

Chapter VIII:

Summary and Conclusions

The process of modernization entails the establishment of schools, the introduction of new crops and agricultural practices, the construction of new roads, the building of factories and power plants, and the modification of political institutions. It involves also changes in the attitudes, values, and behavior of people, changes which are sometimes subtle but which may be of critical significance to a whole program of modernization. With their political independence, many former colonies have, in the last two decades, made attempts to speed processes of change. Wealthier countries have tried to accelerate these changes for both humanitarian and political reasons. The governments of many developing countries have become convinced that social and economic progress is necessary in order to maintain political stability. Thus we find that modernization is a concern of governments of all forms, from hereditary kingdoms to democratic republics.

A good deal of attention has been given to the economic and political aspects of modernization both at the level of research and at the level of action programs designed ultimately to improve the material and social well-being of the people. On the other hand, relatively less attention has been given to the question of the role of attitudes and values as determiners of social and economic change. The major exception to this assertion, of course, is the tremendous effort which has been made in education. It is commonly assumed that achieving a high percentage of literacy and raising the educational level of the population will hasten other processes of modernization. However, it seems safe to say that increasing levels of education may follow rather than precede modernization, as was the case in Europe, and that a relatively high level of education can be achieved without a corresponding improvement in the standard of living, as is the case in the Philippines. Given that the relationship between education and modernization is far from a one-to-one affair, there remains the probability that attitudes, values, and behavior patterns conducive to modernization are not necessarily acquired in the process of formal education. This will almost certainly happen if modern attitudes and technologies learned in school are not given an opportunity for rewarded

expression in the community as a whole.

In this research we have been concerned with differences in outlook associated with proximity to urban modern influences, with sex of respondent, and with social class. Four similar communities were selected at distances of approximately 50, 100, 200, and 400 kilometers from Manila. Within each community 18 men and 18 women were interviewed from three social levels: the educated, landowning *big people*; *little people* of the town who worked at unskilled and semi-skilled trades; and *little people* of the barrio who were either tenants or small landowners and who earned a living by producing their own food and a small additional amount for sale in the town. Using this design, it was possible to examine our data so as to determine the contributions of distance from Manila, sex, and social class to differences in attitudes, and also to determine whether these three independent variables combined to produce significant effects.

We developed an interview schedule which asked first about age, education, occupation, and family structure. A second section was concerned with the interview subject's view of changes which had occurred in the past five to ten years and with his expectations of change in the next decade. The third and fourth sections of the interview were concerned with traditional and modern attitudes toward family control, political and social life, sources of reliable information, education, occupations, and other factors which have been considered significant to processes of social change. In the third section of the interview, we selected an issue, presented a traditional and a modern attitude or solution, and asked the respondent which statement he agreed with. In order to reduce response biases, alternatives were formulated so that each expressed not only a point of view, but included a rationalization which the respondent could understand. Various statistical techniques were used to evaluate the data to determine whether there were differences in the outlook of our respondents and also to identify patterns among their responses.

The results showed that there were few differences in attitudes associated with distance from Manila. Those who lived a day's journey from the metropolis answered no differently than those who lived close to the suburbs. There were virtually no differences in attitudes between men and women. There were, however, consistent differences between educated and financially secure people and those who were poor and less educated. In spite of these differences, there was a tendency for all interview subjects to select the more modern alternatives.

There was across all groups a great emphasis on the importance of education, of hard work, and of science and modern ideas. While parents hoped their children would respect them, they wanted their children to seek advanced education and to rise above the family's current occupational level. Although the more educated and wealthy chose the modern alternative more frequently

than the poorer respondents, there was a general emphasis on the importance of skills, of moving to obtain employment, and of actively seeking opportunities to make a better living by trying new ways to earn one's livelihood.

An examination of the responses of our subjects gives an impression of modernity which is contradicted by the observation that apparently many people have not changed their style of living from that of a generation or more ago. The standard of living in the rural areas is not rising as rapidly as one might expect, given the apparently modern outlook of the citizens. If one observes extensive poverty where there is apparently an opportunity to raise one's standard of living, and if one witnesses the failure or only modest success of action programs, one is tempted to conclude that traditional attitudes and ways of thinking must be very strong. The apparent contradiction between our data and what we can see is, we believe, resolved if one asks how many times the poor, rural resident actually has a chance to choose a modern to a traditional alternative. His tenant status, his lack of the skills needed in an urban setting, his lack of political connections, and his poverty restrict the options which are open to him. Furthermore, many factors may intervene which cut off or reduce any reinforcement he might gain from starting a new enterprise or embarking on some other modern or innovative venture.

