



# **The Filipino Family Community and Nation**

Emma Porio  
Frank Lynch  
Mary Hollnsteiner

INSTITUTE OF PHILIPPINE CULTURE  
Ateneo de Manila University  
Quezon City

The INSTITUTE OF PHILIPPINE CULTURE is a university research organization engaged in social science studies of Philippine society and culture. Utilizing a basic-applicable approach, it combines a theoretical orientation, drawn usually from the social sciences, and a commitment to results that aim at an improvement in the life quality of the masses. As a nonstock, nonprofit, private educational institution, it supports its research activities with funds derived from grants or contracts. It insists on freedom to investigate what it wishes, to publish what it finds, and to name the sources of its support. Given its academic character, the IPC provides, for established and young scholars, as well as channels for the subsequent publication of its results.

For more information, write to:  
The Publications Editor  
Institute of Philippine Culture  
Ateneo de Manila University  
P.O. Box 154, Manila 2801  
Philippines

Copyright 1978 by the Institute of Philippine Culture  
Ateneo de Manila University. All rights reserved  
First Printing, 1978  
Second Printing, 1981

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

EDITOR'S FOREWORD .....	vii
1 INTRODUCTION .....	1
Background of the Study .....	2
Objectives .....	4
Procedures .....	5
Limitations .....	8
2 FINDINGS .....	9
Respondent and Household Characteristics .....	9
<i>General demographic characteristics /</i> <i>Occupation and income / Summary</i>	
Family Life .....	15
<i>Decision-making / Shared activities outside</i> <i>the home / Child-rearing values /</i> <i>The working mother</i>	
Perceptions of Self, Community, and Nation .....	32
<i>Respondent's condition / The national situation /</i> <i>Personal and national ladder scales /</i> <i>The respondent's community</i>	
Awareness of and Priorities Among Government Programs .....	41
<i>Awareness of programs / Priorities</i>	

<b>3 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS</b> .....	46
Family Life .....	47
<i>Decision-making / Shared family activities /</i> <i>Child-rearing values / The working mother</i>	
Perceptions of Self, Community and Nation .....	52
<i>A changing nation-self relationship /</i> <i>Changes in the community</i>	
The People's View of Government Programs .....	54
Conclusions .....	55
<b>APPENDICES</b>	
A. Tables to Accompany Text .....	58
B. Personal Happiness Ratings .....	65
C. Sampling Procedures .....	66
D. Summary of Items in the Interview Schedule .....	68
E. Project Staff .....	70
<b>NOTES</b> .....	72
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b> .....	73

## LIST OF TABLES

### *Text*

1	Research sites and corresponding centers which participated in the IPC/PSSC national survey . . . . .	5
2	Comparison of the 1973–74 IPC/PSSC sample with the 1973 NDS sample in terms of percentage of urban households . . . . .	11
3	Comparison of the 1973–74 IPC/PSSC sample with the 1973 NDS sample aged 40–44 years, in terms of civil status . . . . .	11
4	Comparison of the 1973–74 IPC/PSSC sample and the 1973 NDS sample in terms of educational attainment . . . . .	11
5	Average monthly household income reported by IPC/PSSC respondents, by place of residence . . . . .	14
6	Mean monthly income reported by IPC/PSSC and BCS survey respondents, by place of residence . . . . .	15
7	IPC/PSSC respondents classified by selected characteristics and by the decision-maker they named for child discipline . . . . .	17
8	IPC/PSSC respondents classified by selected characteristics and by the decision-maker they named for choice of child's school . . . . .	19
9	IPC/PSSC respondents classified by selected characteristics and by the decision-maker they named for choice of child's school course . . . . .	20
10	IPC/PSSC respondents classified by selected characteristics and by the decision-maker they named for choice of child's friends . . . . .	21
11	IPC/PSSC respondents classified by selected characteristics and by the decision-maker they named for household budgeting . . . . .	22
12	IPC/PSSC respondents classified by selected characteristics and by the decision-maker they named for family investments/business . . . . .	23
13	Decision-making arrangements reported by 9 percent or more of IPC/PSSC respondents, by decision area and frequency of mention . . . . .	24

14	Mean ranks and percentages of first places assigned to six selected child-rearing values by IPC/PSSC respondents, by residence and monthly income . . . . .	28
15	Percentage of IPC/PSSC national survey respondents who when asked their evaluation of working mothers replied "It depends," classified by selected characteristics . . . . .	31
16	Frequency with which selected occupations were mentioned by IPC/PSSC respondents as actual jobs of women known to them, and as desirable jobs for women . . . . .	32
17	IPC/PSSC respondents, by happiness replies for one year ago and for the present . . . . .	33
18	Ladder scores given by IPC/PSSC respondents for their own life conditions, by time period and by residence . . . . .	35
19	Ladder scores given by IPC/PSSC respondents for the nation's condition, by time period and by residence . . . . .	38
20	Ladder scores given by IPC/PSSC respondents for their personal conditions and that of the nation, by perceived happiness at present . . . . .	39
	<i>Appendices</i>	
A1	IPC/PSSC respondents classified by research site and center . . . . .	58
A2	IPC/PSSC respondents classified by research site and place of residence . . . . .	59
A3	Mean ladder ratings (0–11) given by IPC/PSSC respondents to their personal situation, by research site, respondents' residence and time period being evaluated . . . . .	60
A4	Mean ladder ratings (0–11) given by IPC/PSSC respondents to the national situation, by research site, respondents' residence, and time period being evaluated . . . . .	60
A5	IPC/PSSC respondents classified by their perception of present socioeconomic conditions in their communities as compared to those of five years ago . . . . .	61
A6	IPC/PSSC respondents classified by their perception of present socioeconomic conditions in their communities as compared to those of 10 years hence . . . . .	62
A7	Mean rankings assigned by IPC/PSSC respondents to 18 selected government programs, by respondents' place of residence . . . . .	64

## EDITOR'S FOREWORD

With *Filipino Family*, the IPC takes its *Papers* to the press once more, glad and eager to resume publishing activities after an interruption of almost four years. For despite its unchanging commitment to the publication and dissemination of research findings, the Institute has been relatively quiet for a time, unable to overcome the constraints of time and the lack of funds.

Now, this silence can be broken, thanks to the kind intervention of the Ford Foundation. Our concerns, as we resume the publishing agenda we had earlier set for ourselves, remain within the scope of Philippine society and culture, but within that vast field, some old themes have been muted, and new, emerging issues are now being explored.

We are grateful, as well to the Philippine Social Science Council, and to the research centers that constitute its Network. The Council's support made the study possible, the Network's participation made it an accomplished fact.

MARIE S. FERNANDEZ  
IPC Publications Editor

# 1

## Introduction

Among Filipinos, and among social scientists who specialize in Philippine society, the family has long been a subject of special interest. For the influence of this institution is all-pervasive. Some claim, in fact, that the Philippines survives and prospers largely by virtue of traditional values associated with just three institutions, namely, family, social class, and religion. This is an overstatement of the case, but there can be no doubt that the Filipino family plays a critical role in the nation's life — a role many say is not likely to be greatly altered in the near future.

The influence of the local community on the lives of those who live there is also great. But the evidence suggests that this formative power is to be found less in the official leadership than in the informal network of friends, neighbors, and kinsmen with whom the individual allies himself or is willy-nilly allied. For while the average Filipino citizen today may think of and name some government person or agency (as if by conditioned reflex) when he is asked the solution for any number of basic problems, the fact is that for most people the effective answer to these difficulties is their own alliance networks — those who are close to them, and somehow bound to help them.

It is clear, at any rate, that relatively few local leaders on the Philippine scene today have the ability to unify their communities as did the *datus* (we are told) of pre-Spanish times.<sup>1</sup> In those days, the local *datu* was the focal point and recipient of attention, service, crop shares, and loyalty; but he was, as well, the redistributor of those goods which wealth and power had brought him, and the assurance of his people's peaceful existence. To the extent that he follows this ancient model (and some approximate it closely), today's mayor or *barangay* captain may be a genuine social force in the community. But we fear that such charisma and clout are in limited



supply today. For most people, getting on is above all a question of getting along – with their social allies.<sup>2</sup>

When we think of the Philippine *nation*, we are well aware of the present problems it faces in the South. Armed secessionist groups have in the past few years taken a toll in lives and property that the people and the Armed Forces of the Philippines can ill afford to pay. Yet despite this we know how relatively well-off the Philippines is, precisely as one nation. As an American political-scientist friend observed on returning to the Philippines after a swing through southeast Asia: "I never saw it so clearly before: when it comes to national unity, the Philippines is monolithic." This was several years before the current "troubles" in the South, and before Martial Law, but we dare say that for the great majority of Filipinos, at least, the statement is more true now than ever before.

#### BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Family, community, and nation: these are the major subjects to which a recent national survey addressed itself. Because of the many topics included in the inquiry (a circumstance to be explained below), the study was called a survey on national development. But the majority of questions dealt with the family, the respondent's local community, and the nation. What was learned from that study will be the subject of this report.

The survey on national development reported on here was made possible by the Philippine Social Science Council. This group, a private association of Philippine social-science organizations incorporated in 1968, has as one of its main objectives the decentralization of quality research activity in the Philippines. To this end, the PSSC assists in the formation of social research units in institutions outside Metro Manila. Moreover, it also helps these newly formed centers to gain experience, confidence, and consequent public credibility. This it does by using their staffs in the fielding of annual PSSC national surveys, the first of which was conducted in the 1972–73 school year (see Bulatao 1973). This report concerns the second survey, held the following year.

As originally conceived, the PSSC's national survey program had as one of its purposes the gathering of selected national data which social scientists thought important for their purposes, but would ordinarily not be able to collect, simply because the information was

too limited in scope to justify the expense involved in a countrywide survey. From the beginning, in other words, the PSSC survey was viewed as a service to social scientists, as well as to the research centers which would participate in the data gathering and analysis.

In the first survey, which centered on ethnic attitudes and employed the staffs of only eight PSSC research centers (no more than this number had been formed at the time), various considerations made it advisable not to solicit the contributed questions of social scientists that time around. Hence the survey, ably supervised by Rodolfo A. Bulatao and his associates of the Social Research Laboratory (Department of Sociology, University of the Philippines), was a relatively straightforward operation, with a minimum of theoretical or practical complications — or at least so the expertise of the supervisors made it seem.

For the present survey, supervised first by Gloria A. Fernandez of the Institute of Philippine Culture, and later by the senior author of this report (Ms. Porio), 15 research centers were involved, and the interview schedule ultimately used contained blocks and questions derived from the varied contributions of many cooperators. These numerous, and quite disparate, ideas resulted from the request of the PSSC research committee, sent July 1973 to social scientists throughout the country, for the suggestion of research topics "to generate new data on significant national development problems."

The data requested ranged from information on family and social class to religion, business, politics, and language. The PSSC research committee asked three of its members (Virgilio Enriquez, Gloria Feliciano, and Josefina Pineda) to sort out the collection, which they did, the result being 92 suggested schedule blocks. At this point the Institute of Philippine Culture (IPC), which had been commissioned to do the study, was asked to review the topics and pare them down to manageable size. The criteria to be used, wherever possible, were nonduplication of existing research and feasibility within the sample-survey mode of data gathering.

The end result was a list of selected topics that focused on family life, community conditions, and perceptions and priorities relative to national development goals. Specifically, family-life subjects included (1) patterns of decision-making in the Filipino family, (2) patterns of extrahousehold activities shared by family members, (3) priorities among child-rearing values, and (4) attitudes toward the working mother. Perceptions to be investigated were the respondent's

view of his own personal situation, and that of his community and the nation, now and in the past and future. As well, provision was made for an inquiry into the respondent's awareness of, and reaction to, certain key government programs. Appropriate background data were also to be gathered to identify and distinguish the various kinds of respondents.

### OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the study were necessarily shaped, and admittedly limited, by the PSSC's decision to do the research in those places where its centers happened to be located. For while the PSSC had tried to set up research units in all regions of the Philippines, it necessarily concentrated its efforts on the larger urban areas, where institutions able to sustain such research were more likely to be found. Thus of the 13 PSSC centers involved in the survey, 10 are found in chartered cities. To those were added two more sites, also cities, with the result that the sample respondents reside in or near the nation's largest urban concentrations (see Table 1). Hence while we distinguish urban and rural subsamples in the study, the rural component is hardly a spatially remote one.

Again, since the topics included in the study came from many sources, and enjoyed only an extrinsic, ex-post-facto unity, the tightness and coherence of the research design necessarily suffered. We are here examining, not one or two carefully selected problems to be probed in depth, but a series of subjects about which several meaningful questions are answered – the data so derived to become in turn the starting points for more detailed problem-oriented studies.

Briefly, then, aside from the practical purposes of the survey – to provide field experience for PSSC centers and a data-gathering service for the nation's social scientists – the goals of the study were these:

1. To interview a sample of urban, suburban, and rural household heads;
2. To learn from this sample their opinions on a variety of important topics, with emphasis on the family, community, and nation; and
3. To draw conclusions regarding the present state of affairs in these matters and likely future trends.

## PROCEDURES

The content of the interview schedule, the total sample size, and (with two exceptions) the location of research sites were taken as given. The IPC's role was to work out a suitable sampling plan, prepare and pretest appropriate research instruments, arrange for their translation into local languages, oversee the training and field phases of the survey, analyze and interpret the collected data, and submit a suitable report.

At the time the survey was being planned, the PSSC had trained the research personnel for 13 centers. Because there were as yet no such staffs for Central Luzon or the Ilocos region, it was decided to include respondents from Cabanatuan City and Laoag City, the interviewers to be sent there and managed from the Institute of Philippine Culture, Quezon City. The 15 places ultimately studied are listed in Table 1.

As planned, there were to be 3500 respondents, distributed as follows: 400 for Metro Manila; 300 each for Bacolod, Cebu, and Davao; and 200 each for the remaining 11 research sites. Outside the Metro Manila area, where all respondents would by definition be urban residents, half of the sample was to be rural. To identify the sample respondents a seven-step procedure was devised, and indeed, followed quite closely (see Appendix C, however).

**Table 1.** Research sites and corresponding centers which participated in the IPC/PSSC national survey (1973-74)

Research site	Research center
1. Metropolitan Manila	Research Center Philippine Christian College (PChC)
2. Tuguegarao (Cagayan)	SPCT Office for Research St. Paul College of Tuguegarao
3. Ilagan (Isabela)	SFC Research Center St. Ferdinand College
4. Laoag City	(IPC)
5. Cabanatuan City	(IPC)

*(Table 1 continued)*

Research site	Research center
6. Naga City	Research and Service Center Ateneo de Naga
7. Cebu City	Office for Social Research University of San Carlos (USC)
8. Tacloban City	Leyte-Samar Research Center Divine Word University (DWU)
9. Dumaguete City	Social Science Research Center Silliman University (SU)
10. Bacolod City	Negros Occidental Research Bureau (Noreb) <sup>a</sup> LSC Social Research Center La Salle College Research Center University of Negros Occidental- Recoletos (UNO-R)
11. Iloilo City	Social Science Research Unit Central Philippine University (CPU)
12. Ozamiz City	ICC Research Center Immaculate Conception College
13. Cotabato City	NDU Socioeconomic Research Center Notre Dame University
14. Davao City	Research Office Ateneo de Davao
15. Jolo (Sulu)	Coordinated Investigation of Sulu Culture (Ciscul) Notre Dame of Jolo College

<sup>a</sup>Noreb is a research consortium between the LSC and UNO-R social-science research staffs. By mutual agreement all off-campus research is undertaken jointly.

