

Editors' Preface

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July 1, 1966, marked the beginning of a three-year international, multidisciplinary enterprise called the Ateneo-Penn State Basic Research Program (APS/BRP). It addressed itself to the general question of the impact of modernization in (and on) the Philippines, and was designed as a way to bring together in fruitful collaboration a limited number of American and Filipino social scientists—not any such social scientists, but a selection from those already committed to seeking a better understanding of the changes presently under way in the Philippines and other nations of Southeast Asia.

Architects and codirectors of the APS/BRP were George M. Guthrie, psychologist at The Pennsylvania State University, and Frank Lynch, anthropologist at the Ateneo de Manila and, at that time, director of the Institute of Philippine Culture. Because of the shortness of time between the program's design and funding, we were unable to recruit the number of Filipino project directors we desired. We soon realized, in fact, that top-rate Filipino social scientists tended to be committed to many inescapable duties long into the future, and found it impossible to get replacements for themselves for the 15 months for which we wanted their full-time cooperation.

We started the program with seven projects, but ultimately we were able to accommodate 10. They are the following:

1. Cognitive mapping and the use of kinsmen in the Tagalog area. Frank Lynch, director; Ronald S. Himes, Luzbella Ramirez-Towndrow, and Meliton B. Juanico, deputy directors.
2. Folk and official concepts of ownership. Richard L. Stone, director.
3. Iloilo town in transition. David L. Szanton, director.
4. Urbanization and changes in values and motives. George M. Guthrie, director.
5. Changes in group structures and decision making. A. Paul Hare, director.
6. The aiding response. Lee Sechrest, director.

7. Student attitudes and reference groups. Patricia B. Licuanan, director.
8. Filipino corporation managers. Alfred B. Bennett, Jr., director.
9. Conditions of creativity among Filipino grade-school children. Susan M. Bennett, director.
10. Masculinity-femininity differences. Todd L. Fay, director.

Although the official termination date of the APS/BRP was June 30, 1969, those who funded the program—research people of the Office of Naval Research—allowed us, first three months, but ultimately two years to complete the reporting stipulated in the contract.¹

With the publication of this volume of the *IPC Papers* we conclude the series of seven technical reports on the program. Five of these reports (*IPC Papers* Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, and 10) form a set entitled *Modernization: its impact in the Philippines I-V*. The other two (*IPC Papers* Nos. 8 and 9) also deal with the subject of modernization in the Philippines, but are monographs. In all, the seven reports total 907 printed pages, which in turn represent well over 2,000 typescript pages.

Not part of the report series are other publications that resulted in whole or in part from APS/BRP. Aside from an expanding list of articles published in various Stateside journals, we have Hare's *Studies in Regional Development* (1968), Guthrie's *Six Perspectives on the Philippines* (1968), and Mann-Franck's "Phases of Development of a Multinational Training Group" (1971).

But this is not the end of the written material produced in connection with the 10 projects supported by this program. Doctoral dissertations based in whole or in part on APS/BRP studies number eight in all, and six have already been accepted by the departments to which they were submitted. Among the six are two from the University of Hawaii (Richard L. Stone and Ronald S. Himes, both in anthropology), and one each from Chicago (David L. Szanton, anthropology), Penn State (Patricia B. Licuanan, psychology), Temple (Rachel T. Hare, psychology), and Northwestern (Todd L. Fay, psychology). Alfred B. Bennett, Jr. (anthropology) and Susan M. Bennett (educational psychology) will soon submit dissertations to their departments at the University of Hawaii.

Masters theses based at least partly on APS/BRP material were completed by the following: Cristina Szanton (Chicago, anthropology), Maria Pilar S. Luna (University of the Philippines, Asian studies), and Teresita Jose (Ateneo de Manila, psychology).²

Another indicator of the success of a program, written works aside, is the academic progress of the people who took part in it. To a large extent, this is suggested by dissertations completed and degrees obtained, mentioned above.

But this aspect of the program is worth looking at more closely, since one can derive from the exercise a quantitative index of success applicable to other such enterprises.

To begin with, here is what the APS/BRP project staffs (nonacademic excluded) looked like in terms of position and nationality.

