforcers in the Philippines. Hundreds of police-

men earn less than ₱50 (around US$7 in 1971) monthly and receive neither overtime pay nor clothing allowance. But a major factor in considering the behavior of policemen is their manner of appointment and the ramifications of such appointments. Policemen are appointed by the mayor of a city or municipality with the consent of the city or municipal council. Under such a system, given the nature of Filipino politics, the policeman is bound to the appointing power. A related and important point is that connected with public space. This last point will be illustrated in the following discussion of police behavior in the Greater Manila area.

Public Behavior and Public Space

In two earlier papers (Stone 1967, 1968), I proposed that certain insights into the Filipino's concept of law could be gained by consideration of his public behavior in the use of public space. Utilizing Hall's (1959, 1963, 1964, 1966) concept of proxemics, I first considered driving behavior in Greater Manila and then, in the second paper, the phenomenon of squatting. Both papers followed from what I choose to term the private, transitory possession or ownership of public property. In constructing such a model, I posited that, in contrast to Western notions, public property in the Philippines belongs to no one:

> Rather the user of public property—public sidewalks, public highways, public lands, and perhaps even public office or position—appears to regard that particular piece of public property, that particular office, at the time of use, as his own personal property (Stone 1967:54).

I further posited that there exists in the Philippines a conscious, articulated game situation whereby the Filipino views life as a series of contests, or games, which may be pleasant, tedious, and most often, serious. With this as background, I should like to consider the behavior of policemen as a third example of this kind of ownership.

Private, Transitory Ownership of Public Property

The actual number of "corrupt" policemen in Greater Manila is unknown. It is difficult to believe that all policemen are corrupt, but one gets the feeling that the majority of the population does believe this. What is true, however, is that the newspaper statistics do not reflect all of the erring policemen, nor do the public disclosures indicate the range of illegal activities carried on by policemen in the Greater Manila area.[1]

Illegal or corrupt police activity may be categorized as follows: (1) the rental of public space; (2) the protection of or participation in illegal activities

such as gambling, prostitution, and the *biniboy* rackets; and (3) illegal activities related to politicians.[2] Our focus here is on the first category primarily, but must of necessity embrace the latter two to some extent.

During the early stages of research, the concentration was on driving behavior, and public behavior connected with the mobile use of space, and how this conflicted with the laws regarding public space. During this period, informants pointed out various areas in Greater Manila where policemen were involved in renting public space to drivers. Most of these rental activities involved collections of *tong* from *jeepney*, bus, taxi, and truck drivers who plied a set, daily route.[3]

In Manila:

(1) Six policemen in the Quiapo area collect as much as 90 centavos daily and ₱3 weekly from jeepney drivers who drive the routes from Quiapo to Blumentritt, Quiapo to Lealtad, Quiapo to San Juan. Drivers of the JD, MD, and Yujuico bus companies give daily to cops on the traffic beat for coffee. Drivers and conductors estimate that each of them pays at least ₱1 to policemen in this manner.

(2) At Del Pan Bridge, near the intersection of MacArthur and Roxas, truck drivers pay as much as ₱2 to pass the route.

(3) At the Taft-Herran intersection and again at Taft-Vito Cruz, agents collect tong daily from jeepney drivers who regularly drive the route from Quiapo to Libertad in Pasay.

(4) Near the Paco Market, the Paco-Ermita jeeps pay tong to collection agents for the right to drive free of harassment from traffic policemen. These drivers, like most of the others, are caught in a double bind, since there are also intermittent collections taken up at the corner of M. H. Del Pilar and Fadre Faura streets.

In Quezon City:

(1) Near the University of the Philippines, at the Quezon Memorial Rotunda, collection agents collect from bus drivers and jeepney drivers only. Behind the University of the Philippines, on Katipunan Road, regular collections are taken from bus and jeepney drivers.

(2) At the corner of Santolan and E. de los Santos Avenue (Highway 54), for jeepneys going into the White Plains area, a daily fee of 30 centavos is charged each jeepney.

(3) On the north side of Cubao crossing, collection agents charge jeepney drivers, bus drivers, and truck drivers tong of varying amounts.

(4) In the San Francisco del Monte area, at the corners of D. Tuazon and Del Monte Avenue, collection agents charge jeepney drivers a set fee ranging from 20 centavos per day to ₱2.50 per week.

In San Juan and Mandaluyong:

(1) At Punta, jeepney drivers regularly pay a collector for rights to traverse the area. Fees range from 30 centavos daily to ₱2 weekly.

(2) At N. Domingo and Blumentritt streets, collections are made daily for jeepney drivers plying the San Juan and Little Baguio routes.

(3) The corner of Shaw Boulevard and E. de los Santos Avenue is lucrative. Police collection agents collect from buses using the highway, from buses crossing the highway en route to Pasig, from jeepneys coming from the highway to Pasig, and from pedicabs which make short local trips into the area near the highway. At night, jeeps which go from Pasay to Cubao, Quezon City, pay a fee at this crossing.

In Makati, Parañaque, and Pasay City:

(1) At various points along Buendia Street, notably at Dian, Pasong Tamo in Makati and at Taft Avenue in Pasay City, regular collections are made from jeepney drivers.

(2) At the corners of Taft Avenue and Libertad Street, and F. B. Harrison and Libertad, regular collections are made, as on the Pasay side of F. B. Harrison and Vito Cruz.

(3) The Baclaran Rotunda and the surrounding areas are daily collection sites by agents for traffic and beat policemen. On Wednesday, the day of traditional devotion to the shrine of Our Lady of Perpetual Help in Baclaran, there is considerable increase in requests for coffee money.

(4) Between Parañaque and Sukat, a policeman collects daily tong from jeepney and bus drivers.

In North of Greater Manila:

(1) At Monumento (that is, the Bonifacio or National Heroes' Monument), regular collections are made at various points around the rotunda: from jeeps going north to the suburbs along MacArthur Highway, from those going toward Cubao (who are also stopped occasionally at Balintawak), those going to Maypajo, and those returning to Manila.

(2) Between Monumento and the Valenzuela, Bulacan, some 18 kilometers north of Manila, about 10 motorcycle and local traffic policemen form a receiving line to collect from jeeps, trucks and buses. This is not, to my knowledge, a set-fee area, and policemen stop vehicles at random.

Most of these examples involve the payment of set fees to particular police officers in charge of a particular beat. The use of the term "agent" in some of the examples means exactly that—an individual designated by the policeman as responsible for collection of the daily tong. Generally, this is a vendor in the immediate area or it may be a *chuchuwa* who has attached himself to a policeman or politician.[4] While such payment could be considered *lagay* in the broad sense, I would make the distinction here between tong and lagay. Tong would refer to a set fee such as the payment of the jeepney drivers to the police agents at Quiapo and the other areas—90 centavos daily and ₱3 weekly. Lagay, would involve a specific offering of money for a specific service rendered.[5] However, most taxi drivers use the term lagay rather than tong when describing payments to policemen who stop them for traffic violations, real or imagined.