The interview schedule used in the survey was prepared by Pilar Ramos-Jimenez, who was at that time director of the Ateneo de Davao's Research Office, but was invited to the IPC in October 1973 to participate in the PSSC national survey.<sup>3</sup> Ms. Jimenez also supervised the translation of the schedule into Tagalog and its pretesting before copies were distributed to the participating centers. Supervisors were trained in the use of the schedule and its accompanying manual at 10 places throughout the Philippines; Ms. Jimenez met with PSSC-trained staffs at Quezon City, Cebu, Bacolod, Iloilo, Jolo, and Davao; Mila Tolentino, the IPC's field supervisor, traveled to Tuguegarao, Ilagan, Tacloban and Dumaguete.

Each center assumed responsibility for translating the schedule into the necessary local language(s), pretesting it, and running off the required copies of the 27-page document. As well, the 30 PSSC-trained supervisors were to recruit local interviewers and instruct them in its use.<sup>4</sup> These research assistants numbered 232 in all, ranging from six each in Ilagan and Cabanatuan to 34 in Bacolod. Most were undergraduate social-science students of the PSSC-trained faculty members.

On the average, interviews lasted one hour, as planned. However, for a variety of reasons connected with school schedules and similar contingencies, the field period extended for a full three months (December 1973 to March 1974), and in Metro Manila, for an additional two months (November to April). This introduces a limitation which certainly must be borne in mind in weighing the survey results.

Editing of the completed interview schedules took place first in the field, where it was the responsibility of the PSSC-trained supervisors, and again at the main office of the IPC in Quezon City. Coding instructions for the non-precoded replies were based on a tally of the responses given by 20 percent of the total sample. The data were recorded in standard 80-column IPC coding sheets and then punched into 80-column IBM cards. Before transferring their contents to tape, the punched and verified cards were cleaned, that is, checked to be sure that data had been recorded in proper sequence and with logical consistency.

The data to be analyzed ultimately occupied a total of 10,461 cards, or three per respondent. Programs found in the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) were used for the computer runs which processed these data. Simple frequencies (marginals) were made, the most consistently used being the urban-rural dichotomy.

Education, income, and sex were also run against selected dependent variables, however. Tests of significance and strength of association and correlation were applied where appropriate.

#### LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

There are several facts which must be kept in mind when determining what meaning to attach to the survey findings. Among the more important limiting considerations are the following:

1. *The sample is not truly representative of the general Philippine population.* By reason of the way in which the research sites were selected, the sample represents rather those *Filipinos living in and near the nation's largest urban concentrations.* Further, because we eliminated from the sample the relatively very wealthy and very poor, these extremes are not represented. Hence we are reporting on the *middle range of Filipino households.*
2. *The study is exploratory and descriptive;* it is not explanatory in purpose. This qualification follows from the way in which the many contributed suggestions of social scientists were assembled for inclusion in the interview schedule.
3. Because the research was conducted over a period of three to five months, depending on the research site, there is the *possibility* that differences among respondent groups from the various research sites may be due, not so much to differences among the various places, as to differences in the more widespread state of affairs at various points in time during the lengthy research period.

In view of the above considerations, our emphasis will be on the discovery of relatively obvious differences between various kinds, or categories, of respondents, particularly by residence, income, and education. Differences by site will be presented, but subject to caution. Further, no attempt will be made to assess with any accuracy the incidence of these differences in the general Philippine population. The latter task must be the subject of additional studies using samples of another design.

## Findings

The facts that emerge from this national survey may be conveniently grouped under four major headings: (1) respondent and household characteristics, (2) family life, (3) perceptions of self, community, and the nation, and (4) awareness and evaluation of government programs and activities. We shall discuss them in that order.

### RESPONDENT AND HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

The purpose of this subsection is to present a portrait of the men and women who answered our interviewers' questions, and of the households of which they were members. The variables to be discussed are those which are generally selected for this purpose, for they allow us to locate our respondents within the more general Philippine population. In broad terms, these variables are all biographical-classificatory in nature (see Lynch and others 1974: 3-6), but four out of the 10 are related to occupation or income.

#### General demographic characteristics

Among the census-type data used to describe respondents, place of residence, sex, age, civil status, educational attainment, and mother tongue are probably of most common occurrence in reports such as this. We have added as well some information on family and household size.

**Place of residence and mother tongue.** We have mentioned several times, and included among the study's limitations, the fact that our respondents reside in or near the nation's largest urban areas. Thus of the 15 sites that we studied, 12 are chartered cities. Moreover,



even though provision was made for the drawing of both urban and rural samples at each of these sites, the ultimate sample is almost three-fifths urban—a fact accounted for in part by the large size of the Metro Manila subsample and in part by the impossibility of drawing a rural sample in Jolo.

Not only are the respondents predominantly urban dwellers. They are also more frequently of Visayan or Mindanao residence than is the general population (Table A1).<sup>5</sup> The data in Table 2 should clarify these two differences between the survey sample and the population from which it was drawn.

Concomitant with the overrepresentation of households from the Visayas and Mindanao is an expected predominance in the sample of mother-tongue speakers from those regions. Native speakers of Tagalog, on the other hand, are only 12 percent of the sample but about 21 percent of the Philippine population.

**Sex, age, and civil status.** The median age of respondents is 42.1 years, an age at which there is a slight predominance of females in the general population. Hence the 52:48 ratio of females to males in the final sample is closer to the Philippine reality than the originally planned 50:50 proportion would have been.

Again, in the overall population 15 years and older, about one-third (36 percent) are single and the remainder currently married (58 percent), widowed (4 percent), or separated (1 percent). However, for those who are urban residents in the age group (40–44 years) which includes the average survey respondent, the distribution by civil status is relatively similar to that found among the household heads (and substitutes) whom we interviewed (see Table 3).

**Education.** The average respondent of the survey is an elementary-school graduate with no further training. However, the difference between urban and rural residents is significant. Thus while the median educational attainment for the rural sample is 5.5 years (an incomplete elementary training), it is 10.0 years (high school completed) for the urban dwellers. A comparison with available contemporary national data indicates that our sample is better educated than the corresponding adult general population, where the median attainment is about 5.2 years (Table 4).

The educational advantage held by our respondents is even clearer when one recalls that they have a higher median attainment *despite*

**Table 2.** Comparison of the 1973-74 IPC/PSSC national survey sample with the 1973 NDS sample in terms of percentage of urban households

Characteristic	Philippines <sup>a</sup>	IPC/PSSC survey sample
Percentage of urban HHs	30%	58%
Percentage of urban HHs from:		
Luzon	70%	40%
Visayas	18	34
Mindanao	12	25

<sup>a</sup>National Demographic Survey (May 1973).**Table 3.** Comparison of the 1973-74 IPC/PSSC national survey sample with the 1973 NDS urban sample aged 40-44 years, in terms of civil status

Population/sample	Never married	Currently married	Widowed	Separated/divorced
Urban Philippines <sup>a</sup>	9%	84%	4%	3%
IPC/PSSC survey sample <sup>b</sup>	5	87	7	1

<sup>a</sup>National Demographic Survey, May 1973 (data for urban cohort 40-44 years of age).<sup>b</sup>Median age 42.1 years.**Table 4.** Comparison of the 1973-74 IPC/PSSC national survey sample and the 1973 NDS sample in terms of educational attainment

Educational attainment	Philippines <sup>a</sup>	IPC/PSSC survey sample		
		Total	Urban	Rural
None	10%	8%	5%	11%
Low (incomplete elementary)	52	26	15	42
Middle (elementary graduate to incomplete college)	31	49	54	43
High (college graduate)	6	17	25	3

<sup>a</sup>National Demographic Survey, May 1973 (all HH members 15 years and above).

their being *older* by some eight years (on the average) than the NDS sample with whom they are compared. For among average adult Filipinos educational attainment should vary *inversely* with age, and not directly, as it does in the case of our sample relative to the NDS sample.

**Family size.** Married, widowed, and separated respondents together account for 95 percent of the survey sample. The median number of living children they report is 4.1, which is slightly lower than expected for couples whose average age is early or mid forties.<sup>6</sup> The difference from the general population is probably related to two characteristics of the sample which have a proven relationship to lower fertility, namely, higher educational attainment and urban residence.<sup>7</sup>

**Household size.** It is generally expected, given the preponderance of nuclear households in the Philippines, that there will be little difference between average family size and average household size. In the survey sample this is certainly the case, because parents plus 4.1 children equals 6.1, and the median household size is 6.5. A figure of this size (6.5) is generally associated with urban rather than rural households, however, for the latter tend to be smaller and more frequently nuclear in composition. In our sample, in fact, the median urban household has 6.9 members; the corresponding rural household, 6.0 members. A concrete comparative example is the province of Camarines Sur, where the overall average (mean) household size is 6.22, but poblacion households are larger than those in the barrio (6.47 members vs. 6.15; Ilo and Lynch 1974).

#### **Occupational and income characteristics**

**Labor-force status.** Almost seven out of 10 survey respondents report themselves as employed or looking for work. The remaining 32 percent are either housewives or retired persons. Viewed comparatively, a labor-force participation rate of 68 percent is extremely high. The corresponding overall national figure is much lower: 49 percent according to the 1970 Census, and 52 percent in the 1973 National Demographic Survey. However, it should be recalled that the IPC/PSSC sample averages about 42 years of age, and that older

age is associated with higher rates of both labor-force participation and employment. Thus of the adult Filipinos aged 40-44 years in 1970 (Census data), 65 percent were either employed or looking for work — a difference of only 3 percent from the IPC/PSSC sample's rate.

Similarly, the sample's employment rate of 99 percent more closely approximates that of the 40 to 44-year-olds than it does that of the general adult population. The overall national figure is 92.3 percent, whereas the employment rate for adults aged 40-44 years is 95.0 percent. In this case, however, our sample seems "over-employed," even in relation to the older, better educated, and more urban subpopulation from which it is largely drawn, and despite the fact that more than one-fourth of them are only part-time workers.

**Occupation.** Compared to the general Philippine population, the survey sample has a higher percentage of relatively high-prestige, high-income workers and a lower percentage of individuals in low-prestige, low-income occupations. Relative to the sample selected for the 1973 National Demographic Survey, for example, the IPC/PSSC respondents have at least twice the percentage of professionals, administrators, and clerks. On the other hand, the IPC/PSSC sample has a comparatively small representation of farmers and similar workers (25 percent vs. 49 percent in the NDS sample), transportation workers (5 percent vs. 7 percent), and service workers (1 percent vs. 8 percent). The distribution of occupation varies greatly, but predictably, by place of residence.

**Household income.** The favored occupational position of our respondents is reflected in their income data. According to the survey respondents' estimates of total income from primary occupation, their households earn an average (mean) income of P470 per month. The corresponding *median* figure is only P302 per month, a difference which indicates that the distribution of income among respondents is notably unequal. The urban-rural difference is also significant, as Table 5 indicates.

The average urban respondent reports a household income which is at least twice the size of the average rural income. This rural characteristic of lower average income is found in every locality where the IPC/PSSC research was done. Although the absolute figures differ greatly, rural respondents never report a monthly income

**Table 5.** Average monthly household income reported by IPC/PSSC national survey respondents, by place of residence (1973-74)

Residence	Average monthly household income		
	Median	Mean	Mean/median ratio
Urban	P433	P605	1.40
Rural	172	280	1.63
Total	P302	P470	1.56

figure which is more than two-thirds that recorded by their urban neighbors (Table A2).<sup>8</sup> Moreover, the mean/median ratios in the right-hand column of Table 5 indicate that the available income tends to be more concentrated, less equally distributed, in the rural areas than it is in the urban.

Household income varies as well by the educational attainment of the respondent (who is in almost all cases a household head or spouse). The relationship is direct: the higher the educational attainment, the greater the monthly income. Thus, while the overall median household income is P302 per month, respondents with no formal education report median household earnings of only P145 per month; elementary graduates, P246; high school graduates, P376; and college graduates, P863.

Data gathered by the Bureau of the Census and Statistics for 1970-71 (NEDA Statistical Yearbook 1974) suggest that the incomes reported by our respondents are quite compatible with national averages — provided due allowance is made for the inflation that occurred between 1970-71 and the period of our research. The comparable mean figures (monthly household income) are given in Table 6. The probability is great, however, that, even with allowance for a change over time in the value of money, our respondents are receiving more income per month than average members of the general adult Philippine population.

This conclusion is reinforced by the fact that one out of seven respondents reports a source of household income other than the primary occupations of its employed members. For this subgroup (551 out of 3487), the mean added income is P453 monthly; the median, P259. Two-thirds of these respondents say this additional

**Table 6.** Mean monthly income reported by IPC/PSSC and BCS survey respondents, by place of residence

Residence	Mean monthly household income	
	IPC/PSSC survey 1973-74	BCS 1970-71 <sup>a</sup>
Urban	₱605	₱489
Rural	280	235
Total	₱470	₱311

<sup>a</sup>NEDA Statistical Yearbook 1974.

income comes from gifts, donations, and allowances from parents, working children, and agencies. The remaining third receive their secondary income from the sale of farm products, vending or peddling, services rendered, rentals from buildings or lands, or some combination of these sources.

**Summary.** As a matter of fact, there seems little doubt that (as we have made abundantly clear in earlier paragraphs) the IPC/PSSC sample cannot be considered representative of the general adult population. It is, relative to this average group, older, more urban, better educated, more often and better employed, and (for these reasons) better compensated. It also has a greater representation of the Visayas and Mindanao areas than one should expect. In interpreting the findings that follow, these characteristics of the sample should be kept in mind.

#### FAMILY LIFE

The first substantive area we shall consider is the family. Here we report on the replies of IPC/PSSC respondents regarding four topics, namely, decision-making within the household, activities shared by family members outside the home, the relative importance of certain values commonly invoked in child rearing, and questions about the working mother. We shall discuss each of these subjects in turn.

### Decision-making in family matters

The Filipino family has been characterized as authoritarian, egalitarian, patriarchal, matriarchal, traditional, modern, and has been given any number of other, similarly contradictory labels. One way of getting a more valid perspective on these power aspects of the family is to look at the decision-making process, for it is here that the locus or loci of power and authority are most likely to reveal themselves. In pursuit of this research goal, interviewers addressed respondents regarding seven family interests, or concerns, inquiring of them in each case, "In your family, who usually makes the decisions regarding [this matter]?" The precoded replies allowed for the following alternatives:

- 1 Mother and father together
- 2 Father alone
- 3 Mother alone
- 4 Parents and child
- 5 Child alone
- 6 Eldest brother
- 7 Eldest sister
- 8 Other (to be specified) \_\_\_\_\_

The seven family concerns singled out for attention were (1) the disciplining of male children, (2) the disciplining of female children, (3) choice of school for child, (4) choice of course the child will take (in high school or college), (5) choice of child's friends, (6) household budgeting, and (7) family investments or business. The pattern of answers given by respondents generally varies according to the question asked. However, because the reported approach to the disciplining of boys is much like that for girls, we shall treat these two topics under a single heading.

**Disciplining of children.** Overall, the pattern is bimodal, with most respondents reporting a joint father-mother decision, and another very large contingent stating that the matter of discipline is left in the hands of the parent of the same sex as the erring child — the mother for girls and the father for boys. Although the figures differ slightly by the child's sex, the replies can be fairly summarized as 45 percent for a joint decision, 37 percent for the parent of the same sex as the child, and 18 percent for other arrangements.