<i>Position</i>	<i>Filipino</i>	<i>American</i>
Director	1	9
Deputy-director	2	1
Research associate	2	4
Research assistant	36	10
Total	41	24

The highest degrees held by staff members at the start of their association with the APS/BRP and at the present time (July 1971) are as follows:

	<i>Filipino</i>		<i>American</i>	
	<i>Before</i>	<i>After</i>	<i>Before</i>	<i>After</i>
Ph.D.	0	1	6	11
Ph.D. cand.	1	0	7	2
M.A., Ll.B.	4	10	0	1
M.A. cand.	0	2	1	0
A.B., B.S.	36	28	9	10
None	0	0	1	0
Total	41	41	24	24

Now, if we assign a value of 5 to a Ph.D., 4 to a Ph.D. cand., 3 to an M.A. or Ll.B., 2 to an M.A. cand., and 1 to a bachelors degree, the *weighted* scores and differences come out like this:

<i>Score</i>	<i>Filipino</i>	<i>American</i>
After	65	76
Before	52	69
Difference	13	7

With these data, we can make several comparative statements on the academic progress of APS/BRP staff members. The first is, of course, that whereas the Americans picked up only 7 points by our scoring system, the Filipinos advanced by 13. These two gains, 7 and 13, represent increases of 10 and 25 per cent, respectively, over their starting bases.

However, if we use the Effectiveness Index, in which we consider how far each group traveled from its starting point to the highest possible score—where *all* would have the Ph.D.—we get a different picture.³ Since the American participants were fewer in number, their “ceiling” score is only 120 (24 times 5); for the Filipinos, it is 205 (41 times 5). By the progress made through the program, the Americans advanced 7 points of the 51 between where they started (69) and their ceiling—they traveled 14 per cent of the way to the top. The Filipinos, moving 13 points of the distance between their starting point (52) and ceiling (205), covered only 9 per cent of the total available route. However, no matter how you figure it, both nationalities advanced considerably by the simple criterion of academic degrees and candidacies.⁴

There are other criteria one might look at—the number of dependents supported for so many months might be one, the amount of thesis and more general academic direction given by visiting staff-scholars might be another—but the most obvious and perhaps the most important indicator of a research program’s success is the knowledge it has netted us.

Unfortunately, we can only conjecture at how much these 10 projects have taught us or will yet teach us. For one thing, we do not yet have at hand all the findings and conclusions derived from the program. Most of the dissertations, for instance, have been submitted to the departments for which they were written and have not been shown to us nor, to our knowledge, to co-director George Guthrie. Again, some of the research begun by the program has not yet been completed, or has not yet been milked of its full potential contribution to our knowledge. This is notably true of the work of Sechrest (on the aiding response) and Lynch (on Philippine social organization). Finally, since regrettably there exists today no tidy propositional inventory of Philippine social science before *or* after APS/BRP, we could hardly state with confidence what APS/BRP had contributed—even if all its findings were in,

tabulated, compared, and expressed in a meaningful array of statements. This task, like that of the wider propositional inventory, must be calendared for another day.

But what do we offer the reader today? The final six official reports of the APS/BRP and, as an added treat, an article from the facile pen of one of the Philippines' more gracious scholarly visitors, Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf.

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

Ronald S. Himes (APS/BRP Project One: Cognitive mapping) defined the limits of the Tagalog lexical domain covered by the term *sakit*. He based his definition on 235 specific mental or physiological disorders recalled by informants in three research sites in Marilao, Bulacan. The definition helps in understanding the way in which the Tagalog perceive the world and place reality in conceptual order. The findings show that in contrast to Westerners, who perceive reality as dichotomous (e.g., white lies v. black lies) and trichotomous (e.g., knife-spoon-fork), the Tagalog see the world in threefold, nontrichotomous structures. Each structure represents two binary divisions, one of which applies to the whole structure and the other to half of it (e.g., the threefold structure child-father-mother includes two dichotomies, the parental-filial on the one hand and the father-mother on the other; the former dichotomy applies to the entire child-father-mother structure while the latter applies only to the father-mother half of the entire structure). The study reveals the virtual absence among the Tagalog of the notion of causality, the notion that one thing

is the necessary and sufficient cause of another. Further, while fatalism exists in Tagalog concepts of suffering more or less to the same extent that it does in the West, the Tagalog, when speaking of disorders, mitigate the chance occurrence of illness by personal responsibility in caring for their health. Finally, whereas the Westerner may see himself as superior to his environment, the Tagalog considers himself at least equal to it.