Tong rates have spiralled in the Greater Manila area over the past decade. "It used to be only 50 centavos to ₱1 before," many informants complain, "but now the policemen are getting *swapang* (greedy). Every place in Manila, Quezon City, like that, is at least ₱2, maybe more."

Standard operational procedure for most taxi drivers includes preparing beforehand a ₱2 bill folded neatly with their driver's license. Once stopped by a policeman, a taxi driver will simply hand over his license (for a policeman inevitably must ask for it) and carry on a ritual conversation.[6] Sometimes, the lagay is not direct, and may take the form of protection by alliance (if one is a ritual kinsman of a policeman, a neighbor, or a friend) or protection by patronizing the policeman's place of business. For example, many policemen issue small laminated cards the size of a business card. The officer's name is on one side; on the other, a safety slogan such as "Only fools drive recklessly." Generally, the cards are numbered, so that the policeman knows how many he has given out and how many are forgeries. If a driver is stopped by another policeman in the city, the driver simply shows the card, and more often than not, is only given a warning, with no lagay expected. The procedure, however, is not always this simple. In fact it can get rather complex, for the card offers certain protection but not complete immunity from lagay. For instance, most of the people who issue the cards belong to the motorcycle patrol unit of the police department, but some mobile-car patrolmen also issue cards. So that if the driver is stopped by a foot patrolman or an officer directing traffic at a major intersection, then he may be expected to pay something, since the foot patrolman does not belong to either motorized unit. Cards from policemen in once municipality are useless in another. No driver in his right mind shows a Quezon City *hagad* (motorcycle cop) a card from a Manila patrolman.

These safe-passage cards are issued for a variety of reasons: policemen have been requested for cards by their own kinsmen or *kumpadre*; politicians have

requested policemen cards for the politicians' close kinsmen; policemen issue cards in exchange for favors rendered to them. To illustrate this last reason, a few examples can be cited. Many telephone-company linemen and drivers have these cards for installing at the policemen's residence *colorum* telephones—those attached illegally to private lines by which people may call out but receive no incoming calls. One motorcycle patrolman in Manila issues cards to taxi drivers in return for their patronage of sister's *turo-turo* ("Just take your meals at my sister's place.") These stands abound in Greater Manila, along Santa Mesa Boulevard in Cubao, in San Juan, Makati, Pasay, and Caloocan—generally along the main thoroughfares. Most of the patrons are involved in the transportation industry, and interestingly enough, a large number of these stands are owned by policemen, policemen's kinsmen, or run by people who are somehow affiliated with policemen.

Rental of Stationary Space

A variation of tong occurs with reference to sidewalk vendors. The ordinances on sidewalk vending in Manila, for example, are explicit:

> Pursuant to the provisions of Ordinance No. 912 authorizing the Mayor to regulate the business or calling of hawkers, peddlers, or hucksters, I hereby declare the following streets and public premises improper places for such hawkers, peddlers or hucksters to ply their trade:
>
> 1. Mehan Gardens; Plaza Lawton, Plaza McKinley, Real, Intramuros; Plaza Ferguson; P. Burgos; Old Luneta, and Burnham Green; New Luneta; around the Manila Hotel; around the Army and Navy and Elk's Clubs; Cavite (Dewey) Boulevard; around the Courts of First Instance; Calle Arroceros; within fifty meters of all schools, public or private; Escolta; Rosario; Nueva, from San Vicente to Escolta; Plaza Moraga; Avenida Rizal to Echague; Calle Carriedo; Bustos; Ronquillo from Plaza Sta. Cruz to Avenida Rizal; and Plaza Goiti. However, candy peddlers and toy-balloon sellers are allowed in these three places: P. Burgos, Old Luneta, and Burnham Green.
>
> . . . . Hawkers, peddlers, and hucksters, duly licensed and who are not provided with any permit to stay at a place for some length of time, are allowed to stop for a period of time necessary for them to make sales to persons desiring to buy from them.
>
> The effect of this proclamation shall automatically be lifted as regards Plaza Miranda and Azcarraga during the fiestas of Quiapo and Tondo, respectively, which period for case shall be from December 11 to January 31, of each year, unless otherwise fixed by another proclamation, and the north side of P. Burgos near the Carnival grounds during carnival days.

Vendors may not be allowed by law, but they exist in great numbers on the places specified in the above proclamation. Beginning in July 1967, and continuing through November 1967, counts were taken of the number of illegal vendors inhabiting the prohibited areas in downtown Manila: specifically, from Doroteo Jose to Echague along Avenida Rizal; from Quinta Market along Quezon Boulevard to Central Market; Escolta; Echague; Carriedo; Claro M. Recto from the University of the East to F. Torres, and all side

streets between the major thoroughfares. Counts were taken by vendor classification (for example, cooked foodstuffs, cigarettes, candy, jewelry, toys, newspapers, and such) three times daily, no less than four times weekly. Times for the daily counts were from 9 a.m. to 11:30 a.m., from 5 p.m. to 8:30 p.m., and from 9 p.m. to 11:30 p.m. Table 1 shows the breakdown of vendors according to daily time, and the increase over the five-month period.

Table 1

Sample of vendors operating in prohibited areas of downtown Manila August 1 to March 29, 1967, classified by day of observation, crossclassified by hour of observation.

Day of observation	*Morning (9 a.m.–12 noon)*	*Afternoon (5–8 p.m.)*	*Evening (9–11:30 p.m.)*
August 1			
Number	466	505	399
September 5			
Number	674	819	697
Difference from previous count (%)	(+44.6)	(+62.2)	(+54.6)
September 28			
Number	810	1,080	629
Difference from previous count (%)	(+20.2)	(+32.0)	(-10.0)
October 30			
Number	1,046	1,275	557
Difference from previous count (%)	(+29.1)	(+18.1)	(-10.9)
November 29			
Number	1,028	1,522	857
Difference from previous count (%)	(-1.7)	(+19.4)	(+53.8)
Difference from August 1 count (%)	(+120.7)	(+201.3)	(+115.0)

While Table 1 gives some indication of the buying habits of the urban Filipino, our concern here is the connections between the large number of sidewalk vendors illegally engaged in trade and the authorities who are presumably charged with enforcing the laws which prohibit the sidewalk vendors from utilizing this space for their activities. In point of law, all of the vendors are prohibited from selling along any of the streets mentioned in the ordinances.