Significant differences occur by place of residence, income, and education. Generally speaking, urban dwellers, the wealthier, and the better educated show a greater tendency than others to report joint decisions in this area of concern. They show a corresponding tendency away from the one-parent mode, but the percentage of the latter replies never drops below 32, while the percentage of the two-parent mode never rises above 51. Briefly, the combined percentages for both problems (boys and girls) are approximately those found in Table 7.

**Choice of school child will attend.** Another important decision area is that of education. At least two critical selections must be made: (1) where a choice is possible, what school should this or that child attend? (2) if the child is enrolling in high school or college, what course should he or she take?

**Table 7.** IPC/PSSC national survey respondents classified by selected characteristics and by the decision-maker they named for child discipline (1973-74)

Characteristic	Decision-maker about child discipline			
	Couple	Parent		Others
		Same sex	Other sex	
<b>a. Place of residence</b>				
Urban	47%	35%	16%	2%
Rural	42	40	16	2
<b>b. Educational attainment<sup>a</sup></b>				
High	51	32	14	3
Medium	44	38	16	2
Low	42	38	18	2
<b>c. Monthly income</b>				
High (P500 and over)	50	33	14	3
Medium (P300-499)	43	38	17	2
Low (under P300)	42	40	17	1
<b>d. Overall</b>	45	37	16	2

<sup>a</sup>The meaning of the three education labels is as follows: Low - less than a complete elementary education; Medium - complete elementary through complete high school; High - college undergraduate or graduate.



As in the disciplining of children, the most commonly mentioned decision-makers in the choice of a school for a child are the child's parents, conferring with each other on the question. This arrangement is reported by 44 percent of respondents. After this there are three relatively equal alternatives: the child decides for himself (17 percent); mother decides (16 percent); or father decides (14 percent). Surprisingly, only 9 percent mention the couple deciding the question in consultation with the child.

The differences which occur by residence, education, and income are especially interesting because they seem inconsistent at first, at least, in part. In Philippine survey data such as these, we generally expect to find an agreement in tendency when we compare the results of crossclassifications by place of residence, educational attainment, mass-media exposure, and socioeconomic status. The fit between income and education is usually especially close; that is, where opinions or behavior vary significantly by one of these variables, they generally vary by the other, and in the same direction; that is, an increase in wealth or education is associated with the same kind of difference in the dependent variable being studied.

Consider the data in Table 8, however. Among respondents who mention choice of school by mother and by parents-and-child, we find the expected agreement in frequency of reply by education and by income: the tendency to leave the choice of school to the child's mother is associated with low income and low educational attainment; the tendency to make of it a joint parent-child decision is linked to both high income and high education.

Now consider the percentages of those who mention parents or the child alone as the decision-maker. Parents are most commonly mentioned by respondents of high educational attainment but low income and rural residence; the child alone is most popular among respondents of low educational attainment, *but* high income and urban residence.

The paradox can perhaps be explained in terms of two considerations: parents' competence to choose a school, and the extent of their freedom in this regard. It is likely that well-educated parents would feel quite at ease in choosing the child's school for him, and hence would follow this pattern more frequently than the poorly educated. On the other hand, parents with little school experience might reasonably defer to their child's choice of institution more often than well-educated parents would.

**Table 8.** IPC/PSSC national survey respondents classified by selected characteristics and by the decision-maker they named for choice of child's school (1973-74)

Characteristic	Decision-maker about child's school					
	Parents	Child	Mother	Father	Parents-child	Others
<i>a. Place of residence</i>						
Urban	41%	18%	16%	13%	11%	1%
Rural	47	15	16	14	7	1
<i>b. Educational attainment<sup>a</sup></i>						
High	49	14	11	13	12	<sup>ab</sup>
Medium	44	16	16	14	9	<sup>ab</sup>
Low	41	19	18	13	8	<sup>ab</sup>
<i>c. Monthly income</i>						
High (P500 and over)	41	20	12	13	14	<sup>ab</sup>
Medium (P300-499)	44	16	17	12	11	<sup>ab</sup>
Low (under P300)	45	16	18	15	6	1
<i>d. Overall</i>	44	17	16	14	9	<sup>ab</sup>

<sup>a</sup>The meaning of the three education labels is as follows: Low - less than a complete elementary education; Medium - complete elementary through complete high school; High - college undergraduate or graduate.

<sup>b</sup>Less than 1 percent

The other consideration is the scope allowed the parents in this matter, given their socioeconomic condition. Where their income is low, there will be less opportunity for choice of school; hence they will more often take the matter into their own hands. Where they are relatively well-off, however, the child can more frequently be allowed to choose his own institution. The hypothesized influence of this freedom, or presence of alternatives, is also suggested by the fact that the rural-urban differences (see Table 8) follow the income differences rather than the differences by education. Urban dwellers generally have higher incomes (see Tables 5-6), and are also more likely than rural residents to have a variety of suitable schools from which their child might make his selection.

**Choice of child's course in school.** Here the decision to be made is which course the child will take in high school or college. To some

extent the introduction of the National College Entrance Examination (to be discussed in a later section of this report) has taken this choice out of the family's hands, but the screening function of the NCEE had not been implemented at the time this survey was made.<sup>9</sup> Hence respondents were referring to a real choice when they gave their replies to this question.

More than half (54 percent) of the respondents say the choice is left to the child himself. Only a relatively small number speak of both parents (18 percent) or the parents with the child (12 percent) as the decision-maker. Differences by residence, education, and income are mutually consistent, as the Table 9 data show. Allowing the child to choose the course he will take, or having him reach a decision together with his parents, is associated with urban residence, high income, and high educational attainment. A unilateral decision by parents, singly or in consultation, is associated with the contrasting constellation of qualities.

**Table 9.** IPC/PSSC national survey respondents classified by selected characteristics and by the decision-maker they named for choice of child's school course (1973-74)

Characteristic	Decision-maker about child's school course					
	Child	Parents	Parents-child	Father	Mother	Others
<b>a. Place of residence</b>						
Urban	58%	14%	14%	7%	5%	1%
Rural	50	24	9	10	6	2
<b>b. Educational attainment<sup>a</sup></b>						
High	60	14	16	6	2	1
Medium	56	17	12	8	5	2
Low	49	22	9	10	8	1
<b>c. Monthly income</b>						
High (₹500 and over)	62	13	15	6	3	1
Medium (₹300-499)	55	15	13	10	6	2
Low (under ₹300)	49	22	10	9	7	2
<b>d. Overall</b>	54	18	12	8	6	1

<sup>a</sup>The meaning of the three education labels is as follows: Low - less than a complete elementary education; Medium - complete elementary through complete high school; High - college undergraduate or graduate.

**Choice of child's friends.** The question of who a child's more intimate and more constant companions will be is generally (71 percent) considered a matter for the child himself to decide. A relatively small number of respondents mention the parents (9 percent) or the parents with their child (12 percent) as the arbiters in this area.

The patterns by residence, education, and income are consistent. Parents of urban residence, better education, and higher income are less inclined than others to let the child decide this question alone. They also mention the joint parents-child mode much more frequently than do their rural, less well-educated, and less wealthy counterparts. The data are given in Table 10.

**Budgeting household expenditures.** It has long been a popular belief that women hold the purse strings in the Filipino family. The

**Table 10.** IPC/PSSC national survey respondents classified by selected characteristics and by the decision-maker they named for choice of child's friends (1973-74)

Characteristic	Decision-maker about choice of child's friends					
	Child	Parents-child	Parents	Mother	Father	Others
<i>a. Place of residence</i>						
Urban	68%	15%	9%	6%	2%	**
Rural	74	7	10	5	3	**
<i>b. Educational attainment<sup>b</sup></i>						
High	64	19	11	4	2	**
Medium	72	12	8	5	2	**
Low	74	7	10	7	4	**
<i>c. Monthly income</i>						
High (₱500 and over)	64	22	8	4	2	1
Medium (₱300-499)	72	9	12	4	2	**
Low (under ₱300)	74	7	9	6	3	**
<i>d. Overall</i>	71	12	9	5	2	**

<sup>a</sup>Less than 1 percent.

<sup>b</sup>The meaning of the three education labels is as follows: Low - less than a complete elementary education; Medium - complete elementary through complete high school; High - college undergraduate or graduate.

findings of this survey confirm that belief, for 60 percent of respondents state that in their homes control of the household budget is a prerogative of the wife and mother. It is reported as a joint parental concern by another 26 percent, but only 11 percent refer it to the father (Table 11).

What is *not* a part of the popular belief, to our knowledge, is the fact that assigning this budgeting role to the female-head of household is most common, not among the *less* sophisticated, but among those who are urban, well educated, and relatively wealthy. And it is also this presumably more modern segment of the population which shows the least inclination to give these fiscal duties to the couple as such, or to the paterfamilias. The data are presented in Table 11. If we make the assumption that the pattern characteristic of rural and least-educated Filipinos is the traditional one, then we might conclude here that (a) preferring wives and mothers as household

**Table 11.** IPC/PSSC national survey respondents classified by selected characteristics and by the decision-maker they named for household budgeting (1973-74)

Characteristic	Decision-maker about household budgeting			
	Mother	Parents	Father	Others
<i>a. Place of residence</i>				
Urban	64%	23%	9%	3%
Rural	55	31	13	1
<i>b. Educational attainment<sup>a</sup></i>				
High	70	23	6	1
Medium	62	26	11	<sup>a,b</sup>
Low	55	30	14	<sup>a,b</sup>
<i>c. Monthly income</i>				
High (₱50 and over)	68	25	7	1
Medium (₱300-499)	67	22	10	1
Low (under ₱300)	56	30	14	1
<i>d. Overall</i>				
	60	26	11	3

<sup>a</sup>The meaning of the three education labels is as follows: Low - less than a complete elementary education; Medium - complete elementary through complete high school; High - college undergraduate or graduate.

<sup>b</sup>Less than 1 percent.

treasurers has a long history in the Philippines (the percentages are high among the traditional sector), and the likelihood is that (b) modernization will *increase* the tendency to assign this role to women (the percentages are even higher among the modern sector).

**Planning family investments or business.** Mother's purse-string function is not commonly extended to include her unilateral planning of family business ventures or investments. Only 21 percent see her in this role; for 43 percent of respondents it is a joint-decision area for both parents; for 32 percent, it is the father's responsibility. Both the joint-decision and father-only modes have positive links to urban residence, higher income, and better education, while the mother-only arrangement is especially popular among respondents with the contrasting characteristics. The findings are given in Table 12.

**Table 12.** IPC/PSSC national survey respondents classified by selected characteristics and by the decision-maker they named for family investments/business (1973-74)

Characteristic	Decision-maker about family investments			
	Parents	Father	Mother	Others
<b>a. Place of residence</b>				
Urban	43%	33%	20%	4%
Rural	44	30	24	3
<b>b. Educational attainment<sup>a</sup></b>				
High	48	36	16	1
Medium	44	33	22	2
Low	42	29	28	2
<b>c. Monthly income</b>				
High (P500 and over)	47	34	18	2
Medium (P300-499)	44	34	20	2
Low (under P300)	42	30	26	1
<b>d. Overall</b>	43	32	21	4

<sup>a</sup>The meaning of the three education labels is as follows: Low - less than a complete elementary education; Medium - complete elementary through complete high school; High - college undergraduate or graduate.

**Summary on family decision-making.** To review, we find that of the seven decision-makers mentioned in our precoded reply form, only four were mentioned by more than 25 percent of respondents for a particular area. These dominant and subdominant arbiters are, in order of popularity, the following: parents deliberating jointly, child alone, mother alone, father alone (Table 13). The *joint-parent* arrangement is most commonly reported for three of the six family matters, namely, disciplining of children, choice of school, and family investments or business. It is also the subdominant pattern for budgeting decisions. The *child alone* is most often mentioned in choice of school course and choice of friends. *Mother alone* is dominant only in the area of household budgeting. *Father alone* is the subdominant arrangement (second to the joint-parent mode) for decisions on family investments or business. For the disciplining of children, the secondary arrangement is father alone or mother alone — that is, parent of same sex as the child who is to be disciplined. Table 13 displays these data, as well as the “minority” arrangements mentioned by fewer than one-fourth the respondents (but by at least 9 percent of them).

Another way of viewing these decision-making patterns is in terms of their being traditional or modern. Here we make the same assump-

**Table 13.** Decision-making arrangements reported by 9 percent or more of IPC/PSSC national survey respondents, by decision area and frequency of mention (1973–74)

Decision area	Dominant (43–71%)	Subdominant (26–37%)	Minority (9–21%)
Discipline	Joint (parents)	Parent (same sex)	Parent (other sex)
School	Joint (parents)	—	Child; mother; father; joint (parents-child)
Course	Child alone	—	Joint (parents); joint (parents-child)
Friends	Child alone	—	Joint (parents-child); joint (parents)
Budgeting	Mother alone	Joint (parents)	Father alone
Business	Joint (parents)	Father alone	Mother alone

tion we earlier did when discussing the area of household budgeting, namely, that patterns which show a positive association with high educational attainment, high income, and urban residence (a) represent the less traditional way, and (b) will tend to increase in popularity over time (as average educational attainment, percentage of urban dwellers, and — hopefully — average incomes also increase).

From this point of view, the dominant arrangements for four of the six decision areas are *modern*, and are likely to grow in acceptance. They are the joint-parent mode for disciplining and family business, the child-alone mode for choice of course, and the mother-alone mode for household budgeting. The child-alone arrangement for choice of friends is traditional and may be challenged, as time passes, by the joint parents-child mode, which is modern by our criterion. However, since 71 percent of respondents currently say the child selects his own friends, and only 12 percent mention the joint parents-child mode, that challenge may take long in making itself-felt.

The area of school choice poses the problem of inconsistent data which we discussed earlier. Because of this inconsistency it is difficult to designate the dominant pattern (joint-parent decision) as modern or traditional by our norms. Among the minority patterns, however, the mother-alone mode is traditional and the parents-child mode, modern. We think it *likely* that the joint-parent mode is *modern*, since its closest association is with higher education (see Table 8), and it is similar in pattern to the parents-child mode which we are quite certain is modern.

#### Activities shared by family members outside the home

The pattern of husbands' and wives' cooperation in family decision-making is clearly well established. Several further questions need to be raised at this point. Do husbands and wives engage in shared activities outside the home? Do parents and children have common interests and activities in the larger community to which they belong? If they do interact in this way, what kinds of things do they do together?

Of the 3015 respondents who are currently married and living with their spouses, 69 percent say that they join them, at least occasionally, in certain activities outside the home. Of the 2875 married respondents who have at least one child, 60 percent state



that they go places or do things outside the home with their spouses and children.

For the most part, these shared activities are *recreational* in nature. About 44 percent of first-mentioned replies – whether about spouses or spouses with children – fall into this general category. Thus 40 percent of respondents speak of going to the movies with their spouses or families, going to plays or concerts, or on picnics or outings, or just going for a stroll together. Another 3–4 percent mention trips and vacations.

Somewhere between the *recreational* and *social* are special occasions such as weddings, baptisms, parties, and fiestas (20–21 percent). More clearly social perhaps are visits to neighbors or relatives (2 percent for spouses, 5 percent for families), and attending school, political, or civic functions (2–3 percent).

*Religious* observances also commonly involve joint participation. Going to mass and other services is mentioned by 15 percent as a husband-wife activity and by 20 percent as a family occasion. *Economic* concerns, domestic or occupational, are mentioned by 15 percent of respondents for their spouses and 8 percent for their spouses and children.