In the review of the literature on peasant societies we found many descriptions of the behavior of peasants which resembled rather closely observations which have been made in the Philippines. In a great many cases these descriptive terms were offered as explanations of why change failed. When descriptive terms are used as explanatory devices they can neither be confirmed nor denied. We have suggested an approach based on principles of operant conditioning in which one tries to identify the conditions which maintain and reinforce current behavior patterns. By systematically varying these conditions and observing the effect of these variations, one can determine the causes of present behavior, and, more important, one can modify behavior by selectively reinforcing the kinds of activities which are sought.

Following this line of analysis, a program of social change would begin with the identification of reinforcing conditions in the community. In many cases, money is a superb reinforcer. One then makes sure that money is paid promptly to those who produce an item which is desired. The application of this principle is exemplified in the case of the water-buffalo milk project in Laguna, vegetable raising in the Mountain Province, or bus drivers on almost any Philippine road who earn more by transporting more customers. Projects may fail, on the other hand, when tenants feel that their gains go to landlords or middlemen, when a new product has no developed market, or when chickens or vegetables are stolen or shared with neighbors, so that no return is experienced by the one who has done the work. Projects probably fail also when reinforcements are delayed, as occurs when payments are late even though the apparatus is

completely honest. At the same time, modernization fails to come about when traditional behavior patterns are rewarded. This happens when political considerations predominate over talent and perseverance as a means to economic security; when politicians and voters reinforce dependency by trading votes for pork-barrel allocations; and when there are no marketing facilities available for new products which people have been encouraged to produce.

Applying principles of operant conditioning, a change agent could practice development in the reverse of the usual order. Someone trying to promote a new crop, for instance, should be concerned first with making sure that the reinforcement mechanism is operating reliably. Nothing is more important than the prompt reinforcement of (payment for) the new crop. In this matter, certainty and immediacy may be more important than magnitude of reward. He would also make sure that the reinforcement does not occur when no new effort is made. He should also try to remove aversive experiences by making sure that tax collectors, loan sharks, and landlords do not take away a major portion of what he has just paid to the farmer. On the other hand, projects fail because they do not yield a reinforcement to the farmer who has to make an individual decision to participate. In addition to financial reinforcement, an action program can make use of the reinforcement of social approval and acclaim. We have referred to this as a reversal of the usual order of a development project in the sense that reinforcements are introduced at the beginning. No attempt is made to encourage citizens to undergo a protracted period of sacrifice in which later benefits are made or substitute for immediate returns.

In this psychologically oriented examination of modernization in the Philippines we have found little evidence that traditional attitudes and values constitute a major impediment to changes that would lead to social and economic improvement. The majority of the poorer, less educated respondents in our study chose the modern alternative on most issues which we considered. Respondents with more education and wealth were even more likely to endorse a modern rather than a traditional outlook. It would appear that an acceleration of the modernization process is dependent in part on increasing the likelihood that innovative activities will be reinforced. At the same time there must be a withdrawal of reinforcement for those traditional activities which deplete scarce resources of material and money. This is not to propose an authoritarian society. The occurrence of reinforcement is the iron ruler which determines what is most likely to occur in the future. By manipulating the time and occasion of reinforcement, we influence the future, wherein lie freedom and progress.

Appendix A:

Interview Schedule

Subject number

1. What is your age?
2. How many children do you have?
3. How many of your children have died?
4. How many siblings do you have? (Include respondent)
5. How many people live in your house?
6. How long have you lived here?
7. What was the highest grade you completed?
8. What is your occupation?
9. How many sideline occupations do you have?
10. How many other occupations have you had?
11. How many relatives do you have here?
12. How many related families do you have in Manila?
13. How many related families do you have in other cities?
14. Have you ever lived in Manila?
15. How often do you go to Manila?

[Items 16-30 not used on coding sheet]

I would like to ask whether this place is any different than it was five or ten years ago. [Code: (1) More; (2) Same; (3) Less]

31. Do people have more money to spend now or less?
32. Are there fewer or more jobs available?
33. Are there more or fewer chances to advance?
34. Do people have improved or worse houses?
35. Are people less contented now or more contented now?
36. Are there more or fewer opportunities for entertainment?
37. Are there more people who are sick or fewer?