None of the vendors in the count were balloon sellers or ice cream vendors. Yet their numbers increased substantially during the time period. Two reasons may be given for the increase: (1) 1967 was an election year in Manila and vendors are voters; (2) the Christmas season was approaching (one check in the third week of December showed that the numbers at certain selected sites remained fairly constant, or with very slight increases). Primarily, however, the reason that the vendors were tolerated at all—in spite of considerable mention of the problem in the daily press, *and* in spite of a Villegas-inspired program called "Operation Downtown Linis" (*linis*, "clean") in which the city streets were to be cleared of garbage, obstructions, and sidewalk vendors—was simply that the policemen on the beats "rented" the space to them. The survey was taken over a period of 13 days in mid-November 1967, during the late afternoon and early evening hours. Every third vendor (roughly) was asked if he or she paid tong, how much, when, whether it was paid to the same man, and how in general he or she felt about it. Table 2 shows the distribution of the interview responses.

Some interesting facts emerge if one does some simple computations from the figures given. First, if one takes as a mean, for a yearly average, 750 sidewalk vendors in this district alone, and derives mean daily tong, mean twice-weekly tong, and mean weekly tong, a conservative figure for this area alone would be in excess of ₱100,000 annually in tong money. Multiply this by the number of transportation exchange points and market areas throughout the

Table 2

Downtown Manila sidewalk vendors classified by location, crossclassified by frequency of tong payment and mean amount of tong paid.

	Daily		*Twice/week*		*Weekly*		*No payment*
	No.	*Amt. (₱)*	*No.*	*Amt. (₱)*	*No.*	*Amt. (₱)*	
Avenida Rizal (N = 77)	26	0.35	31	0.65	19	1.70	1
Quezon Blvd. (N = 88)	32	0.30	15	0.90	38	1.60	3
Carriedo St. (N = 108)	34	0.25	27	1.00	47	1.80	0
Echague St. (N = 105)	41	0.20	23	1.00	39	1.60	2
C. M. Recto Ave. (N = 79)	34	0.25	11	0.80	34	1.75	0
Total (N = 457)	167	0.27	107	0.87	177	1.69	6

city (Pandacan, Caloocan, Quezon City, Makati, Mandaluyong) and the figure becomes even more impressive.

We were unable to ascertain how many policemen receive this money in the Quiapo-Santa Cruz area. However, we were able to obtain the information that some 60 per cent of the collections are random. Most of the daily collections fall into this category. The money represented here do not include tong paid in goods—cigarettes, foodstuffs, small articles of clothing, such as socks, handkerchiefs, and such. If one computed the value of goods given to policemen, it would doubtless exceed the cash payment for the "rent" of public space.

Of the six respondents who claimed they paid no tong, two were policemen's wives, one was a policeman's *querida* (mistress), two were new vendors (who had formerly sold the *Philippine Sun*, and were at the time selling cheap Hong Kong toys) and one was a policeman's brother.

The vendors were more cooperative than the permanent merchants of whom only a few admitted that they paid the policemen on the beat a regular fee. Generally, this took the form of free food, in the case of food shops, or sometimes beer or soft drinks. The larger businesses paid either at Christmas time or during the fiesta. No policemen were ever charged admission to any of the moviehouses, and a large number of them dropped in daily for an afternoon siesta in airconditioned comfort.

Of the 40 per cent who paid a regular fee to the same policeman or collection agent, a good portion were long-time vendors, some having been on the street for as long as six years. The mean for this group however, as approximately 1.7 years; for the remainder, the mean was about five months.

Tong is an accepted fact among these transitory merchants. None of them approved of it, and most were quite vocal in their disapproval. They felt, however, that since they had to make a living somehow, it was simpler to pay a fee to the policeman than to be barred from the street which offered the best opportunities for sales. The attitude is reflected in one informant's statement:

> If we here do not pay lagay to the policemen, they will chase us away. If we have no place to earn our livelihood, then we are worse off than if we pay some of our earnings to the policemen. Most of them are not so greedy. Sometimes, there is one who abuses, and asks too much, but that is not often.

When asked about what happened when a policeman was "abusing," the vendor indicated that his fellow officers put the word in his ear. In effect, it was a kind of "Don't kill the goose that lays the golden eggs."

When Mayor Antonio Villegas' program first began, teams of policemen went on patrol to clear the streets of vendors. This was short-lived, and many of the vendors became extremely adept at closing shop on short notice. Frequently, during a period of about two weeks, one would hear the cry "*Pulis!*" and see the hawkers fold up swiftly and disappear into the back streets.

After the special force had vacated the area, the vendors would be back. One of them commented that he wasn't going to pay his tong that week, because he wasn't getting the protection he paid for. Another vendor commented that it wasn't the fault of the policemen on the beat. Instead, these policemen who were making trouble were a special force. "Give them time," he said, "and things will be the same again. It will be *magulo* (messy) for a while, but by and by we won't be bothered."

I watched one evening in Cubao when a *tindahan*, or store, was raided by NBI agents for contraband blue-seal cigarettes.[7] One agent purchased a package of Chesterfields, then once the transaction was made, a half-dozen other agents appeared and began to search the stand. In all, perhaps ₱800 in cigarettes were confiscated. After the agents departed, the storeowner, a woman, exploded in rage:

> *Abusado! Abusado!* They are all *suwapang* (greedy)! I pay already to the policemen here! Then somebody else comes; how much can we pay? Do we have to pay all the policemen? *Buwaya* (crocodile)!

She was firmly convinced that the agents would either keep the cigarettes or sell them to other vendors.[8]

Of the policemen with whom I talked during the research period, only one admitted he took tong or lagay from sidewalk vendors. Most of them did admit, however, that some of their fellow officers were guilty of such behavior. One of the policemen-informants swore he did not take tong. A few days after I had spoken with him, I watched as he, in the space of one block, between the Odeon Theater and Doroteo Jose Street along Avenida Rizal asked for and received without payment, two sticks of Salem cigarettes, a half-kilo of red grapes, and a package of Juicy Fruit chewing gum. It is possible that these were all items purchased on credit, but the probabilities are extremely slim that this was the case.

Another, standing at the corner of Avenida Rizal and C.M. Recto Avenue, told a research assistant: "These are my girls," as he pointed to the sidewalk vendors near the marketplace. When he was queried on this statement, he said that he was their "protector." For a set fee weekly, he saw that they were not bothered by other policemen, petty thieves, or extortionists. The research assistant remarked that the words "my girls" seemed to indicate something else. The officer bristled with indignation. "No," he answered, "I do not take advantage. Maybe some do, but not me. That is why they respect me. With me, there is no immoral foolishness."

None of the above is any kind of startling revelation to the average Manileño. Police activities—those which are clearly illegal—are known to and discussed by virtually everyone. There is, in fact, so much awareness of such behavior that when it is discussed, the emotional tenor of the conversations nowhere

reflects the indignation that the news media and particularly the columnists do. As one informant—a taxi driver no more cynical than the average—put it: "Lagay is my guy."[9] Resignation to the inevitable appears to be the general feeling among the public.