#### Priority given child-rearing values

In order to discover the weight which respondents gave to different values in the raising of children, interviewers used six flash cards, on each of which was written a phrase describing one such conception of the desirable. When the phrases had been read to the respondent, the interviewer laid the cards out on any convenient surface and asked the respondent to rank the values from first to sixth in order of importance. The wording of the questions was actually this: "What is the most important thing to teach children?" Then, "What is the second most important thing?" And so on.

The six values selected for the study were derived mainly from an international comparative study released by the International Research Associates (INRA) in 1958, and later interpreted by Alex Inkeles (1960). The five values were: (1) the desire to succeed, (2) obedience to parents, (3) enjoying oneself, (4) trust in God, and (5) honesty and decency. To this set we added a sixth value, namely, getting along with others – a value which had often been mentioned in local empirical studies of child rearing as of great importance to parents.

It was hypothesized that this last value would be ranked high by PSSC respondents, particularly those of rural residence or low income.

This expectation was not fulfilled. The value of interpersonal harmony is ranked first by only 2 percent of respondents (mean rank, 4.4), and the differences by place of residence and income, while ranking in the predicted direction, are not significant (Table 14). The only value that fares worse is that of enjoying oneself, or "enjoying life," which is in last place (mean rank, 5.1; percentage placing it first, 1).

Two values of the six emerge as extremely important: trust in God and obedience to parents. Learning to trust in Divine Providence is ranked first by three-fifths (61 percent) of respondents (mean rank, 1.7); obedience to parents is the prime virtue for more than one-fifth (23 percent) of respondents (mean rank, 2.3). Although the differences are not significant, urban, wealthier, and better-educated respondents have a slightly greater tendency than others to give first rank to the value of trust in God; rural, less wealthy, and less well-educated respondents show the same tendency relative to obedience to parents (Table 14).<sup>10</sup> However, trust in God is more often first in both groups.

The two intermediately ranked values are honesty and justice and desire to succeed in life. The former receives a mean rank of 3.5 and 6 percent of the first-place votes; the latter is ranked 3.9, slightly lower than honesty and justice, but is considered of primary importance by 8 percent of the people we interviewed. The two values are actually tied for third place.

In view of the two measures we have (rank order and number of first-place mentions), it is possible to rank the values in order of perceived importance.

<i>Rank</i>	<i>Value</i>
1	Trust in God
2	Obedience to parents
3.5	Desire to succeed in life
3.5	Honesty and justice
5	Getting along well with others
6	Enjoying life

As we shall clarify in the discussion which follows the section on

findings, the prominence given to trust in God is a departure from the overall international picture described by Inkeles in the article cited earlier. However, what should be noted here is that, *regardless of the crossclassifying variable* – residence, income, research site, or sex – *the rank order is always that which we have just presented*. Most important for comparative purposes: other than those under trust in God and obedience to parents, there seem to be no significant differences linked to income level. This fact differs, not only with the predictions of Inkeles on values, but with our own findings on decision-making, reported in a previous section.

**Table 14.** Mean ranks and percentages of first places assigned to six selected child-rearing values by IPC/PSSC national survey respondents, by residence and monthly income (1973–74)

Value and measure of its significance	Residence		Monthly income			Total
	Urban	Rural	High	Medium	Low	
<b>Trust in God</b>						
Percentage ranking it 1st	62%	58%	64%	61%	50%	61%
Mean rank assigned	1.7	1.8	1.6	1.7	1.7	1.7
<b>Obedience to parents</b>						
Percentage ranking it 1st	22%	26%	20%	23%	25%	23%
Mean rank assigned	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3
<b>Desire to succeed in life (ambition)</b>						
Percentage ranking it 1st	8%	8%	8%	8%	7%	8%
Mean rank assigned	3.9	3.9	3.9	3.9	3.9	3.9
<b>Honesty, justice</b>						
Percentage ranking it 1st	6%	4%	6%	5%	5%	6%
Mean rank assigned	3.4	3.7	3.3	3.6	3.7	3.5
<b>Getting along well with others</b>						
Percentage ranking it 1st	1%	3%	1%	2%	3%	2%
Mean rank assigned	4.5	4.3	4.5	4.3	4.4	4.4
<b>Enjoying life</b>						
Percentage ranking it 1st	1%	2%	1%	1%	2%	1%
Mean rank assigned	5.2	4.9	5.3	5.1	4.9	5.1

### The working mother

Another family matter is the question of the working mother. How aware are household heads of this phenomenon – the mother who works full or part time for pay or profit outside the household – and how do they feel about it? What jobs do they think such mothers currently hold, and what jobs do they believe they *should* hold? How do they feel about this kind of arrangement?

**Awareness of actual jobs.** About three-fourths (73 percent) of respondents know of mothers who do hold jobs outside the home. Moreover, this awareness is more widespread in urban than rural areas (78 vs. 66 percent). Respondents who know of mothers who are actually working part or full time outside their homes were asked what kind of jobs they tended to have. Their first-mentioned answers were then tabulated. A little over a third (35 percent) mention teaching; 17 percent speak of clerical or office work; 13 percent, of selling or peddling; 10 percent, of farming; and so on. Important differences occur by residence (women teachers and clerical workers are well known in urban areas, but less so in rural places; women vendors and farmers are more commonly reported in the country than in the city. The same kind of difference is related to income and education (teachers, clerical workers, and professionals are better known among the higher income, better-educated respondents; women farmers, vendors, service personnel, handicraft workers, and housewives are more commonly known to the low-income, poor-education group). But there are no significant differences by sex of respondent.

A related view of the actual positions held by women known to the respondents is whether these jobs are skilled or not. Of those who know of women workers; 58 percent say they are engaged in activities which we categorize as requiring considerable skill or professional training; the balance (42 percent) say their acquaintances are doing jobs which we judge to require little skill. Once more, the differences are marked by education and income, but not by sex. Thus while 62 percent of low-income, and 44 percent of low-education, respondents say the women they know have what we classify as low-skill jobs, the percentages for high-income and high-education respondents are only 18 and 13, respectively. The relationship is linear and negative: the greater the education and income, the lower the percentage

reporting women acquaintances employed at low-skill jobs. For males and females alike, the percentage who know such women is 42.

**Evaluation of working mothers.** How do respondents who know some working mothers feel about this kind of arrangement? Generally speaking (75 percent), they approve of the idea, with little difference by residence, sex, or income. Variation in approval by educational level, however, is from 68 percent for college-educated respondents to 79 percent for those with at most an incomplete elementary schooling. Better-educated people tend to look less favorably than others on the mother who takes an outside job.

Important subcategory differences occur, not so much in outright approval or disapproval of working mothers, but in the percentages who think that the matter deserves study in individual cases — the so-called *It-depends* replies. Most respondents who answer in this manner are concerned that mothers work only if there is financial need for this, or if her household duties will permit it. Only a small number express uneasiness at the thought of a professionally trained mother wasting her talent and years of study by not being employed. All in all, these *It-depends* answers represent only 13 percent of replies; the frequency with which they occur varies significantly by residence, income, and education, but not by sex (Table 15).

When those who approve unconditionally of mothers' working are asked why they feel this way, 97 percent give financial advantages as their reason. Only 2 percent mention psychological fulfillment, or the need not to waste professional training as the reason behind their positive attitude. There are no differences by residence in the distribution of these percentages.

**Preferred jobs for women, married or single.** What kind of work should women do? This question was asked, not only of those who had earlier said they knew of a working mother, but of all respondents. Speaking of ideal jobs for women, 41 percent of this all-inclusive respondent group favor their staying in the home, doing housework and related jobs. Another 17 percent speak of clerical or office work; 13 percent, of handicrafts and other home industries; fewer than 10 percent, of teaching (9 percent) or peddling (8 percent). Only 2 percent each think farming or service (maids, waitresses) is a good job-area for women.

Of special interest is the fact that large numbers of those who

Table 15. Percentage of IPC/PSSC national survey respondents who when asked their evaluation of working mothers replied "It depends," classified by selected characteristics (1973-74)

Characteristic	Percentage
<i>a. Sex</i>	
Male	13%
Female	12
<i>b. Residence</i>	
Urban	15
Rural	9
<i>c. Educational attainment<sup>a</sup></i>	
High	21
Medium	11
Low	7
<i>d. Monthly income</i>	
High (P500 and above)	17
Medium (P300-499)	11
Low (under P300)	10
<i>e. Overall</i>	
	13

<sup>a</sup>The meaning of the three education labels is as follows: Low - less than a complete elementary education; Medium - complete elementary through complete high school; High - college undergraduate or graduate.

say they know of working mothers holding certain positions do *not* mention these particular jobs as desirable for women. Among the job categories where this switching occurred, certain occupations showed especially great losses when the second question was asked (Table 16).

Significant differences in the frequency with which the various preferred occupations are mentioned occur by residence, income, and education, but not by sex.<sup>11</sup> Where differences do occur, they are mutually consistent; that is, the percentage of skilled or professional jobs cited as suitable for women varies directly with income and education; further, a high percentage of these better-paying jobs is associated with urban rather than rural residence. Thus higher-prestige occupations are mentioned by 44 percent of high-income respondents, by 33 percent of those with medium income, and 22 percent of the low-income group. Similarly, the percentages

Table 16. Frequency with which selected occupations were mentioned by IPC/PSSC national survey respondents as actual jobs of women who were known to them, and as desirable jobs for women (1973-74)

Occupation	Actual (no.)	Ideal (no.)	Minimum decrease (%) <sup>a</sup>
Services	234	55	76%
Farming	252	81	68
Teaching	885	297	66
Other professions	101	49	51
Selling/peddling	322	259	20

<sup>a</sup>The decrease from "Actual" to "Ideal" may in reality have been greater, since the "Ideal" number we recorded may include some respondents who were interviewed only for the second question.

vary from 49 percent for college-trained respondents, through 33 and 28 down to 20 percent for those with less than a complete elementary schooling. The urban figure is 40 percent; the rural, only 21 percent. In general, the more sophisticated the respondent, the more likely he or she is desirous that the woman who works be well placed.

#### PERCEPTIONS OF SELF, COMMUNITY, AND THE NATION

An indicator to which social scientists and planners alike are paying more and more attention is the individual's *perception* of the way things are. For growing numbers of both specialists and generalists realize that perceived quality of life is an important factor in the happiness and contentment of a population, and if one wishes to enhance a people's sense of well-being he must necessarily be concerned, not merely with external measures of the state of affairs (for example, the caloric adequacy of the average diet), but with some gauges as well of how people *feel* about these aspects of their lives (for instance, their *satisfaction* with the food they eat).

In this section of the findings we report on how respondents reacted when they were asked about themselves and the nation — compared to the past and the likely future — and how they felt a variety of things had changed and would change in their communities. We speak first about the respondents' own state of affairs.

**Respondent's condition**

**Happy-unhappy.** Respondents were asked several questions in this regard. The first was this: "Considering everything that happened to you recently, how would you say things are with you – would you say you're happy, fairly happy, or not too happy?" Replies indicate that the majority (68 percent) are fairly happy, and the rest unhappy (19 percent) or very happy (14 percent). Rural respondents have a greater percentage of fairly happy people (70 vs. 66 percent) and fewer who are very happy (12 vs. 15 percent) or unhappy (18 vs. 19 percent). The differences in the distribution of the two "happy" categories is significant (0.02).

Another question put to respondents was this: "Compared with your life today, how were things one year ago – were you happier then, were you not quite so happy, or were you about the same?" To judge from the responses received, 52 percent were about the same, 28 percent were happier, and 20 percent were not quite so happy at that time. Once more, rural residents have a greater proportion of status-quo persons (56 vs. 49 percent) and fewer who say they were happier in late 1972 or early 1973 than they were at the end of 1973 or the beginning of 1974.

If we consider responses to the first and second questions in relation to one another, we learn more about the respondents' perceptions of how their lives changed in the year 1972–73 to 1973–74. The picture is further simplified if we take the Very-happy and Fairly-happy replies as indicating a positive, or good, state of affairs and the Not-happy replies as negative, or bad. The cross-tabulation can be expressed as in Table 17 (n = 3476).

**Table 17.** IPC/PSSC national survey respondents, by happiness replies for one year ago and for the present (1973–74)

One year ago (1972–73)	Present (1973–74)	
	Bad	Good
Good (Very happy, or Fairly happy)	28% (965)	44% (1517)
Bad (Not happy)	8% (297)	20% (697)



Of the 3476 respondents whose replies are tabulated here, 52 percent (8 percent unhappy, 44 percent very or fairly happy) say things have not changed for them. However, 28 percent think they had it better a year before, while only 20 percent think things are better now. The proportion of those who feel their personal condition worsened in the previous year is significantly greater than those who think it improved (McNemar test; significant at the 0.001 level).

**Ladder scale.** The third question employed an interviewing device known as the self-anchoring ladder scale, first developed by Hadley Cantril of Princeton University. The respondent was shown a drawing of an 11-step ladder (0–10), and addressed in these terms:

Here is a picture of a ladder with steps from 0 to 10. Let us say that the top of the ladder (Step 10) represents the best possible life you can imagine, and the bottom (Step 0) represents the worst possible life for you. Then the higher on the ladder you are, the better your life is. And the lower you are, the worse your life is.

- A. Where on the ladder do you feel you personally stand *at the present time*?
- B. Where on the ladder would you say you stood *five years ago*?
- C. And where do you think you will be on the ladder *five years from now*?

This kind of scale has the advantage of allowing each respondent to define "best" and "worst" in his own terms, yet score his perceived position by using ladder-step numbers (0–10) which are easily averaged and compared with the scores of others whose conceptions of the best and worst life may be quite different.

In reply to the three ladder questions, respondents gave answers which may be summarized as follows. Five years ago they stood at Step 4.3; at present they are at the 4.7 level, and five years hence they expect to reach 5.7 (these are mean scores; the medians are 4.9, 5.3, and 6.2, respectively).

In general, respondents apparently perceive their lives as better at present (1973–74) than they were five years before (1968–69), but not so good as they will be in future. The trend is the same in both rural and urban areas, but the rural people see themselves as significantly lower on the ladder scale. The average figures are given in Table 18.

Variation in mean ladder scores by research site is striking. For

**Table 18.** Ladder scores given by IPC/PSSC national survey respondents for their own life conditions, by time period and by residence (1973-74)

Time period	R's perceived position on ladder		
	Urban	Rural	Total
Five years ago	4.6/5.2 <sup>a</sup>	4.0/4.4	4.3/4.9
Present	5.0/5.5	4.2/4.9	4.7/5.3
Five years hence	6.1/6.8	5.1/5.5	5.7/6.2

<sup>a</sup>The figure on the left is the mean; on the right, the median.

the period *five years ago*, the range among urban respondents is from 5.5 (Bacolod) to 3.5 (Laoag); among rural respondents, from 5.2 (Cotabato) to 2.6 (both Ilagan and Tacloban). Average ladder scores for the *present* range from 5.8 (Bacolod) to 4.1 (Laoag) among urban respondents and from 5.0 (Davao and Iloilo) to 3.3 (Ilagan and Laoag) among the rural residents. For the situation expected *five years from now*, the ranges are these: urban sites, from 7.0 (Bacolod) to 5.1 (Laoag); rural sites, 6.0 (Bacolod) to 4.8 (Laoag).

As can be seen from even this selection of data, there is a tendency for those who are feeling good now to say they were in good condition five years ago, and to look forward to being in a similarly happy position in the future; the same is true, the other way round — once a loser, always a loser, relative to others at least (see Table A3).

To give meaning and substance to the ladder scores, we cross-tabulated the replies to the first question (presently very happy, fairly happy, not happy) with those to the first ladder question (presently 0-10). We discovered that the corresponding ladder scores for the three levels of happiness are these: Very happy, 5.7/6.0 (first figure is the mean; second figure, the median); Fairly happy, 4.7/5.3; Not happy, 3.8/4.4.

