

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.¹² 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.¹³ 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.¹⁴ 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 1959.¹⁵ 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 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.