Theories of Corruption

This leads us to the question: why is there such a disparity between the articulated ideal, and the real behavior? What reasons underlie the illegal activities and their wholesale acceptance? In order to arrive at some hypotheses and some tentative conclusions regarding this phenomenon, it is necessary to look briefly at some theories of corruption and some theories of law and law systems.

"Folklore of corruption"

Much of the data about police corruption reflects what Myrdal (1968: 944ff.) has chosen to call the "folklore of corruption"—those beliefs about corruption and the emotions attached to those beliefs as disclosed in public debate (political campaigns and news media) and in gossip. As he notes:

> A study of these phenomena cannot, of course, provide an exhaustive and entirely accurate picture of the extent of corruption existing in a country—the number involved, the positions they hold, and what they are doing. But it is nevertheless true that the *folklore of corruption embodies important social facts worth intensive research in their own right.* The beliefs about corruption and the related emotions are easily observed and analyzed, and this folklore has a crucial bearing on how people conduct their private lives and how they view their government's efforts to consolidate the nation and to direct and spur development. The anti-corruption campaigns are also important social facts, having their effects, and they are just as easy, or even easier, to record and analyze.
>
> A related question worth study is the extent to which the folklore of corruption reflects at bottom, a weak sense of loyalty to organized society. Is there, in other words, a general asociality that leads people to think that anybody in a position of power is likely to exploit it in the interest of himself, his family, or other social groups to which he has a feeling of loyalty? If so, people's beliefs about the corruptibility of politicians and administrators would be in part a reflection of what they would like to do, given the means. If corruption is taken for granted, resentment amounts essentially to envy of those who have opportunities for private gain by dishonest dealings. Viewed from another angle, especially the belief that known offenders can continue their corrupt practices with little risk of punishment, are apt to reinforce the conviction that this type of cynical asocial behavior is widely practiced. The folklore of corruption then becomes itself damaging, for it can give exaggerated impressions of the prevalence of corruption, especially among officials at high levels. It is certain that fear of bolstering that impression influenced Nehru consistently to resist demands for bolder and more systematic efforts to cleanse his government and administration of corruption. "Merely shouting from the house-tops that everybody is corrupt creates an atmosphere of corruption," he said. "People feel they live in a climate of corruption and they get corrupted themselves. The man in the street says to himself: *'well, if everybody seems corrupt, why shouldn't I be corrupt?'* This is the climate sought to be created which must be discouraged."

Filipino stereotypes

In addition to a consideration of this folklore of corruption one must consider as well the role of stereotypes in Filipino behavior. Preliminary analysis of data seems to indicate that there operates in the Philippines, and particularly in Manila, very strong stereotypes of behavior associated with certain roles. It may be that these stereotypes fulfil a stabilizing function of maintaining individual identity in a rapidly changing social milieu. The stereotype of the crooked cop is the subject of editorial cartoons in the daily press, and in at least one paper, the *Manila Daily Star*, one daily comic strip, "Jack Parak," is devoted to the antics of a corrupt policeman. In some cases the role becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. For example, take the case of the policeman from Caloocan, relatively new to the force, who related the first time he gave a traffic citation on his own. When he indicated that he did not want to accept lagay, the jeepney driver was stunned, and felt that the policeman was being stubborn in hopes of getting a greater payoff. When the driver finally realized that the policeman was, in fact, fulfilling his role as law enforcer, the driver told him that he had better wise up because the other policemen in the area had "understanding," that is, contracts with the drivers. Eventually, the policeman was approached by his fellow officers and instructed to take it easy. One older member of the force told him bluntly that he had best follow the system because if he did not, he would be transferred some place where "only the mosquitoes would keep him company." He eventually relented and now he shares part of his take with the desk sergeant in charge of his precinct.

Corruption and the developing nation

McMullan (1965), in constructing a theory of corruption, has pointed out that corruption is a viable entity in the developing nations. He maintains that all governments and the public services of all countries contain some corruption. This phenomenon

> deserves attention for the intrinsic interest as part of the pathology of bureaucracy, for its practical importance for the political and economic development of the poorer nations of the world, and for the contributions that an analysis can make to sympathetic understanding of what may otherwise be a repulsive feature of some societies (McMullan 1965: 147).

In its effects, corruption promotes a variety of evils—injustice, inefficiency, mistrust of the government on the part of the citizen, waste of public resources, political instability—and in effect restricts the range of policies available to a government (1965:149).

Corruption may be thought of as

> the common understanding that a public official is corrupt if he accepts money or money's worth for doing something he is under duty to do anyway, that he is under a duty not to do, or to exercise a legitimate discretion for improper reasons (McMullan 1965:149).

It is, in effect, a divergence between the institutional aim and the personal aim of the individual who may occupy a post, position, or slot in the civil service of a particular bureaucracy.[10]

In the Philippines, the standard answer to the problem of graft and corruption is that the new administration will sweep clean the corridors of government and institute reforms. Generally, the population votes in a new administration every four years, and the same mode of activity characterizes each succeeding administration. The more astute observers maintain that graft and corruption are ethical in the context of the operation of the society. Corpuz (1965:87ff.) maintains that the Westerner sees violations of the law which are violations in fact, but are more accurately operations of the traditional social structure. A related point is stressed by McMullan (1965:150) when he notes that

> people break laws because they do not accept them, or because they have other interests or desires which they prefer or are impelled to follow. Some laws in a society find almost universal acceptance; other laws are broken by large numbers of people.

One must take into account the relationship between corruption and traditional society. In traditional society, there were *and are* many features of the way of life which, in the context of colonial and postcolonial society, contribute to the prevalence of corruption. McMullan's premise is that it is the clash of old customs, attitudes, and so forth, with new forms of government, that gives rise to corruption.

A Theory of Legal Systems

In our investigation of the phenomenon of graft and corruption in the Philippines, it is necessary to construct a theory of law against which we may measure the Philippine situation. The Westerner first come to the Philippines is caught by what seems to be the overwhelming Americanization of the country. Until recently, street signs were in English, and they still are in most cities outside of Manila. American movies play in a great number of downtown theaters. American goods are sold in various department stores throughout the city, and the major daily newspapers are in English. The language of the courts is English. In fact, all surface indicators could transmit to the newly arrived Westerner the message that the Philippines has assimilated wholesale the totality of American culture. As Peck (1965:403–405) notes:

> The first view of administrative law and the administrative process in the Philippines is a familiar one to an American lawyer . . . . American decision and American treatises are frequently cited as authorities on these and other questions. The Constitution, statutes, rules and regulations, and almost all recent court decisions have been promulgated in the English language. Moreover, many of the basic statutes have been drafted from American models, incorporating on many occasions the exact language found in American law models . . . .