Applying these correspondences to the *median* ladder scores presented in the preceding paragraphs, we can express the findings in chart form (See Appendix B). The chart shows that the average urban respondent sees himself as only fairly happy five years ago and at the present, but looking forward to a very happy future. Rural residents were not happy in the past, and are barely happy now;

nonetheless, they too expect to be at least fairly happy five years from now.

At first glance, this finding seems to contradict an earlier one. It will be recalled that, speaking of one year ago and now, most respondents (52 percent) thought their personal situation was much the same, but of the remaining 48 percent, most (28 percent) thought their position had deteriorated. Yet the ladder ratings we have just discussed indicate a linear upward trend from a point in time five years ago. Which was the respondent in the past – better off or worse off? The reconciliation of the two findings is perhaps to be found in the hypothesis that, for at least that percentage of respondents who feel they are better off now than they were five years ago, but not better off than they were one year ago, the personal situation reached a peak sometime *between* one and five years ago, but was still better than the present one year ago (but see the Conclusions, below).

Now we can convert the personal-situation ladder scores by research site (Table A3) into happiness ratings. Since the mean ladder score for Not-happy respondents is 3.8, and the score for the Fairly happy is 4.7, we can say that groups with averages below the midpoint between the two scores (4.3) are, in general, unhappy with their personal situations (now, in the past, or in future). Similarly, since the mean score for Very-happy falls between 5.2 and 5.3, we can surely say that those who place themselves at 5.3 or above may be called very happy. Looking at the various group averages in Table A3, we can arrange the research sites by these two happiness levels, Not happy and Very happy.

The results are these. *Not happy* in the past, present, and future are the people of at least one sector (generally the rural) of Laoag and Ilagan; unhappy in the past and present: Tuguegarao, Cabanatuan, Naga, and Tacloban; unhappy only in the past, Dumaguete and Davao; unhappy only at present, Cebu.

*Very happy* in the past and present, and expectedly in the future are the people of Bacolod; very happy in the present and future are those of Iloilo; expecting to be very happy in the future are the urban and/or rural residents of *all* places except Laoag.

The urban-rural difference emerges once more in the distribution of urban and rural communities by this happiness criterion. Of the nine places where mean scores placed the urban and/or rural respondents in the Not-happy category, five reported these low ratings

only among rural respondents, are recorded them only for the urban sector, and three, for both sectors. Rural-respondent groups are scored as unhappy twice as often as the urban.

On the other hand, in the 14 places in which Very-happy scores are reported for the urban and/or rural sector, the distribution is as follows: in eight places, both sectors are mentioned; in four, only the urban; Metro Manila and Jolo had no rural samples. Hence, wherever it was possible to have an urban and/or rural difference, urban residents said they expected to be very happy in another five years; in only four places out of eight did the rural people reply in this way. Urban-respondent groups are found to be very happy twice as often as the rural are.

### The national situation

Another series of ladder questions concerned the state of the nation. It was put to the respondent as follows:

Here is the ladder again. Let us say now that the top of the ladder represents the best possible condition for our country and the bottom represents the worst possible condition for our country.

- A. Where on the ladder would you say the Philippines is *today*?
- B. Where did the Philippines stand *ten years ago*?
- C. Where do you think the Philippines will stand *10 years from now*?

The replies of respondents indicate they perceive for the nation the same kind of upward progression over time that they perceive for themselves: from a mean of 5.0 ten years ago, through 5.8 at present, to 7.0 ten years from now (the corresponding medians are 4.9, 5.3, and 6.2).

Differences by residence are not marked, particularly in evaluating the present condition of the country. However, rural respondents apparently see the nation's condition 10 years ago as less removed from the present than do urban dwellers. They are also less optimistic, more cautious about what the future will bring. Consider the data in Table 19.

The ladder scores for the present (1973-74) condition of the Philippines are almost identical for the urban and rural areas (5.8/6.2 vs. 5.8/6.1). Differences by research sites are more marked: among urban residents the means range from 6.6 in Ilagan to 4.7 in Cebu; among rural dwellers, from 6.6 in Cabanatuan to 4.4 in Cebu (Table A4).

**Table 19.** Ladder scores given by IPC/PSSC national survey respondents for the nation's condition, by time period and by residence (1973-74)

Time period	Nation's perceived position on ladder		
	Urban	Rural	Total
Ten years ago	4.9/5.2 <sup>a</sup>	5.1/5.5	5.0/5.3
Present	5.8/6.2	5.8/6.1	5.8/6.2
Ten years hence	7.2/8.3	6.7/7.8	7.0/8.2

<sup>a</sup>The figure on the left is the mean; on the right, the median.

For *10 years ago*, the urban-rural difference is only 0.2/0.3 points (4.9/5.2 vs. 5.1/5.5). By research site, however, the ranges of means are as follows: urban, from 5.3 in Dumaguete to 3.7 in Laoag; rural, from 5.7 in Cotabato to 4.0 in Laoag.

For *10 years hence*; the urban-rural difference is 0.5/0.5 points (7.2/8.3 vs. 6.7/7.8). But by research site the averages range as follows: urban, from 8.3 in Ilagan to 5.2 in Cebu; rural, from 8.1 in Cabanatuan to 4.3 in Cebu.

#### Personal and national ladder scores

When we compare the ladder scores individual respondents give themselves with those they give the nation, we find close correlations. The higher a respondent's self-rating, the higher he rates the nation. Using our "happiness" categories and the corresponding median scores, we can illustrate this correlation (Table 20).

An important way (aside from their higher ladder scores) in which the Very-happy respondents differ from others is that they believe that their personal ladder scores will rise in five years by about 31 percent over the current base. The other two respondent categories foresee an increase of only about 17 percent. Yet all expect the nation to show a 30-32 percent increase over base in the next 10 years. This difference (17 percent for self vs. 32 for the nation) is also true of the respondents taken together. Most respondents expect the nation to do better in the next 10 years than they will in the next five.

**Table 20.** Ladder scores given by IPC/PSSC national survey respondents for their personal conditions and that of the nation, by perceived happiness at present (1973-74)

Happiness at present	Ratings (0-11) of present situation	
	Personal median	Median for nation
Very happy	6.0	6.8
Fairly happy	5.3	6.2
Not happy	4.4	5.8
Total	5.3	6.2

#### The state of the respondent's community

If the respondent had lived in his present community for at least five years, he or she was asked 15 questions in which a comparison was proposed between the community as it was at that time in the past (1968 or 1969) and how it was at present (1973-74). The same questions were also asked about how the community would probably be 10 years after the interview date, that is, in 1983 or 1984. Respondents who had not been in the community for five years or more (they were 23 percent of the total) were asked the second set of questions, but not the first.

Twelve of our 15 questions were selected from the 20 items in George Guthrie's study entitled *The psychology of modernization in the rural Philippines* (1971: 79-87). To them we added another three, on prices, community participation, and social equality. Like Guthrie, we are here concerned with the perception and anticipation of change. Presumably the first set of questions will give us a measure of the first quality, and the second set, of the second.

**Perceived changes 1968/69 to 1973/74.** If one looks at Table A5, he will see the tabulated answers to the 15 questions about changes since 1968-69. What is notable here, even at first glance, is the small percentage of respondents who reported *not* perceiving any change in their communities (only 12 percent, on the average). The great majority said things *had* changed, for better or for worse.

Mostly for worse. In the economic, or jobs-and-money, sphere

(Guthrie 1971: 89), respondents report emphatically that there is now less money available than five years ago, fewer jobs to be had, fewer chances for advancement, and higher prices to contend with. There is, however, a weak plurality who say there are better houses available in their communities at the present time. In matters of care of the sick, a perceived growing scarcity of health facilities, such as clinics and hospitals, is balanced by the perception (weakly expressed) that fewer people seem to get sick now. In the political area respondents are undecided about what happened to participation in community affairs in the past five years: as many say it grew as those who say it decreased. Opportunities for entertainment reportedly have declined.

In those social matters which are completely in the people's hands, however (Guthrie's Interpersonal-Relationships Factor), increases are noted: willingness to work hard, helpfulness to others, respect for older people, and (by a small plurality) concern for getting along well with others.

It is small wonder, on reflection, that answers to the broader questions addressed to respondents receive predominantly negative replies. Significantly greater numbers of respondents report that, compared with 1968-69, the people in their communities are less contented. Further, there is the pervading feeling that the gap between social classes is widening; that the classes of people are now less equal than they were before.

**Changes expected by 1983/84.** What does the future hold in store? Most respondents take a very optimistic view of their communities 10 years hence (Table A6). While an average of 21 percent think their places will be much the same after a decade, most look forward to good days ahead. In all but three areas, in fact — prices, general contentment, and respect for old people — the majority expect that matters will definitely improve. Their votes are usually strongly on the positive side, exceptions being the probable incidence of sickness among future populations and the equality of social classes.

To summarize, most respondents who perceive that changes occurred in the five years before they were interviewed think of the status of their communities in 1973/74 as considerably lower and more disadvantaged than it had earlier been. But most also have euphoric hopes for the 10 years to come.

### **AWARENESS OF AND PERCEIVED PRIORITIES AMONG GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS**

This section presents findings on the expressed awareness, attitudes, and involvement of respondents relative to the following government programs and activities: National College Entrance Examination, Youth Civic Action Program, Manpower Training, land reform, cooperatives, and the Barangay Association. Also discussed are the respondents' views on the squatter problem, and on priorities among government programs, in particular those programs related to the Four-year Development Plan (1974-77) formulated by the National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA).

#### **Awareness of government programs and activities**

**National College Entrance Examination.** In November 1973, the National College Entrance Examination (NCEE) was given for the first time. It was widely publicized, and the fact that it would be used to determine the college courses of students was made clear.

In this survey, awareness of the NCEE was asked of the respondent only if he or she had a child who was in high school or about to enter college. This qualification screened out two-thirds of our respondents. Of the remaining third, the great majority (81 percent) say they have heard of the NCEE. Further, of those who know of it, almost all (92 percent) say they consider it a good idea.

**Youth Civic Action Program and Manpower Training.** All respondents were asked if they were aware of the Youth Civic Action Program (YCAP). The program is relatively well known, with 64 percent claiming they have heard of it, and almost all of these respondents (95 percent) highly in favor of it. The other 36 percent admit they have not heard of the program. All respondents were likewise asked about Manpower Training. Again, two-thirds report they have heard of the program, and of these all but 2 percent approve of it.

**Land reform.** Since the government's national development program defines land reform as a major area of concern, the study attempted to measure awareness and knowledge of the land reform program, its beneficiaries, and the benefits received by the latter from the



program. While a large majority (81 percent) of respondents claim they have heard of land reform, only 24 percent of these respondents, or about one out of four, is acquainted with someone who has benefited from it.

Of those who know beneficiaries of land reform, 71 percent report that the major benefit gained from the land reform program is ownership of land. A combined 22 percent give concomitant benefits, such as increased income, learning of modern farming methods by the farmers, securing farm needs, and credit. A few (5 percent) report psychological by-products for the farmer, such as a sense of independence, pride, or social equity. The rest mention other advantages, such as protection against ejection and exploitation by the landlord.

It is interesting to note that urban dwellers are more likely to have heard of land reform than the rural people (84 vs. 76 percent). This is not surprising perhaps, in view of the much greater exposure to the mass media that characterizes Filipino town and city dwellers. What is surprising is the relatively small difference (statistically significant though it be) in the percentages of urban and rural residents who know someone who has become a landowner through the nation's land reform program (22 vs. 26 percent).

**Membership in cooperatives.** Establishment of cooperatives is another program currently given high priority by the government. We take the term loosely, to include the Samahang Nayon (a pre-cooperative organization), as well as the Kilusang Bayan and other government and private cooperatives.

A majority (74 percent) of the respondents report that they do not know of any cooperative existing in their communities. The remaining 26 percent say there is such an organization there, and in this respect the rural residents outdo their urban counterparts (36 vs. 19 percent). Of this knowledgeable group, representing about one-fourth of all respondents, 43 percent report that they are members of a cooperative. Another surprise, however: the percentage of urban dwellers who are aware of a cooperative and have joined it is significantly larger than the percentage of rural residents who say they have done this. Despite the massive efforts of the government in this regard, the effects are apparently being felt in population centers more often than in the barrios.

**Barangay Association.** More than two-thirds (69 percent) of the

respondents are aware that the so-called Barangay Associations (a creation of the New Society) are to be found in their communities. The rest say that to their knowledge these political units have not been organized in their communities.

To assess roughly whether those who claimed knowledge of the Barangay Association were involved in it in any way, we asked respondents to tell us the name(s) of their barangay leaders. Our field supervisors later checked these responses against the approved list of officials. The results indicate that most of those who claim to be aware of the Barangay Association also know who their leaders are. Almost nine out of 10 (86 percent) of the Barangay-knowledgeable respondents give the names of their leaders correctly. In all, then, about three-fifths of the respondents can be considered accurately aware, at least, of the association's existence.

### **Squatter problem and solution**

A frequently discussed problem, which affects especially the larger Philippine cities, is the so-called squatter problem — large numbers of people living on land, generally public, without any legal right to do so. Of our respondents, 13 percent identified themselves as belonging in this category. This they did indirectly in the course of an open-ended discussion about the tenure arrangements they had for their present house and lot. As might have been expected, urban dwellers more often report themselves as squatters than rural residents do. What is surprising, however, is that the difference in percentages between the two is so small — 16 percent for the urban and 10 percent for the rural sites.

In terms of how to *solve* the squatter problem, about two-fifths of the respondents (38 percent) favor just giving the land to the current occupants, thus legitimizing their presence there. This solution is espoused most frequently by rural dwellers (45 percent vs. 34 percent for urban residents), especially if they also happen to be squatters (57 percent vs. 45 for urban squatters). In general, and quite understandably, squatters are for this solution more than nonsquatters are (47 vs. 37 percent).

The second most popular solution is relocation, by which squatters are provided land at some location other than the one they are currently occupying. Overall, 33 percent espouse this action, and the squatter-nonsquatter distinction seems to make little difference (33 vs.

34 percent, respectively). The important variable is residence: for urban dwellers, this is the most commonly mentioned answer (42 percent); for rural respondents, it is a poor third to an outright donation of the land (only 10 percent vs. 45). For these country people, the second choice is special assistance to squatters – jobs, job training, housing subsidies, financial aid, and the like (21 percent vs. 19 for urban residents, for whom it is the third most frequently reported solution). Demolition of the squatters' homes (hardly a solution, we feel) is proposed by no squatters and only 5 percent of the nonsquatters, especially the rural respondents (9 percent vs. 2 for urban residents).

Briefly, the most commonly mentioned solution to the squatter problem is an outright grant to the occupant of the land which is being unlawfully used (38 percent). Close to this in popularity (33 percent) is relocation, then government assistance (20 percent). Demolition is very unpopular, being mentioned only by a small percentage of nonsquatters, mostly from the countryside. It is possible that favoring demolition, like espousing the granting of deeds of ownership to illegal occupants, may be indicators of a rural-urban difference. It could be that the most frequent proponents of these measures, the rural population, are not familiar with the kind of squatting and the kinds of subsequent difficulties which characterize the nation's large cities.