38. Are there fewer places or more places to get help if one is sick?
39. Are people more respectful or less respectful to older people?
40. Are people more concerned or less concerned with pakikisama?
41. Are people less helpful or more helpful to others?
42. Are people less willing or more willing to work hard?
43. How about relationships with relatives? Are they better, the same, or poorer?
44. How about prosperous people—are they more or less willing to give financial help to their relatives?
45. Are politicians less willing or more willing to help the people?
46. Are people more able or less able to exert pressure on local political leaders?
47. With respect to political contacts, do you feel you have more, fewer, or the same?
48. Are political contacts more important, or less important now, or the same?
49. Compared with ten years ago, does a person have less chances or more chances to become successful in his work?
50. Are people less or more willing to try different ways to make a living?

Now, I would like to ask you to estimate how it will be ten years from now in 1978. [Code: (1) More; (2) Same; (3) Less]

51. Will people have less or more to spend in 1978?
52. Will there be fewer or more jobs available in 1978?
53. Will there be fewer or more chances to advance?
54. Will people be living in better or worse houses?
55. Will people be less or more contented in 1978?
56. Will there be more or fewer opportunities for entertainment?
57. Will fewer or more people be sick?
58. Will there be more or fewer places to get help in 1978?
59. Will people be more respectful or less respectful toward older people?
60. Will people be less concerned or more concerned with pakikisama?
61. Will people be more helpful or less helpful to others?
62. Will people be less or more willing to work hard?
63. Will relationships with relatives be better or poorer in 1978?
64. Do you think rich people will be more or less willing to give financial help to their relatives?
65. Will politicians be more or less willing to help the people in 1978?
66. Will people be less or more able to exert pressure on politicians in 1978?

67. Do you expect you will have more or fewer political contacts?
68. Will political contacts be less or more important?
69. Will a person have less or more chance to be successful in his work?
70. Will people be more or less willing to try different ways to make a living?

Now, I would like to ask you some different questions.

71. A man is setting up a small business. He needs to hire three helpers whom he will teach. Which should he do?
 1. Hire three relatives who are in need of work but who may not be skilled.
 2. Hire three skilled people who are looking for work but who are not relatives.
72. A boy is trying to decide whether to go to a large city to work. What should he do?
 1. His family advises him to stay at home where there is work.
 2. He wants to go to the city to a job where chances of advancement are better.
73. A man hears about a job which he would like. He should:
 1. try to find someone who will speak for him at the company.
 2. go to the company and ask for the job himself.
74. A man is voting on election day. Should he vote for:
 1. a less qualified candidate who has done him a favor?
 2. a more qualified candidate who does not know the voter?
75. All of a man's chickens died. Should he:
 1. quit growing chickens?
 2. have some of the dead ones examined by a government bureau man?
76. A farmer has a poor rice crop three years in a row. Would you say that the poor crop is due to:
 1. bad luck?
 2. poor farming methods?
77. Two neighbors are discussing their children. Which would you agree with?
 1. "I expect my children to be different in many ways because times are different."
 2. "I expect my children to follow my advice and preserve our family ways."

78. Two neighbors are listening to the radio. Which one do you agree with?
1. One says, "I like the radio because it has so much entertainment it makes me feel contented."
 2. The other says, "I like the radio because I hear the news on it."
79. A farmer has twenty pesos. Which should he do?
1. Buy some fertilizer and insecticide in the hope of increasing his crop.
 2. Lend the money to a relative who has asked for it.
80. Two parents are talking about their children. Which do you think has the better idea?
1. "I try to teach my children to respect the family ways and to respect their parents and elders."
 2. "I try to teach my children to take care of themselves and to do what they think is right."

You have heard the debates, *balagtasan*, on the radio. One person says one thing and another says something else. Each tries to persuade you that he is right. Sometimes you agree with one speaker, sometimes with the other. Often you agree with both about the same; sometimes more with one than the other.

Now I am going to tell you about some debates and I want you to tell me which person you agree with or whether you agree with one a little more than the other. A says, "A child of seven should go to school no matter how much work there is for him at home." B says, "A child of seven need not be sent to school if he is needed for work at home."