> The threshold question for most American lawyers (and for most Americans who reside in the Philippines and communicate with Filipinos) is the extent to which one may rely upon Philippine administrative agencies (and other Filipinos) for a fair and predictable pattern of behavior. To put it otherwise, the question is to what extent may one plan and structure various endeavors free from an arbitrary, personalized, unpredictable or capricious exercise of governmental power by administration. The answer would appear that in general such planning and structuring can be done, though it may, on occasion, involve accommodation to policies which to an American seem unwise or perhaps even unfair.

An appropriate framework for viewing the Philippine legal situation is that proposed by Bohannan (1965) which sets up a theory of double institutionalization. Bohannan argues that law must be distinguished from tradition and fashion, and more specifically, from norm and custom. Bohannan defines a norm as a rule, more or less overt, which expresses the "ought" aspects of relations between human beings. Custom is a body of such norms, including the deviation from and compromises with the norms that are actually followed in practice much of the time. Bohannan notes that it is widely recognized that many people can more or less clearly state the rules that are the norms which they feel should be used in judging their conduct. Moreover, "in all societies there are allowable lapses from such rules and in most there are more or less precise rules (sometimes legal ones) for breaking rules" (Bohannan 1965: 34). This simply means that most people recognize the ideal patterns of culture as being the standards of measurement of conduct and recognize that there are precise patterns for behavior which deviate from these ideal norms.

While customs inhere in the institutions which custom governs, law is something else. Law is specifically "recreated by agents of society in a narrower and recognizable context—that is, in the context of institutions which are legal in character and to some degree at least, discrete from all others" (Bohannan 1965:34). Bohannan further suggests that in order to draw a distinction between law and other rules, the term *legal institution* should be introduced and defined as "one by means of which the people of a society settle disputes that arise between one another and counteract any gross and flagrant abuses of the rules of at least some of the other institutions of a society." A legal institution must satisfy three requirements (Bohannan 1965: 34):

> (1) There must be specific ways in which the difficulties can be disengaged from the institution which they now threaten and then be engaged in the process of the legal institution. (2) There must be ways in which the trouble can now be handled within the framework of the legal institution. (3) There must be ways in which the new solution which thus emerges can be reengaged within the processes of the nonlegal institutions from which they emerge. It is seldom that any framework save a political one can supply these requirements.

A legal institution will be unique in that it will have some regularized way to interfere in the malfunctioning of nonlegal institutions in order to disengage the trouble case. It will have as well both the rules which govern the legal

institution itself and rules which are substitutes or modifications of the rules of nonlegal institutions.

From this, Bohannan (1965:35–36) makes a fairly simple distinction between law and custom:

> Customs are the norms or rules (more or less strict) with greater or less support of moral, ethical, or even physical coercion about the ways in which people must behave if their social institutions are to perform a task and society is to endure. All institutions (including legal institutions) develop customs. Some customs, in some societies, are reinstitutionalized at another level: they are restated for the more precise purposes of legal institutions. When this happens, therefore, law may be regarded as custom that has been restated in order to make it amenable to the activities of the legal institutions. In this sense, it is one of the most characteristic attributes of legal institutions that some of the "laws" are about the legal institutions themselves, although most are about the other institutions of the society–the familial, economic, political, ritual, or whatever.

Law is thus seen to rest on the basis of double institutionalization, whereas reciprocity is seen as the basis of custom. This does not deny the usefulness of approaching the study of legal systems through an investigation of reciprocity. Bohannan, in fact, suggests that one way of perceiving the doubly institutionalized norms or laws is to break law into smaller components—those components attachable to social identities (Goodenough 1965:2)–and then to work in terms of rights, duties, priveleges, powers, liabilities, and immunities as does Hoebel does (1954:48–49).

Hoebel has observed that every legal relation is between two persons, and that every legal relation is bilateral. Thus, rights and duties are two sides of the same coin: in any relationship, A's rights over B are the things which he can demand of B, and these are the things which B owes A–B's duties in the relationship. Therefore, whenever a duty is isolated, the reciprocal right is also isolated. The approach seems particularly useful in a status-conscious society such as the Philippines. For example, using Lynch's distinction (1959) between "big people" and "little people," one may proceed to delineate the rights and duties which are owed or expected to persons occupying one or the other of these two social identities. In this way, the body of customs surrounding these particular social relationships may be isolated, and Peck's "arbitrary" behavior may seem less arbitrary seen in the context of traditional society. The distinction must be maintained between those rights which are legal and those which are nonlegal: legal rights are those which attach to norms which have been doubly institutionalized and are therefore part of the law.

This does not mean that law is simply a reflection of custom. Rather, law is "always out of phase with society, specifically because of the duality of the statement and restatement of rights" (Bohannan 1965:37). Bohannan observes that even if one could assume perfect legal institutionalization, change within

the primary institutions would jar the system out of phase again. The conflict between law and custom is one of the things which allows society to grow and change. "Custom must either grow to fit the law or it must actively reject it; law must either grow to fit the custom, or it must ignore and suppress it" (Bohannan 1965:37).

Bohannan further observes that this theory of law is consistent if two assumptions are borne out:

> First we have assumed a power or a state, whether it be seen as an Augustinian sovereign or as the greater entity that assumes the court whose actions are to be predicted with greater or lesser accuracy. Second we have assumed there is only one legal culture in such a situation—no matter, for the moment, how many contradictions are to be found in it. A legal culture, for the present purposes, is that which is subscribed to (whether they know anything about it or not or agree with it or not) by the people of a society (Bohannan 1965:38).

What emerges from a questioning of both assumptions is a foursquare diagram:

	Unicentric power	*Bicentric (or multicentric) power*
One culture	Municipal systems of law	Law in stateless societies
Two or more cultures	Colonial law	International law

Municipal systems deal in the main with a single legal culture with a unicentric power system. In such societies, subcultures may be seen as creating problems of law's being out of phase with the customs and mores of parts of the society.

Colonial law is marked also by a unicentric power system, but there exist within the colonial situation two or more legal cultures—the indigenous, grown out of the customs of the society, and that imposed by the colonial power. The basic problem in the colonial situation is one of conjoining the local government with the colonial government. Generally, the colonial government has more or less overt theories of how to accomplish this aim. As Bohannan (1965:39) says: "The mark of a colonial situation might be said to be a systematic misunderstanding between the two cultures within a single power system . . . ." Colonial law meets difficulty in disengaging the case from the sphere in which it arises. This part of the legal process is generally complicated by the presence of opposing ideas about the motives and goals to be achieved in bringing a case to court. The culture of the court officials may be

completely different from that of the other actors in the case so that the outcome may be or seem to be arbitrary.

Philippine legal history

The impact of Western law–both the English common law and the continental European civil law–has been enormous throughout the world. This seems particularly true of the Philippines, whose history records 350 years of Spanish occupation and 50 years of American domination, each period with accompanying legal systems and cultures which were imposed on the indigenous society.