#### Perceived priorities among government programs

Respondents were presented with 18 cards, on each of which was written the name of one program area of the government. After the wording on the cards had been read to the respondent, and the cards had been laid out on an available surface, he or she was asked to arrange the cards and so rank the programs "from highest to lowest according to their order of importance." Hence a program might receive any score from 1 through 18, the latter being the worst possible rating. In analyzing the replies, arithmetic means were calculated, and the corresponding programs arranged in rank order, from that with the highest rating (price control, 3.9) to that with the lowest (tourism, 15.0). See Table A.7.

The *top six* programs, in order of popularity, are the following: price control, peace and order, the Masagana 99 rice production program, land reform, water resources development (irrigation and

flood control), and family planning. The only surprise here is the high ranking given family planning, a fact which may be indicative of the relative sophistication of our sample.

The *middle six* programs are road and bridge development, agricultural credit and rural banking, manpower development training (vocational training for out-of-school youth), nutrition, cooperatives (Samahang Nayan), and local government participation (the Barangay Association).

The *lowest-ranked six*, according to our respondents, are these: rural electrification, squatter relocation, fisheries, the encouragement of foreign investments, the establishment of a work-oriented curriculum and, in last place, tourism.

There are very few rural or urban deviations from this order, except those we might have expected. Thus urban residents place manpower training in eighth place instead of ninth, and put agricultural credit in ninth place, not seventh. Again, they give squatter relocation higher priority than the rural respondents do (15th place); they put it in 12th place, right after cooperatives.

Rural residents have similar differences. For them, agricultural credit deserves seventh place, following family planning. Rural electrification is in 12th place, not 14th as it is in the urban rankings, and squatter relocation is dropped from the 12th to the 15th slot.

Regardless of residence, the first six programs are in the same order. They would seem to be close to the heart and the felt needs of the people, wherever they live. The few shifts that we have noted in the second and third sets of six are easily related to differences in perceived needs between rural and urban dwellers. On the other hand, the lowest-ranked programs (foreign investments, a work-oriented program, and tourism) must seem remote indeed from the average person's concerns.

## Discussion and conclusions

In summarizing the characteristics of the IPC/PSSC survey respondents, we stated that they could not be taken as representative of the general adult population of the Philippines. Relative to that reference group, they are older, more urban, more highly educated, more often and better employed, and (for all these reasons) earning higher incomes. This higher sophistication of the aggregate sample as such is due, not only to its having been drawn in large part from within and near the nation's most densely populated centers, but also to the overrepresentation in the sample itself of urban residents. Hence in weighing the findings we have made, we do well to concentrate on intergroup differences, and pay less attention to overall averages, in which the urban, more highly educated, and better-compensated members of our sample will have an effect beyond that which they have in the general population.

With this caution in mind, we now review the results of the survey, and ask what trends over time can be delineated that have significant implications for the lives of Filipinos and the development of their society. More specifically, in what ways is the Filipino family changing, if indeed it is? How do the people judge their own life chances, given the view they take of their past and present experience? In what manner, and to what extent, do they see their communities and the nation at large as standing still, regressing, or making progress? How do they relate with the government's efforts to improve their lives through the various development projects currently in operation? What goals do they think should the government strive above all to achieve and in what areas should it focus its present resources to achieve them? In a word, how would different kinds of Filipinos answer the principal question in this study — are the Filipino family, community, and nation the same, yesterday, today and tomorrow?

### FAMILY LIFE

In the area of the family, we can now reflect on the data we gathered and analyzed regarding decision-making, family activities, child-rearing values, and attitudes toward working mothers. As we review each of these topics, our principal aim will be to shed light on the ways in which the family is changing and the ways in which it is not.

#### Decision-making

Writers on family life often state that in societies with a large, traditional peasant base, patterns of interaction between parents and children will tend to be authoritarian. In important matters, parents will regularly make decisions for their children. Moreover, the decision-making areas will be so divided between husband and wife that now one, now the other, will play the role of final arbiter, depending on what the subject is. Joint husband-wife decisions will occur only in a minority of cases.

On the other hand, Paz Mendez and F. Landa Jocano (1974), in their illuminating studies of Baras, Rizal, and Project 2, Quezon City, report that, for the most part, decision-making patterns are egalitarian. Certainly the replies they received from their respondents indicate that in every area they asked about, the joint-parental mode is dominant (*ibid.*, pp. 48, 269). In their report on lower-class families of Cebu City, William Liu and Siok-Hue Yu (1968) state that the wife tends to be autonomous in four out of seven household task areas they investigated. Included in the four are two that we also studied, namely, money control and disciplining of children. Joint-parental decisions are favored, however, for questions of family economic security (investments and business), schooling, and the planning of leisure-time activities.

The IPC/PSSC survey findings support those of Mendez and Jocano, and of Liu and Yu, rather than the authoritarian stereotype.<sup>12</sup> Thus, of the six decision-making areas we considered, the most common pattern in three was the joint-parental mode. In the disciplining of children, choosing of the child's school, and determining what action to take in matters of family investments or business, the couple deliberates as a team. In two areas, choice of high-school or college course and choice of friends, the decision is most often left to the

child itself. The wife alone, reportedly without her husband's assistance, is most frequently charged with the responsibility of handling the household budget and expenditures. This confirms both the Liu-Yu findings and similar findings by Sylvia Guerrero (1965).

To what extent are these patterns traditional and to what extent emergent? A study of the way in which the dominant, subdominant, and minority patterns in decision-making are distributed by respondent's place of residence, income, and education leads to the conclusion, already expressed, that in four out of the six areas we discussed, the dominant pattern is modern, and likely to grow in favor as the nation's median education level rises and as more and more people move to the larger population centers. The four areas in which the modern trend is already well set are the following: disciplining of children, and choice of family investments or business (both joint-parental matters), choice of school course (child alone), and household budgeting (mother alone). The joint-parental choice of child's school is also probably a modern arrangement, likewise here to stay and to grow in popularity. As for the child's choosing its own friends, this is the traditional way, but it may be challenged whenever and wherever conditions make parents somewhat jittery in this regard — because the local environment is unsafe, perhaps, or because their own social standing and privileged position may be at stake.

These findings on decision-making have certain practical implications. For one thing, if there is to be a continued national emphasis on vocational and technical training (despite the many negative observations that have been made in this regard, by the authors of the Ranis Report [1974], among others), then both students *and* parents will advisedly be included in any program of school-career guidance. For while students are generally free to choose the courses they will take (the NCEE permitting), parents will probably select the school.

Again, in matters involving ordinary household expenditures, the wife may be appealed to, with little immediate concern for the husband's opinion. But where long-range planning is involved, such as in installment purchases, both husband and wife will be making the decision, and should therefore be equally the target of those who would win their acceptance.

#### **Shared family activities**

If companionship with one's spouse and children is an index of

healthy family life, as family life experts suggest, then our respondents can be judged favorably. A substantial majority of spouses share social, recreational, and religious activities with each other and with their children. One cannot, however, ignore the relatively large 30 percent minority that does not engage in joint activities beyond those undertaken on the household premises. A further investigation could establish the degree to which this minority pattern expresses a kind of fragmentation in the family stemming from a lack of interest in one another beyond the routine exigencies of daily living. If this is so, the family is indeed in trouble, because it is failing to provide its members with the basic social direction and the sense of emotional security that are its functions.

#### Child-rearing values

Alex Inkeles took the position some years ago (1960) that child-rearing values were more reflective of an individual family's occupational or social-class position, than of the more general way of life, or culture, of the society in which it was found. He used the results of an 11-nation study done by the International Research Associates (INRA) to test out his hypotheses.<sup>13</sup> His conclusion was that, while class patterning was present, the patterns were not strong. He suspected, in fact, that in the area of child-rearing values, "cultural forces — particularly those deriving from ethnic and religious membership — play a powerful role and may, indeed, be the prime movers" (1960: 462).

The IPC/PSSC survey certainly suggests the same conclusion, since the rank order of importance assigned to particular child-rearing values is the same across the board, whether we consider income, residence, or education as the crossclassifying variable. The significance attached to these values appears to be something Filipino, rather than a function of social class or occupation.

What makes the Philippine data stand out when they are compared to those of the 11 nations surveyed by INRA, is the unique importance our people assign to teaching children to trust in God. In none of the 11 nations does this value get more than a 41-percent vote (Netherlands), and in most it is only half that, or less (Inkeles 1960: 460-61). But in the Philippines it invariably receives top ranking, and is the first-place choice of about three-fifths (61 percent) of the respondents.<sup>14</sup> Moreover (contrary to a prediction made by



Inkeles), it is favored especially by those of high socioeconomic status.

In the percentage of first-place mentions given to obedience to parents (23 percent), the Philippines is much like other nations, and in the especially frequent first-place mentions given this value by lower-class people, Inkeles' prediction to this effect is fulfilled. However, the scant notice Filipinos give to the values of honesty and ambition again puts us in a unique position, because in most of the INRA-studied countries, honesty is given the same high place which we reserve for trust in God. Indeed, there may be something theocentric about Philippine culture which calls for much more careful study than it has received to date. For if the perceived importance of trust in God is more than fatalism in religious guise, we may have here a largely unused symbol of common ideology and purpose, and of national unity. As Horacio de la Costa wrote many years ago, "We are again one people when we pray." (1947: 7).

In the low rating given the value of enjoying life, the Philippines is much like other nations, for they too give it only a minimal percentage of first-place mentions. The all-but-equally low rating given to getting along well with others is a puzzler, since the available literature and observations make it amply clear that this is a central Filipino value, and plays an important role in the child-rearing process (Lynch 1973a). If it were not for the fact that child-rearing studies, such as those of the Nydeggers (1964), George Guthrie and Pepita Jimenez (1966), and Ethel Nurge (1965), make the latter point explicitly, one would be inclined to think that the peer group rather than the parents have the major role in this aspect of socialization.

Nonetheless, the relatively very low priority given to this affiliation value, particularly by the modernizing segment, suggests that there is a well-defined temporal trend toward wider acceptance of individual achievement and universalistic criteria as norms for social approval. As time goes on, one can expect a concomitant narrowing of the areas in which compatibility will cast the deciding vote.

### **The working mother**

The IPC/PSSC data indicate an obvious ambivalence about mothers who take employment outside the home. This is not a new finding: it has been pointed out by a number of Filipino social scientists, among

them Gelia Castillo (1961) and Sylvia Guerrero (1965). Castillo found that among senior high school students, boys were more restrictive than girls when it came to letting the wife work. Somewhat defensively, girl respondents justified their approval of a departure from the traditional stay-at-home pattern on grounds of the family's need for additional income.

In her study of Filipino professional families on the Los Baños campus of the University of the Philippines, Guerrero found the same general tendencies among married men and women. Relative to the role of the wife and mother, two-thirds of the husbands, but only one-third of the wives, were traditional in outlook (1965: 277). Of those who said they preferred that their wives *not* work (two-thirds of the husband sample), 90 percent appealed to the well-known wife-is-for-the-home argument. Husbands who said they preferred their wives continue working reasoned, on the other hand, that their spouses would otherwise simply be unhappy. Wives shared the latter view, but would stop working, they said, if the needs of home or family demanded it.

The IPC/PSSC data contain several indications of the mixed feelings of respondents. A major one is this. While 88 percent of those who know of a working mother say they approve of the idea either outright (75 percent) or conditionally (13 percent), an absolute minimum of 6 percent of these approvers (and almost certainly many more) say the ideal occupation for a woman is housekeeping.

Mulling over the survey data, we get the impression that many men consider the working mother an affront to their own ability to fulfill the husband's primary family role of breadwinner. Those most likely to approve of the working mother unconditionally are those who most readily admit they need the added income or (a select minority) who accept the fact that their wives would otherwise be unhappy.

This is an area of actual, not potential, tension between Filipino husbands and wives, and a solution will be found only if both squarely face two facts: (a) the rising cost of living makes it necessary in most cases that both parents contribute to the family income, and (b) the well-trained woman will most likely feel frustrated (to say nothing of the loss to the nation) if she does not practice her hard-earned skills. In the United States in 1973, 30 percent of employed women placed self-fulfillment before economic gain as their main reason for working (Yankelovich 1974: 11). We know, both from

personal experience and from the literature (e.g., Marquez 1958), that many well-educated Filipinas feel the same way. We should not be surprised if, especially after 1975 – which the United Nations has designated International Women's Year – talented Filipino wives articulate such sentiments publicly in increasing numbers, ideally but not necessarily with their husbands' approval.

#### PERCEPTIONS OF SELF, COMMUNITY, AND THE NATION

Respondents who perceive any change at all in their personal conditions during the first year of Martial Law (1972–73) are more likely than not to view the situation as having deteriorated for them (Table 17). The ladder-scale scores for five years ago and the present indicate, on the other hand, an upward movement (means of 4.3 and 4.7). Without looking at any comparative studies, one might reconcile these two findings (as we did in the text, above), by hypothesizing that many individual respondents saw themselves as in better condition one year ago than they were five years ago or at the time of interview.

#### A changing nation-self relationship

But the introduction of two earlier ladder-scale inquiries casts a new light on the IPC/PSSC findings. Hadley Cantril (1965) supervised a 14-nation study which included the Philippines, where research was conducted in the first half of 1959.<sup>15</sup> Jose de Jesus and Jose Benitez (1970) replicated a part of that study in the Philippines in late February and early March, 1970. Two important facts emerge from a comparison of the personal ladder-scale findings of these studies with those of the IPC/PSSC survey in 1973–74. *First*, although (as in the IPC/PSSC study) average respondents in 1959 and 1970 saw themselves in the middle of an upward progression, the average ladder score for the *present* was just about the same in all three studies: 4.9 in 1959 (Cantril), about 4.7 in 1970 (de Jesus and Benitez), and 4.7 in 1973–74 (IPC/PSSC). *Second*, the average IPC/PSSC respondent (1973–74) is much less optimistic about his personal future than were respondents in the earlier studies. In 1959, an improvement of 36 percent over the current ladder-score base was foreseen for the period five years later; in 1970, a 60 percent advance was predicted; but in 1973–74, only 17 percent. In other words, the

average Filipino perceives himself as being about where he earlier saw himself, but his hopes for personal advancement are less sanguine, more realistic.

A *third* point that we learn from a comparison of the three studies concerns the relation between personal and national ladder scores. Not only do IPC/PSSC respondents think the nation will better its condition in the next 10 years; they believe the nation will improve *its* condition much more than they will *theirs*. However, and this is the point to be made, this represents the reversal of a pattern found in the two earlier studies, in both of which the respondents had higher hopes for themselves than for the country as a whole. In 1959, a personal advance of 36 percent over the present contrasts with a predicted national growth rate of 22; in 1970 it was 60 percent against only 17 for the nation; but in 1973-74 it became only 17 percent for the individual and 32 percent for the country.

These data certainly call for pondering. It is as if in earlier days people thought they could advance despite the nation's problems, whereas now they are of the opinion that the nation will somehow advance regardless of the declining condition of its citizens. This could be symptomatic of a detached form of patriotism, or alternatively, a manifestation of political alienation. Whatever it is, it cannot be dismissed as unimportant. At the very least it is a warning that development projects undertaken in the Philippines must produce more concrete and tangible results for the individual household — and do this faster than is currently the case. For if large numbers of Filipino citizens seem now to identify with the nation, content to bask in the common glory, it will not be too long before they return to the inevitable question, "What's in it for me and my family?" And if they are indeed alienated, only palpable benefits and grassroots participation in decision-making will cure their affliction.

#### Changes in the community

Do respondents see their communities unchanging over time? With few exceptions, they do not. Moreover, as in Guthrie's (1971) study of four municipalities of Luzon and Mindoro, done in 1968, those who perceived no change from past to present were a smaller percentage than those who anticipated no change in the future (the Guthrie figures are 9 and 11 percent, respectively, smaller than the IPC/PSSC's 12 and 21 percent).