Do you agree completely with A? Do you agree completely with B? Or would you say you agree somewhat with A or somewhat with B? Or would you say that you agree with each the same amount? Remember, I want to know if you agree completely with one of them, more with one than the other, or equally with both.

[Code as follows: (1) complete agreement with statement A; (2) partial agreement with statement A; (3) equal agreement with A and B; (4) partial agreement with statement B; (5) complete agreement with statement B]

81. A. A child of seven should go to school no matter how much work there is to do at home.
B. A child of seven need not be sent to school if he is needed for work at home.
82. A. Success depends on hard work.
B. Success depends on luck.
83. A. A man should help all the people in his place whether they are his relatives or not.
B. A man should help his relatives only.

84. A. When one person gets rich others get poorer.
B. When one person gets rich others can get rich too.
85. A. A man should select a wife on the basis of his own preferences.
B. A man should be governed by his family's advice for selecting a wife.
86. A. Children should be permitted to think differently from their parents.
B. Children should be taught to think the way their parents think.
87. A. One should expect the police to keep peace in the town.
B. One can have peace only if one has powerful friends and relatives.
88. A. The most important news is the news from Manila and other big cities.
B. The most important news is what is happening in the town.
89. A. Women should be encouraged to dress in Manila fashions.
B. Women should be encouraged to dress in the traditional way.
90. A. If he is certain he is right, a son should go against his parents' advice.
B. A son should follow his parents' advice even when he thinks they are wrong.
91. A. One should ignore a person who is too insulting.
B. One should punish a person who is too insulting.
92. A. A powerful politician should not help his relatives more than he helps other people.
B. We expect a powerful politician to help his relatives first.
93. A. Doctors always understand illness best.
B. Old people sometimes understand illness best.
94. A. The husband knows best how to handle the family money.
B. The wife is the best person to handle the family money.
95. A. It is good to have a large family of six or more children.
B. It is good to have a small family of three or four children.
96. A. A boy should pay most attention to what he learns from older people at home.
B. A boy should pay most attention to what he learns from books and teachers.
97. A. Although the future is uncertain we must make plans for the future.
B. The future is so uncertain one must give attention to what is happening now.
98. A. A family is responsible for keeping its members out of trouble.
B. A family is not responsible if one family member makes trouble.
99. A. The political leaders are the most important people in any town.
B. Professional and business people are the most important in any town.

100. A. A person should share what he gets because his luck may change.
B. A person should save what he earns so that he can buy more land.

And now, some different questions.

101. How many organizations do you belong to?
(1) 0 (2) 1 (3) 2 (4) 3 (5) 4 or more.
102. Have you ever tried to persuade the mayor or a councilor to make some improvement here?
(1) Yes (2) No.
103. Does a boy learn the most truth from:
(1) old people (2) books and school (3) both?
104. How do you feel about growing old?
(1) want to (2) don't care (3) dread.
105. How far should (your) children go to school?
(1) elementary (2) high school (3) college (4) post graduation
(5) professional.
106. What is the best job a person like you can hope to get?
(1) laborer or unskilled (2) regular employment (3) skilled job
(4) business (5) professional.
107. What kind of work should a father encourage his son to seek?
(1) laborer or unskilled (2) regular employment (3) skilled job
(4) business (5) professional.
108. Which is more useful?
(1) good head (*maulo*) (2) schooling.
109. What is the most important quality in people you work with?
(1) friendly (2) respected (3) reliable.
110. A stranger comes to this place. It is best to treat him with:
(1) trust (2) caution (3) distrust.
111. If relatives know your personal affairs, will they likely take advantage of you?
(1) yes (2) not likely (3) no.
112. When you buy something in a store here, are most merchants honest?
(1) always (2) usually (3) seldom (4) never.
113. Some people seem to be very successful. Would you say that they are successful because of luck or because they work hard?
(1) luck (2) both (3) work.
114. No one likes to be sick. How much can a person do to prevent sickness?
(1) much (2) a little (3) nothing.

115. When your children are old enough to marry, do you expect that they will seek your advice?
(1) yes (2) no.
116. Do you expect your children to follow advice about marriage that you give them?
(1) yes (2) no (3) don't know.
117. What is the ideal size family for people who marry now?
(1) 1 or 2 (2) 3 or 4 (3) 5 or 6 (4) 7 or more.
118. Many young people are planning nowadays to have small families. Do you think this is a
(1) desirable or (2) undesirable plan?