Although it is perhaps valid to speak in general terms of "the African situation," "the Latin American situation," and so forth, each colonial experience is unique. The Philippine experience does not seem to fit any of the general categories which such writers as Emerson (1960) have set up. Indeed, I would suggest that perhaps the Philippine case is atypical of colonial society for a number of reasons. Although the Philippines was subjected to casual influences from Asia, it always remained an outsider, marginal to the great traditions of Asia. Unlike other areas where the colonial powers found either empires (such as in Latin America) or large tribal groupings (such as Africa) or confederations (such as among the Indians of Northeastern North America) or independent kingdoms (such as India or the Muslim areas of Indochina and Malaysia) there was no large-scale political organization present in the Philippine archipelago. When the Spaniard arrived, he found an archipelago fragmented both physically and socially. Groups were kin-centered, living in widely scattered and almost isolated communities, without temples or public buildings, and without any degree of political integration (except the Muslims of Mindanao and Sulu). The dominant social and political community–the *barangay*–was an extended family group, with authority vested in the descendants of the founder of the community. The Spanish government retained the structure of the community. The head of the barangay became the *cabeza de barangay*, the position remaining hereditary until 1898 (Corpuz 1965:25–27). The traditional leader thus became an administrative functionary of the colonial regime, with his social and political identity remaining much the same as before the arrival of the Spaniards.

Until 1889, the civil law of the Philippines was found principally in the *Novísima Recopilación*, the *Siete Partidas*, and the *Laws of Toro*. These were by and large extensions of Spanish law and certain royal decrees (Guevara 1960:439). The law was administered by a series of agencies–the *audiencia*, *territorial audiencias*, the *alcalde mayor*, the *principalía* (including the prominent residents of a pueblo), and unofficially, but perhaps most importantly, the parish priest. All these agencies operated under a unicentric power

system—essentially a coalition of church and state—the first such power system to operate in the non-Muslim areas of the archipelago. Not until 1885 was a system of separate courts instituted. That year, the office of justice of the peace was established, and the following year courts of first instance were set up. Throughout the Spanish period, legal theorists in Spain petitioned for special laws to apply to the Philippines: the Spanish constitutions of 1837, 1845, 1869, and 1876 provided for such legislation, but none was ever implemented. The effective agent of the government was the parish priest, and in the Philippines, by virtue of the fact that in most instances, it was simpler for him to learn the local language than to teach the population Spanish, he became a reinforcing agent of the isolation of the various communities.

Civil law today is based on the Constitution of the Philippines and embodied in the Civil Code of the Philippines which became effective in 1950. Most of the provisions of the code are based on the Civil Code of Spain of 1889 which had been the effective legal code since that date—all through the American occupation and the first four years of the republic. Additions to the Code of 1889 were taken from codes and laws of other nations—Spain, France, Argentina, Germany, Mexico, Switzerland, England, Italy, and the various states of the United States, particularly California and Louisiana—as well as from commentaries by jurists and from the decisions of the Philippine Supreme Court. The code itself is the work of the Code Commission (composed of four jurists), which was charged with the task of codifying "the existing substantive laws of the Philippines in conformity with the customs, traditions, and idiosyncrasies of the Filipino people and with modern trends on legislation and the progressive principles of law" (Guevara 1960:1).

What emerges from a consideration of colonial Philippines is a picture of a definite unicentric power system (either the state or church or a coalition of both) from the time of colonization, and a legal culture which was imposed by the Spanish administration (either the state or the church or a coalition of both) which lasted until 1950. The question is, of course, how deeply did this legal culture penetrate the indigenous Philippine culture? Before Spanish colonization, there was evidently some sort of written law, at least in the Bisayan area. The codes of Maragtas and Kalantiaw attest to this, the former dated in the early 13th century, the latter in the early 15th century.[11] Authority for enforcing the laws was placed in the hands of the head of the barangay. When the Spaniard came, the head of the barangay continued in the same position, his function relatively unchanged although he was absorbed into the central power system. However, as Corpuz (1965:78ff.) notes, government (and it is presumed here, colonial laws) became for the Filipino "notorious arms of restriction, control, repression; the personal representatives of government were agents of abuse and repression." Government became something to be avoided, and the Filipino turned to nongovernmental institutions to

find appropriate means by which welfare and security could be attained and safeguarded. Expectations were transferred from the government to the institution closest at hand–that of the family. The Filipino family became a rival of government in a contest for the control of individual behavior. Thus, a vast majority of the members of Filipino society found themselves in a situation where the law was greatly out of phase with the customs and mores of the society.

The American occupation modified the political and legal structures somewhat by drawing more Filipinos into the government structure–most notably in "Filipinizing" the civil service. It probably drew more Filipinos into phase with the legal system itself through its program of mass education. But it still found itself in rather fierce competition with the family. Moreover, the length of time of American control (roughly 1900 to 1916) was too short to effectively restrict family control.[11]

With the creation of the Philippine republic in 1946, there was a return, in theory, to a single legal culture carried out by a unicentric political unit. However, since the new Civil Code is based largely on the Spanish Civil Code of 1889, we cannot dismiss the question of whether two legal cultures still exist (if they ever did) or whether the situation is a problem of subcultures in the society with customs and mores out of phase with the Civil Code.

A "secondary" legal system

I would posit that police behavior reflects the fact that there is, in addition to the legal culture which exists in the judicial system and the courts at the higher levels, another legal culture which operates independently from that delineated by the civil and administrative codes of the Philippines–a traditional legal culture which is in the judicial sense extralegal, most of the time illegal (corrupt), and in direct conflict with the written law of the land and with the rules of the legal institutions which are charged with administering the law of land. Therefore, in many instances, the law of the land is not, in fact, the legal system which regulates behavior.

This brings us to a major point of inquiry: does this secondary system perform the functions which as Hoebel (1954:275ff.) notes, are essential to the maintenance of all the most simple societies?

> The first [function] is to define relationships among the members of a society, to assert what activities are permitted and what are ruled out, so as to maintain at least minimal integration between the activities of individuals and groups within a society.
>
> The second is derived from the necessity of taming naked force and directing force to the maintenance of order. It is the allocation of authority and the determination of who may exercise physical coercion as a socially recognized privilege-right, along with the selection of the most effective forms of physical sanction to achieve the social ends that the law serves.
>
> The third is the disposition of trouble cases as they arise.

The fourth is to redefine relations between individuals and groups as the conditions of life change. It is to maintain adaptability.