A comparison of Guthrie's findings and the IPC/PSSC survey results on the same 12 items indicates that while Guthrie's respondents of 1968 felt their present state was better than it had been in the key areas of available money, jobs, and opportunity for mobility, the 1973-74 sample thought otherwise about themselves (see Guthrie 1971: 80-82). Like the IPC/PSSC respondents, however, the earlier group did feel people were now less contented than before. Looking forward, both groups were similarly optimistic, except for general contentment, which the 1968 sample expected to increase, and the later sample, to decrease. The bugaboo of upward spiraling prices, not mentioned in the Guthrie research, was projected into the future by the majority of IPC/PSSC respondents.

Nonetheless, the air is clearly one of cautious optimism. This ambivalent spirit can be interpreted positively or negatively in the concept of a developing society. On the one hand, even a somewhat optimistic population gives policymakers and administrators leeway in devising and implementing proposed programs. On the other, it cautions against too hasty complacency on their part, since high expectations that remain unfulfilled for long can ultimately foster serious unrest. In this sense governments are damned if they do and damned if they don't. But the safer alternative is to *do*, and to do in in such a way that results appear quickly at the family and household levels.

#### THE PEOPLE'S VIEW OF GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS

One will be impressed or not with the awareness people report of the NCEE, YCAP, and Manpower Training programs of the government, depending on what credence he gives to the replies of respondents to direct questions such as "Have you ever heard of the National College Entrance Examination (NCEE) for students who are going into first year college?" What surprises us is that the figures were not *higher* than 81, 64, and 70 percent, respectively. Perhaps the courtesy bias was on holiday.

In any event, it is probable that all these programs were well known at the time of the survey, and are even more widely known at present. The highly positive evaluations they received should not be accepted at face value, however. Here the courtesy bias was almost certainly on the job.

The land reform inquiry, because it probed more deeply, can be

accepted with greater confidence. Putting the various replies together, we come up with what is a very significant finding, namely, that only one out of five rural respondents knows anyone — repeat anyone — who has actually benefited from the land reform program. Either communications are faulty, or the land reform program had (as of 1973–74) a long, long way to go. The same can be said of the cooperatives movement.

As for the handling of squatters, respondents favor a lenient, rather than a punitive approach. Their sympathy is clearly with the squatters and their need for better social and economic opportunities to improve their lot and get them out of the category in which they find themselves.

When confronted with 18 top-priority government programs, respondents propose a ranking scheme that places at the top those programs which are perceived to affect their daily lives most closely. Not surprisingly, price control, peace and order, rice production, land reform, and water management top the list. But the number-six entry is a surprise: family planning. Those who have been following the growth of the people's awareness, approval, and practice of family planning over the last 10 years or more might well have said such a program would be given high priority by the people as well as the government, but we wonder how many thought it *would* be ranked so high in 1973–74, only about three years after the Philippine government began to take the population problem seriously. Those who are working in this area, whether in the public or private sector, should be greatly encouraged by this finding.

### CONCLUSIONS

It is our opinion, subject to correction, that the survey months (November 1973 through April 1974) were perceived as a low period in recent Philippine history. Respondents aware of a change in their personal circumstances in the previous year were predominantly negative in their assessment of what had occurred. Moreover, they saw their communities as far worse off in essential matters than they had been five years before.

Looking ahead, respondents expect inflation to stay on, and the level of contentment to sink even lower than it was in 1973–74. They expect nonetheless that the Philippines as a nation will do well in the future — better in fact, than they themselves will do.

It could be that the dichotomy of self versus nation is related to the program priorities expressed by the people. *They* will experience progress insofar as their top-priority programs are very successful; the *nation* will advance if any selection of programs is even moderately successful. If this hypothesis is correct, then it certainly makes very good sense for the government to give special priority to those programs the people say are especially important — the top six, let us say: price control, peace and order, rice production, land reform, water management, and family planning.

To put it another way: the Filipino is well aware of the government's national development efforts, but can personally relate to only a few of them. When they impinge on him at the family, neighborhood, and community level, *and* they impress him as positive contributions to his own welfare, he will see his own future tied more closely to that of the nation at large.

The challenge posed to planners and administrators by the survey data, therefore, involves their devising programs that can produce fast results at the grassroots level. This suggests that, together with long-range plans, the nation's leaders need to formulate short- and middle-range impact strategies. Not only will this give the average Filipino a clear share in the fruits of national development without his having to wait too long; it will also convince him that he himself must participate in efforts at development and contribute to the national future. By this means, hopefully, the Filipino family, community, and nation of tomorrow will be perceptibly better than they are today.

## Appendices



APPENDIX A  
TABLES TO ACCOMPANY TEXT

Table A1. IPC/PSSC national survey respondents classified by research site and center (November 1973 – April 1974)

Research site and center	Number	Percent
<i>Luzon</i>		
Manila: Philippine Christian College	398	11.4%
Naga: Ateneo de Naga	200	5.7
Tuguegarao: St. Paul's College	200	5.7
Iligan: St. Ferdinand College	200	5.7
Cabanatuan: Institute of Philippine Culture	200	5.7
Laoag: Institute of Philippine Culture	200	5.7
<i>Visayas</i>		
Bacolod: Negros Occidental Research Bureau	300	8.6
Cebu: University of San Carlos	300	8.6
Iloilo: Central Philippine University	200	5.7
Tacloban: Divine Word University	200	5.7
Dumaguete: Silliman University	200	5.7
<i>Mindanao</i>		
Davao: Ateneo de Davao	290	8.3
Cotabato: Notre Dame University	200	5.7
Ozamiz: Immaculate Concepcion College	200	5.7
Jolo: Notre Dame of Jolo College	199	5.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,487</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**Table A2.** Mean household income reported by IPC/PSSC national survey respondents, classified by research site and by place of residence (November 1973 – April 1974)

Research site	Urban <sup>a</sup>					Rural <sup>a</sup>				
	Rank	Mean	S.D.	C.V.	n	Rank	Mean	S.D.	C.V.	n
Metro Manila	1	₱749	393	.52	373	—	—	—	—	—
Iloilo City	2	746	386	.52	96	2	₱323	270	.84	99
Bacolod City	3	699	426	.61	142	1	418	254	.61	143
Cotabato City	4	629	335	.53	100	3	313	178	.57	100
Cebu City	5	612	651	1.06	148	8	268	199	.74	148
Davao City	6	596	366	.61	139	7	275	231	.84	137
Tuguegarao	7	592	374	.63	100	12	208	187	.90	99
Ozamiz City	8	557	357	.64	100	10	226	158	.71	100
Naga City	9	552	317	.57	89	6	289	230	.80	90
Dumaguete City	10	550	355	.64	97	11	219	175	.80	91
Cabanatuan City	11.5	512	314	.61	98	5	300	175	.58	98
Jolo	11.5	512	316	.62	193	—	—	—	—	—
Laoag City	13	496	315	.64	99	4	305	184	.60	94
Tacloban City	14	468	312	.67	100	13	168	108	.64	100
Ilagan	15	456	278	.61	98	9	267	223	.83	94
Total	—	₱605	393	.65	1972	—	₱280	213	.76	1393
No information					65					57

<sup>a</sup> Abbreviations used as column headings are these: S.D. – Standard Deviation; C.V. – Coefficient of Variation; n – size of sample.

Table A3. Mean ladder ratings (0-11) given by IPC/PSSC national survey respondents to their personal situation, by research site, respondents' residence, and time period being evaluated (November 1973 - April 1974)

Research site	Urban			Rural		
	5 years ago	Now	5 years hence	5 years ago	Now	5 years hence
Tuguegarao	4.8	5.2	6.3	4.2	4.2	4.8
Laoag	3.4	4.1	5.1	2.8	3.3	3.8
Iligan	4.1	4.5	5.5	2.6	3.3	4.0
Cabanatuan	3.7	4.4	5.6	3.4	4.0	5.6
Metro Manila	4.7	5.1	6.4	-	-	-
Naga	4.6	4.6	5.9	4.0	4.1	5.3
Iloilo	4.6	5.4	6.5	4.5	5.0	5.7
Bacolod	5.5	5.8	7.0	4.6	4.9	6.0
Cebu	5.0	4.8	5.3	4.4	4.2	4.4
Dumaguete	4.4	4.9	5.6	4.1	4.4	5.3
Tacloban	4.7	4.8	5.8	2.6	3.4	4.4
Ozamiz	4.8	5.1	6.5	4.3	4.5	5.7
Cotabato	4.5	4.9	6.2	5.2	4.4	5.4
Davao	3.9	4.9	6.4	4.5	5.0	5.9
Jolo	5.0	5.0	6.4	-	-	-

Table A4. Mean ladder ratings (0-11) given by IPC/PSSC national survey respondents to the national situation, by research site, respondents' residence, and time period being evaluated (November 1973 - April 1974)

Research site	Urban			Rural		
	10 years ago	Now	10 years hence	10 years ago	Now	10 years hence
Tuguegarao	4.9	6.0	7.0	4.2	6.4	7.5
Laoag	3.7	6.2	7.5	4.0	6.0	6.9
Iligan	5.2	6.6	8.3	4.2	4.3	7.5
Cabanatuan	5.0	5.9	7.6	4.6	6.6	8.1
Metro Manila	4.7	6.2	7.8	-	-	-

(Table A4 continued)

Research site	Urban			Rural		
	10 years ago	Now	10 years hence	10 years ago	Now	10 years hence
Naga	4.7	5.3	6.6	5.1	5.4	6.9
Iloilo	5.0	5.6	7.1	5.6	5.5	6.3
Bacolod	4.3	5.6	7.2	5.3	5.7	6.6
Cebu	5.1	4.7	5.2	5.5	4.4	4.3
Dumaguete	5.3	5.9	7.2	5.5	6.4	6.9
Tacloban	5.0	6.1	7.2	4.4	5.7	7.2
Ozamiz	4.5	5.9	7.7	5.2	6.2	7.2
Cotabato	4.5	5.7	7.4	5.7	5.8	7.1
Davao	5.0	5.8	7.3	5.5	6.2	7.8
Jolo	5.0	5.3	7.1	—	—	—

Table A5. IPC/PSSC national survey respondents classified by their perception of present socioeconomic conditions in their communities as compared to those of five years ago (November 1973 – April 1974)

Socioeconomic condition	More (Better)	Same	Less (Worse)	Total	DK/NA/NAP <sup>b</sup>
Money to spend	42%	8%	50%	100% (2664) <sup>a</sup>	(823)
Available jobs	38	12	50	100 (2645)	(842)
Prices	42	3	54	99 (2680)	(807)
Contentment of people	38	13	49	100 (2640)	(847)
Chances for advancement	42	12	47	100 (2637)	(850)
Willingness of people to work	56	11	33	100 (2651)	(836)
Respect for old people	48	12	40	100 (2660)	(827)

(Table A5 continued)

Socioeconomic condition	More (Better)	Same	Less (Worse)	Total	DK/NA/NAP <sup>b</sup>
Helpfulness of people	48	16	36	100 (2650)	(837)
Concern for getting along well with others	43	17	40	100 (2643)	(844)
Social equality of people	28	17	55	100 (2634)	(853)
Participation in community affairs	45	11	44	100 (2634)	(853)
Better houses	44	15	41	100 (2661)	(826)
Opportunities for entertainment	38	9	53	100 (2649)	(838)
Number of sick people	42	13	45	100 (2618)	(869)
Places for sick people (hospitals, clinics)	42	11	47	100 (2639)	(848)

<sup>a</sup>Figures in parentheses indicate the number of respondents.

<sup>b</sup>NAP refers to those respondents who had lived in their communities for less than five years.

Table A6. IPC/PSSC national survey respondents classified by their perception of present socioeconomic conditions in their communities as compared to those of 10 years hence (November 1973 - April 1974)

Socioeconomic condition	More (Better)	Same	Less (Worse)	Total	DK/NA/NAP <sup>b</sup>
Money to spend	49%	18%	34%	100% (3183) <sup>a</sup>	(304)
Available jobs	51	20	29	100 (3205)	(282)
Prices	6	7	87	100 (3281)	(206)

*(Table A6 continued)*

Socioeconomic condition	More (Better)	Same	Less (Worse)	Total	DK/NA/NAP <sup>b</sup>
Contentment of people	32	23	45	100 (3132)	(355)
Chances for advancement	54	20	27	101 (3220)	(267)
Willingness of people to work	68	18	14	100 (3286)	(201)
Respect for old people	34	23	43	100 (3255)	(232)
Helpfulness of people	39	28	33	100 (3224)	(263)
Concern for getting along well with others	41	30	29	100 (3258)	(229)
Social equality of people	37	29	34	100 (3211)	(276)
Participation in community affairs	60	20	19	99 (3217)	(270)
Better houses	62	21	16	99 (3233)	(254)
Opportunity for entertainment	50	19	30	99 (3228)	(259)
Number of sick people	40	22	38	100 (3146)	(341)
Places for sick people (hospitals, clinics)	64	18	18	100 (3252)	(235)

<sup>a</sup>Figures in parentheses indicate the number of respondents.

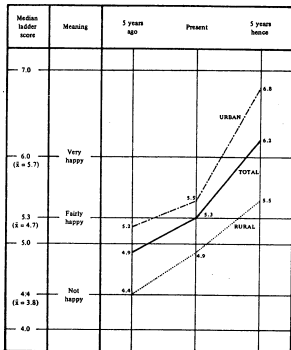
<sup>b</sup>NAP refers to those respondents who had lived in their communities for less than five years.

Table A7. Mean rankings assigned by IPC/PSSC national survey respondents to 18 selected government programs, by respondents' place of residence (November 1973 - April 1974)

Government program	Urban		Rural		Total	
	Mean	S.D. <sup>a</sup>	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Price control	3.9	4.1	3.9	3.9	3.9	4.1
Peace and order	4.9	4.4	5.7	4.8	5.2	4.6
Rice program	5.8	4.2	6.1	4.2	6.0	4.2
Land reform	7.7	4.9	6.8	4.5	7.3	4.7
Water resources	7.9	4.3	7.9	4.5	7.9	4.4
Family planning	8.4	5.0	8.0	5.0	8.3	5.0
Roads and bridges	8.8	4.4	8.8	4.2	8.8	4.4
Agricultural credit and rural banking	9.3	4.3	8.3	4.3	8.8	4.3
Manpower training	9.0	4.3	8.9	4.2	8.9	4.2
Nutrition program	10.0	4.4	9.5	4.5	9.6	4.5
Cooperatives	10.5	4.6	9.7	4.4	10.2	4.5
Local government participation	11.0	4.5	10.5	4.3	10.8	4.4
Rural electrification	11.3	4.2	10.4	4.7	10.9	4.5
Squatter relocation	10.6	5.1	12.3	4.5	11.3	4.9
Fisheries	11.7	4.2	11.5	4.4	11.6	4.3
Foreign investments	12.2	4.5	13.0	4.0	12.5	4.3
Work-oriented curriculum	13.1	4.0	13.1	4.2	13.1	4.1
Tourism	14.5	4.0	15.6	3.3	15.0	3.8

<sup>a</sup>S.D. - Standard Deviation.

**APPENDIX B**  
**PERSONAL HAPPINESS RATINGS**



Note. These median ladder ratings were given by IPC/FSSC national survey respondents to personal condition now, five years ago, and five years hence, by residence (1973-74). The derivation of the median scores for the three levels of happiness is explained on pp. 34-38.