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

George M. Guthrie (APS/BRP Project Four: Urbanization and changes in values and motives) was concerned with determining the relative incidence of various personality problems among Filipinos and Americans and relating those problems to their cultural contexts. To a sample of 419 Filipino and American male and female college students was administered a structured questionnaire in English which inquired about a wide range of problems. The chi-square test was used to examine the statistical significance of the differences in responses between Filipinos and Americans as well as those between males and females. Contrary to the expectation that Filipino mothers would play a powerful part in Philippine family affairs, Filipinos reported even more strongly than the Americans that it was the father who generally made the important family decisions. Sibling relationships seemed to be a greater concern among Filipinos than among Americans, but peers were considered by both groups to be as important as siblings and other kinsmen. Of the few differences in self-attitudes, the following seem most significant: Filipinos more than Americans felt that they were under great social and academic pressure; at the same time, they reported no differences in confidence,

intelligence, likability, and happiness. The most significant finding regarding goals and values is the tendency of Filipinos to indicate that college has changed their outlook; among Filipino women, especially, there is a tendency to move away from the influence of their parents and into that of their friends.

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

Richard L. Stone (APS/BRP Project Two: Folk and official concepts of ownership) observed corruption among policemen and Manilans' attitudes to it. He found that the crime rate among policemen appalled the press but seemed to bother the people little. Further, the bribery and extortion perpetrated by policemen seemed accepted by the victims themselves—drivers, vendors, and pedestrians. Because live-and-let-live economics, while it might explain the victims' apparent indifference, could not completely explain the policemen's behavior, Stone suggests that perhaps the Filipino concept of power is itself ambivalent. From his two earlier essays, he argues that there exists in Philippine society a dual set of norms—an articulated Western code of justice and order on the one hand and an implied, traditional, and operational code of need and power on the other. The policemen's illegal acts and the people's condoning of such acts can thus be seen as the operation of that dual norm.

While the policemen fulfil their role as enforcers of the law in the Western sense, they also act as traditional authority figures who possess almost arbitrary powers. In the context of traditional norms, public property is a contradiction in terms, for it belongs to no one. Instead, whoever gains access to public property *first* owns it (whether it be the road one's vehicle occupies, the government lot untended and unmarked, or the appointive or elective office), as well the powers and privileges that attach to the property, and may dispose of them as he, the transitory owner, sees fit.

Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf is well known to any student of anthropology. However, as the first scholar to study *both* the Naga tribesmen of Northeast India and the mountain peoples of Luzon, he has a special place in this journal. Here he tells us something about the people of these two regions beyond what others have been saying for decades—that they seem to be very much alike, strikingly so, in many ways. For his contribution, and above all for the Continental charm and human kindness that he and his partner-spouse brought to the Philippines in 1968, our warmest thanks.

Notes

1. The 10 projects listed above were supported in whole or in part by the Ateneo-Penn State Basic Research Program (APS/BRP) sponsored by the United States Office of Naval Research with The Pennsylvania State University as prime contractor (Nonr 656 [37]).

2. Teresita Jose was not a program employe, but APS/BRP data were the basis of her thesis.

3. The Effectiveness Index is explained in Hovland and others 1955:77-82.

4. It would be incorrect and presumptuous to make the blanket claim that program participants who progressed academically through the APS/BRP would not have done so without it, but one can certainly conclude that it was a help, not a hindrance, to their growth.

Reference

- Hovland, C. I., A. A. Lumsdaine, and F. D. Sheffield
1955 A baseline for measurement of percentage of change. *In* The language of social research, P. F. Lazarsfeld and M. Rosenberg, eds. Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press. Pp. 77-82.