I would propose that to a great extent this "secondary legal system" does fulfil these functions, some to a greater extent than others, but by and large, satisfying the requirements. In the first case, that of defining relationships among the members of a society, police behavior presents no new and shocking abberations. In fact, I daresay that it would not be stretching a point to say that what we have here is simply a continuity of role and role behavior which goes back to pre-Spanish Philippines. Lynch (1959, 1962, 1970), Mednick (1965), Corpuz (1965) all note the continuity with the past in reference to the barangay tradition. Landé (1965) in his delineation of the dyadic contract system in Philippine politics throws further light on this secondary legal system, albeit indirectly. The driver, the vendor, and the policeman inhabit certain well-defined relationships, and each knows the extent of allowable activity. The policeman has power because he is attached to a power-holder, in this instance, the mayor. The vendor and the driver are allowed certain rights in exchange for a payment of money. It is the duty of the driver and the vendor to render payment to the policeman on the beat in exchange for use of public property—public property which is now the possession of the policeman. In one sense, this is indicative of what Bulatao (1967) calls the "split-level personality," yet the power holder is only exercising his historical rights. Comes a change of administration, and it is highly likely that the power holder changes. Power in this sense becomes a little bit like Gertrude Stein's thinking about money: "I had a cousin who asked me once about money. I told her that money was money. Only the pockets changed. And that is all you can say about money."

As far as the second function is concerned, that of maintenance of order through physical coercion, the secondary legal system does, by and large, answer this function. In the case of the vendor, he is provided with protection by the policeman and, because he pays for protection, he is entitled to call for it when it is needed. It is true that Filipino policemen use certain methods of physical coercion which are less than humanitarian. The policeman on the beat who does not enforce the law against vendors out of a sense of *awà* (and some personal gain) for the economic plight of the vendor may well be guilty of shoving a suspect into an overflowing commode. With the vendor, he has a contract; with the suspect, he does not—he is only trying to, in his own way, enforce the law.

The third function, that of disposing of trouble cases, leads to some interesting points. To some extent, the vendor's tong could represent the fine for breaking the law. Yet, I doubt if any policeman looks at it this way. On the other hand, traffic patrolmen definitely look at lagay as being a payment

for breaking the law; so do the drivers. So, at least in the case of traffic offenses, the trouble cases are disposed of, not according to procedure of the codified sort, but according to procedure in the secondary system.

The final function, that of maintaining adaptability, is a hazy one. It will be discussed in a later paper dealing with policemen and their relationships with politicians.

In sum, the relationship between a driver and a policeman, a vendor and the policeman on the beat is a reflection of the structure of the totality of Philippine society. There exist complementary private interests in the relationship, primarily economic in the case of the driver and the vendor, to some extent economic in the case of the policeman, but also concerned with power and control. Not a fiefdom, but rather a datu and *timawa*, if you will, admittedly a small datu, and not many timawa, but the parallels exist.

To the Western mind, it may appear that the rental of public property is a crime against the people. But public property is a contradiction in terms—it belongs to no one, therefore the individual with the power to utilize it for his own has such rights of possession. One may be led to believe that if such behavior is a reflection of the behavior of the power holder to whom the policemen are attached, then, following Bohannan's delineations of legal systems, what we have in the Philippines is an interesting example of a stateless society, or a loose federation of datus and followers.

The wholesale acceptance of such behavior which is in direct contradiction to the articulated goals of the society as reflected in the various codes of law and administration would seem to bear out Myrdal's assumptions of asocial behavior: too often, resentment appears to be little more than envy.

In the final analysis, the police game, or at least this aspect of it, appears to differ little from the driving game—a contest for space, with control over the inhabitants of that space, and once acquired, the utilization for one's own ends for as long as needed.

Appendix

The following item was included in an interview schedule given to a random sample of family heads in two squatter areas:

74. Naguusap ang ilang tao tungkol sa mga pulis. Ito ang sabi nila.

a. Sabi ng una: Nakakahiya ang mga pulis ngayon. Hindi nila ipinatutupad o isinasagawa ang batas. Abalang-abala sila sa pagkuha ng lagay. Walang kuwentang humingi ng proteksyon sa kanila. Masahol pa sila sa mga kriminal.

b. Ang sabi ng pangalawa: Mayroon ngang masasamang pulis at tumatanggap sila ng lagay dahil kailangan nilang sustentohan ang kanilang pamilya. Kung kinakailangan, lalapit ako sa pulis upang humingi ng proteksyon.

c. Ang sabi ng pangatlo: Sa kabuuan, ang mga pulis ay mabuti. Isinasagawa nila ang batas at binibigyan nila ng proteksyon ang mga walang kasalanan. Kalabisan ang sabihing sila ay tumatanggap ng lagay. Hindi ako naniniwala diyan.

Translation:

74. A group of people are talking about policemen. This is what they say:

a. The first says: Shame on our policemen today. They do not enforce the law. Instead, they are busy collecting *lagay*. It's no good to ask them for protection. They're worse than the criminals.

b. The second says: It is true that there are crooked cops, and they accept *lagay* because they have to support their family. If needed, I will approach a policeman to ask for protection.

c. The third says: On the whole, policemen are good. They enforce the law and they give protection to those who are not guilty. It's too much to say that they accept *lagay*. I don't believe that.

Respondents agreed that *a* reflected the true state of affairs in the Manila area. Interestingly enough, most respondents felt that their neighbors would choose *b* as the answer more closely reflecting the thinking of the population. Both responses were significant at the .001 level.

Notes

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1. The difficulties encountered in getting statistical data on police malfeasance are enormous. It is virtually impossible to obtain information unless one has informants in the Department of Justice, the Manila Police Department (MPD), or the National Bureau of Investigation (NBI). Even then, the statistics are of so general a nature that they are almost of no use.

2. The *biniboy* racket essentially involves a range of activities from trafficking of male homosexuals' services to "clipping" unsuspecting tourists and sailors. The term was coined from the Tagalog *binibini* ("miss") and the English "boy."