## APPENDIX C SAMPLING PROCEDURES

The samples drawn in research sites outside Metro Manila were supposed to be half urban, half rural. For practical purposes, the built-up area within which the research institution was located was designated as urban, and from it half of the respondents were to be chosen in the manner specified below. Barrios outside the built-up area, and distant from the research center by a public transportation ride of 30–40 minutes, were considered rural sites, even if they were within the limits of the same city or municipality.

To prepare the urban and rural research sites for the interviewing state, a series of procedures were specified. *First*, of course, the rural site(s) had to be identified. This was done by random selection of one or more barrios from those which qualified by reason of the travel-time rule mentioned earlier. Where the first community so selected was not large enough to furnish the required rural sample, an additional one or more sites were to be chosen.

*Second*, all commercial districts and socioeconomically extreme residence enclaves were eliminated from consideration. The former were removed because ours was a household survey; the latter were set aside because our interest was in *average* households, and not in the notably wealthy or extremely poor (see *Limitations of the Study*, p. 8).

A *third* preparatory step was the mapping and blocking of the remaining sampling area. In the urban sites, about 50–60 dwelling units were included in each block; for rural sites, the limit was 25–30 dwelling units. Once the blocks had been identified and numbered, 10 were randomly drawn from the urban site and a total of 12 from the rural site(s). This constituted the *fourth* step in the sampling procedure.

Knowing the required number of sample households for each site allowed field supervisors to determine by simple proportion how many dwelling units to choose from each block. Hence the *fifth* step was the identification (by systematic random sampling from a random start) of the dwelling units to be included in the final stages of the procedure. Where more than one household lived in a dwelling unit that had been chosen for the study, the sample household was (step six) identified by means of a selection key. *Seventh*, male and female

household heads were to be interviewed alternately, so that the sex ratio of respondents would be 50:50.

All things considered, this multistage sampling procedure was followed rather closely in practice. There were some deviations, however. The two most notable exceptions to the above rules occurred in Jolo, where the peace-and-order situation precluded any interviewing outside the urban area, and in Cebu City, where the staff of the Office for Social Research used available household lists to draw their urban and rural samples. (Urban respondents were selected from a list supplied by the Commission on Population and the Bureau of the Census and Statistics. Names of rural respondents were found in voters' lists furnished by the Commission on Elections.) The Jolo staff solved its problem in part by doubling the urban quota, but the Cebu arrangement remains a unique one for this study.

Less important differences between the sampling plans and what actually happened are these: because of problems in locating and interviewing household heads who were of the appropriate sex for the sampling plan, the final tally shows a small proportion (5 percent) of never-married respondents and a slightly higher percentage of females than males (52 vs. 48 percent). The single respondents are predominantly the eldest sons or daughters of those household heads who could not be interviewed; they were admitted as substitute respondents where necessary (after two fruitless call-backs for the parents). Another deviation from the plan resulted from a simple logistics difficulty: of the 3500 completed schedules which were shipped to the IPC for final editing and analysis, 13 were lost in transit. The final distribution of the successfully retrieved balance is shown in Table A1.

APPENDIX D  
SUMMARY OF ITEMS IN THE  
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

---

Block no. and title	Items
I. Background Information	Sex; age; civil status; highest grade completed; number of children; languages and dialects spoken; mother tongue; R's parents' place of origin; R's place of origin; spouse's place of origin; total no. of people in the household; no. of married couples living in the house; (if more than one) relationship of couples living in HH; ownership of house and lot; monthly house rental; no. of rooms in the house; R's perception of a satisfactory house; R's perceived chance of acquiring house described as satisfactory; type of house R will settle for if he cannot acquire house he described as satisfactory; R's perception of the best location for a house; R's satisfaction with present house; R's occupation and income; R's spouse's occupation and income; other sources of income; total family income; ownership of television; subscription to daily newspaper; other reading materials R regularly buys; ownership of radio; kinds of radio programs R listens to regularly; electrification of R's HH; facilities in R's HH using electricity; average monthly electric bill.
II. Family Life and Education	Common activities R shares with spouse outside the home; common activities R shares with spouse and children outside the home; family decision-makers in the following areas: discipline of boys, discipline of girls, choice of child's school, choice of child's course, choice of child's friends, house-

---

*(Appendix D continued)*

Block no. and title	Items
III. Neighborhood and Community Conditions	<p>hold budget or expenses, family investments/business; six values related to child-rearing: the desire to succeed in life, obedience to parents, enjoying life, trust in God, honesty and justice, getting along well with others; responsibilities of the Filipino family toward the nation; if R has children in high school or about to enter college; knowledge and attitudes about the NCEE, YCAP, Manpower Training Program; educational aspirations for children; occupational preferences.</p> <p>Length of residence in the community; present living conditions in the neighborhood; common activities R shares with neighbors; R's assessment of his community on various specific items five years ago and 10 years hence; knowledge of any working mother in the community; no. of working mothers in the community; actual jobs of these working mothers; attitudes toward mothers working outside the home; type of work women (whether married or unmarried) should do; membership in an organization; knowledge of a cooperative in the community; membership in a cooperative; knowledge about the land reform program; opinion on the squatter problem.</p>
IV. Aspirations	<p>Assessment of personal happiness at present and a year ago; assessment of personal life at present, five years ago, and five years hence (using Cantril's ladder scale); assessment of national condition at present, 10 years ago, and 10 years hence; perception of the responsibilities of a citizen toward his country; ranking of 18 government programs; knowledge of R's barangay association and its leaders.</p>

**APPENDIX E  
PROJECT STAFF**

Project supervisors:	Emma Porio and Gloria A. Fernandez
Schedule construction and pretesting:	Pilar Ramos-Jimenez
Consultants:	Thomas E. Dohm and Frank Lynch
Resource persons:	Natividad Martinez-Esquillo, Mary R. Hollnsteiner, Pilar Ramos-Jimenez, Milagros J. Tolentino
Field coordinators:	Pilar Ramos-Jimenez, Milagros J. Tolentino
Field supervisors:	<i>Bacolod:</i> Betty C. Abregana, Ma. Lourdes C. Barredo, Elizabeth Mosquera, Omega Nenilla Ong <i>Cabanatuan:</i> Ma. Ruby E. Reyes <i>Cebu:</i> Rowe Cadelina, Eu. Lucia S. Tan <i>Cotabato:</i> Vicente G. Sevilla, Dolores S. Silva <i>Davao:</i> Pilar Ramos-Jimenez, Teresita N. Angeles <i>Dumaguete:</i> Lorna Makil, Salvador B. Vista <i>Ilagan:</i> Maria O. Cabrillas, Esteban J. Racela <i>Iloilo:</i> Neva Jean Catedral, Fely F. Panoy <i>Jolo:</i> Rose Marie R. Adjawie, Mohammad Taha Jain <i>Laoag:</i> Milagros J. Tolentino <i>Metro Manila:</i> Ligaya G. Bautista, Inamana G. Epistola <i>Naga:</i> Constanancio Cater, Aniceto B. Oliva <i>Ozamis:</i> Erlita B. Tan, Rodolfo D. Vapor <i>Tacloban:</i> Hermanita L. Peliño, Marcial M. Monge <i>Tuguegarao:</i> Lourdes A. Romero, Sergio L. Utleg
Protocol editors:	Emma Porio, Benilda Reyes, Ma. Ruby E. Reyes

Coders:	Cynthia Alberto, Emma Arellano, Elna Bustamante, Luis Roy Colendrino, Edgardo Cortez, Socorro Cruz, Clementina Franco, Carmencita L. Madla-Mendez, Alina Marcilla, Alma Resquites, Ma. Ruby E. Reyes, Winona Ricafort, Romulo Sandoval, Brenda V. Tiangha-Orpilla
Data processors:	Cynthia C. Feranil, Rico T. Casimiro, Edwin Loretizo
Editorial staff:	Ana Maria R. Nemenzo; Natividad Martinez-Esquillo, Cynthia C. Veneracion, Antonia Coronel, Evangeline Tandaguen, Erlinda B. de Chavez, Antonio M. Ollero
Research librarian:	Margaret C. Leonardo
Artists:	Rico T. Casimiro
Accounting:	Eva C. Bustamante, Dolores Z. Aguirre, Rebecca de Vera

*Note:* Limitations of space can permit us only this brief acknowledgment of the participation of the 232 undergraduate students from the 15 research sites, who served as research assistants, and of IPC staff members who contributed a wide variety of services to the project. To them, our sincere thanks.

## NOTES

1. For a vivid picture of the many functions of the local datu, see Alzina's *Historia de las islas e indios de las Bisayas* (1668).
2. A recent study of two modes of group cooperation in the province of Camarines Sur makes the point that for the average household head, helping an ally is far more satisfactory and effective than participating in a community work bee (Barrameda 1974).
3. Ms. Jimenez is currently coordinator of the PSSC Research Network.
4. For the names of these supervisors and other members of the project staff, see Appendix E.
5. Tables numbered A1, A2, and so on are found in Appendix A, which follows the text of the report. Where the table number is without the prefixed A, the table is in the text itself.
6. The mean number of living children reported is 5.0 (Standard Deviation, 2.8).
7. The largest family is that reported by a 54-year-old Joloano with two legal wives and 21 children. The largest household (40 members) is also from Jolo — five couples, with a total of 30 children, living under a single roof.
8. The range of mean monthly household incomes for urban respondents is from ₱749 (Metro Manila) to ₱456 (Ilagan, Isabela); for rural respondents, from ₱418 (Bacolod City) to ₱168 (Tacloban City). In interpreting these data, the reader will keep the study's third limitation in mind (see the Introduction).
9. NCEE results determined the course options of college-bound students for the first time in the 1974–75 school year. The examination had been given in November 1973 and the results were released in April 1974, by which time the IPC/PSSC survey had been completed.
10. Tables crossclassifying value ranks by education, sex, and research site are available at the main office of the Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University.
11. Tables on preferred women's occupations by sex, income, and education are available at the IPC.
12. However, since we divided the discipline area by sex of child, and the schooling area into school and course, we discovered important differences in decision-making patterns not evident in these sources.
13. The 11 countries are these: Australia, Belgium, Brazil (only Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo), Britain, Denmark, Germany, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Norway and Sweden.
14. Even after correction for the overrepresentation of the more sophisticated Filipinos in the IPC/PSSC sample, the total percentage would still be in the mid or high 50s, much higher than that found in any other country in the INRA study.
15. Aside from the Philippines, the nations are Brazil, Cuba, The Dominican Republic, Egypt (pilot), India, Israel, Japan, Nigeria, Panama, Poland, United States, West Germany, and Yugoslavia.

## Bibliography

- Alzina, Francisco Ignacio  
1668 Historia de las islas e indios de las Bisayas. Transcription. Unpublished manuscript. In microfilm form. Quezon City: Rizal Library, Ateneo de Manila University.
- Barrameda, Jose V., Jr.  
1974 Pakikiiba and pakikidamay: Two modes of group cooperation in Camarines Sur. SSRU Research Report Series, No. 5. Naga City: Social Survey Research Unit, Ateneo de Naga.
- Bulatao, Rodolfo A.  
1973 Ethnic attitudes in five Philippine cities. Quezon City: Social Research Laboratory, University of the Philippines.
- Cantril, Hadley  
1965 The pattern of human concerns. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.
- Carroll, John J.  
1970 The family in a time of change. In *Philippine institutions*. John J. Carroll, et al. Manila: Solidaridad Pub. House. Pp. 10-16.
- Castillo, Gelia T.  
1961 Occupational sex roles as perceived by Filipino adolescents. In *Philippine Sociological Review* 9(1-2): 1-11
- De Jesus, Jose P., and Jose C. Benitez  
1970 Philippine political culture: 1970. *Philippine Sociological Review* 18(3-4): 111-24.
- De La Costa, Horacio  
1947 Jewels of the pauper. From the play *Fiesta*. In *The Philippine Newsletter* 1(1): 7.
- Esquillo, Natividad  
1976 Conjugal interaction and fertility behavior among the Filipino urban working class. Quezon City: Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University.
- Guerrero, Sylvia H.  
1965 An analysis of husband-wife roles among Filipino professionals at U.P. Los Baños campus. *Philippine Sociological Review* 13(4): 275-81.



- Guthrie, George M., and others  
 1971 The psychology of modernization in the rural Philippines. IPC Papers, No. 8. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- Guthrie, George M. and Pepita Jimenez Jacobs  
 1966 Child rearing and personality development in the Philippines. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Illo, Jeanne Frances I., and Frank Lynch  
 1974 The unemployed and underemployed in the Bicol River Basin. SSRU Research Report Series, No. 10. Naga City: Social Survey Research Unit, Ateneo de Naga.
- Inkeles, Alex  
 1960 Industrial man: The relation of status to experience, perception, and value. *In American Journal of Sociology* 66(1): 1-31. *Also in Society and self*. Bartlett H. Stoodley, ed. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe. Pp. 431-75.
- International Labour Office. Ranis Report  
 1974 Sharing in development: A programme of employment, equity, and growth for the Philippines. Gustav Ranis, Chief of Mission. Geneva: International Labour Office.
- Liu, William T., and Siok-Hue Yu  
 1968 The lower class Cebuano family: Preliminary profile analysis. *Philippine Sociological Review* 16(3-4): 114-23
- Lynch, Frank  
 1973a Social acceptance reconsidered. *In Four readings on Philippine values*. IPC Papers, No. 2, 3d ed. Frank Lynch and Alfonso de Guzman II, eds. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press. Pp. 1-63.  
 1973b What rice farmers of Camarines Sur say they want from the Philippine government. SSRU Research Report Series, No. 1. Naga City: Social Survey Research Unit, Ateneo de Naga.
- Lynch, Frank, Mary R. Hollnsteiner, and Leticia C. Covar  
 1974 Data gathering by social survey. Trial ed. PSSC Social Survey Series, No. 2. Quezon City: Philippine Social Science Council.
- Marquez, Asuncion J.  
 1958 Why women work in the Philippines: A study of three companies. Unpublished M.A. thesis. Ateneo de Manila University.
- Mendez, Paz Policarpio, and F. Landa Jocano  
 1974 The Filipino family in its rural and urban orientation: Two case studies. Manila: Research and Development Center, Centro Escolar University.
- Middleton, Russell, and Snell Putney  
 1962 Dominance in decisions in the family: Race and class differences. *In Society and self*. Bartlett H. Stoodley, ed. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe. Pp. 592-98.
- Nurge, Ethel  
 1965 Life in a Leyte village. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Nydegger, William F., and Corinne Nydegger  
 1964 The mothers of Tarong, Philippines. *In mothers of six cultures:*

- Antecedents of child rearing. Leigh Minturn and William W. Lambert, eds. New York: John Wiley. Pp. 209-21.
- Philippines (Republic) Bureau of the Census and Statistics
- 1968 Family income and expenditures 1965. BCS Survey of Households Bulletin. Series No. 22. Manila: Bureau of the Census and Statistics.
- 1971 Family income and expenditures 1975. BCS Survey of Households Bulletin. Series No. 34. Manila: Bureau of the Census and Statistics.
- Philippines (Republic) National Economic and Development Authority
- 1974 NEDA statistical yearbook 1974. Manila: National Economic and Development Authority.
- Stoodley, Bartlett H.
- 1962 Normative attitudes of Filipino youth compared with German and American youth. *In* Society and self. Bartlett H. Stoodley, ed. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe. Pp. 203-14.
- Yankelovich, Daniel
- 1974 Changing attitudes toward work. *Dialogue* 7(4): 3-13. *Also in* The worker and the job: Coping with change. J. M. Rosow, ed. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.