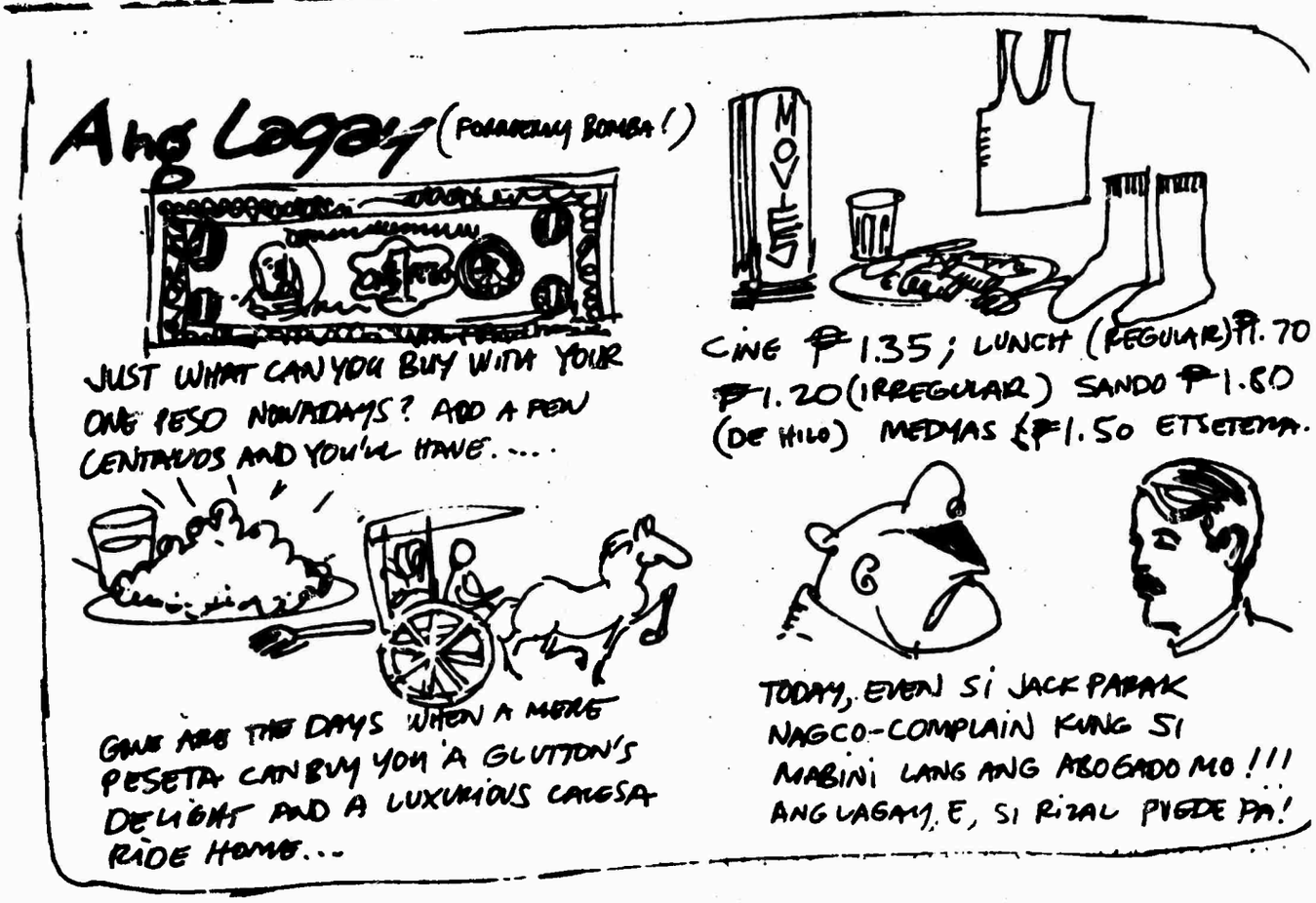
3. The term *tong* is used primarily in the context of the Chinese parlor game of *mahjong* where it refers to the fixed amount or agreed-upon percentage of the take which the winner of each round contributes "for the house." By extension the term comes to mean "protection money."

The *jeepney*, a small vehicle capable of carrying eight to 12 passengers, is a distinctly Filipino adaptation of the World War II U.S. military jeep.

4. The term *chuchuwa* comes from an element in the singing style of an American Negro group called "The Platters," popular in the Philippines in the mid-fifties. Specifically it refers to the chorus line which provided harmonic backing to the soloist's melody line by singing certain unintelligible syllables, heard by Filipino audiences as "chuchuwa, chuchuwa." By extension, therefore, a chuchuwa is a member of a background group, in this case, usually a young tough who runs errands for politicians or serves as stool pigeon for the policeman on the beat, and who eventually becomes part of the politician's or policeman's group.

5. *Lagay* is derived from the Tagalog transitive verb *maglagay*, "to put." Tengco (1968: 1) offers an accurate, if amusing, distinction between "put," an offensive Filipino-English term for bribe, "tip," a gift given *after* service is rendered, and "lagay," a form of "persuasive communication," an "unsolicited yet expected gift, voluntarily given because there is no other painless way out" *before* service is rendered.

6. Manila drivers speak of a ritualized pattern of conversation used by traffic policemen and erring drivers. It is characterized by the use of figures of speech (metaphor and substitution, usually) and double-entendre. The following cartoon from a local daily might help illustrate the pattern:



The name Parak is a personification of the word *parak*, Manila Tagalog slang for "policeman." There are also references to lawyers–ostensibly the driver's legal counsel in the traffic court, but actually the medium of exchange, that is, the denomination of money for the transaction. If one's "lawyer" is Mabini (the national hero whose portrait appeared on the ₱1 bill at the time of the study), it means that one is offering ₱1 as lagay; Rizal as "lawyer" means a ₱2 lagay, and so on.

7. "Blue seal" (from the U.S. Internal Revenue Service seal, usually blue) in the Philippines denotes foreign-manufactured cigarettes, usually American.

8. This is apparently not the case. Most knowledgeable people with whom I spoke were convinced that the NBI was relatively free of corruption. The only criticisms which could be lodged against the bureau concerned their overzealousness and their sometimes brutal methods of interrogation.

9. "Lagay is my guy" is a corruption of the late President Ramon Magsaysay's campaign slogan, "Magsaysay is my guy."

10. Civil service is here meant to include all individuals in any capacity in any (national, provincial, municipal, or city) government office or agency.

11. The authenticity of the *Maragtas* as an early thirteenth-century document has since been seriously questioned. One historian maintains that it is "an original work by Pedro A. Monteclaro, published in mixed Hiligaynon and Kin-iraya in Iloilo in 1907 . . . . based on written and oral sources then available . . ." (Scott 1968:387). See William Henry Scott, *A Critical Study of the Prehispanic Source Materials for the Study of Philippine History* (Monographic issue of "Unitas" 41 [3]:275–444), Manila, University of Santo Tomas, 1968.

12. The Jones Act, passed in 1916, allowed full representation in a Philippine legislature. Some students of the administrative history of the Philippines maintain that this was the date of loss of effective control of the country by the American occupation forces.

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13. ABSTRACT

This series of reports deals with a number of aspects of modernization. Filipino adolescents express modern ideas in the domain of education and achievement but strive to maintain Filipino family values. Urban college students show conflicts remarkably similar to those of American students, suggesting that situational factors are of more importance than culturally determined childhood antecedents. Achievement motivation and performance in both children and adults in Manila suggested that training and attitudes were favorable to modern industrial enterprises. On the other hand, some traditional modes of thinking are rooted in the language structure. Traditional belief systems are operative also with respect to the use of public property of private property not currently used by the owner. "Transitory ownership" appears to account for police corruption where the officer is seen as having the right to extract payments from sidewalk vendors, taxis, and busses.

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