THE IMPACT OF MODERNIZATION ON FILIPINO ADOLESCENTS

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

Modernization

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

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

Modernization of man

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

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

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

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

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

Modernization in the Philippines

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Self-concept, Reference Groups, Achievement Motivation, Aspiration

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

Self-concept

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

Theorists such as James (1890), Baldwin (1906), Cooley (1964), and Mead (1934), emphasized the development of self through interaction with others. Thus, the love and affection that parents have for a child and their attitudes toward him as he grows are tremendously important in forming his self-concept. After the early years of childhood many other persons beyond his family take on an increasingly important role in forming self—teachers, playmates, and friends. As an adult, his occupational associates and his spouse and children contribute further to this process.

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

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

Reference groups

A reference group is one with which a person identifies whether he is a member of it or not. The group serves as a normative source of attitudes and self-identity. It relates self to society, individual to group. A complex society and multiple-group membership bring about the likelihood of multiple reference groups.

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

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

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

Achievement motivation and level of aspiration

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

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

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

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

Philippine Values

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

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

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

The Present Study

Hypotheses

This study is interested in some general aspects of self-concept, reference groups, achievement motivation, and level of aspiration of Filipino adolescents. From theory and research on modernization as well as studies on Philippine values we can hypothesize that as groups are more exposed to modern influences:

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

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

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

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

(5) The greater their need to achieve; and

(6) The higher their level of aspiration.

Communities

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

Subjects

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

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

Procedure

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

Instruments and analyses

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

Table 1

Mean age of subjects.

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

Table 2

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

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

Table 3

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Results and Discussion

Self-concept as a reflection of cultural values

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

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

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

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

Modernization and self-concept

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

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

Table 4

Mean ranks of adjectives.

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

Table 5

Mean factor scores of Real and Ideal factors.

	Community				Sex	
	A	B	C	D	Males	Females
Real Self **Factor**						
I	0.2342	−0.2591	0.1590	−0.1336	−0.1036	0.0218
II	0.0731	0.2099	−0.0308	−0.2520	0.0219	−0.0218
III	0.3910	−0.2473	−0.0222	−0.1213**	−0.1560	0.1562*
IV	0.1140	0.1879	0.2536	−0.5560	0.0660	−0.0662
V	0.0404	−0.4806	0.2954	0.1444	0.0115	−0.0117
VI	0.1656	0.0675	−0.2225	−0.0104	−0:0219	0.0220
Ideal Self **Factor**						
I	−0.0989	0.1136	0.2547	−0.2702	0.0042	−0.0046
II	−0.0730	0.5399	−0.0550	−0.4116**	−0.1745	0.1747**
III	0.5127	−0.4750	−0.2003	0.1628	−0.0750	0.0752
IV	0.3232	−0.1675	0.2422	−0.3986	−0.0100	0.0102
V	0.1699	0.1614	0.1173	−0.1085	0.1712	−0.1711*
VI	0.0544	0.0115	−0.2182	0.1524	−0.0010	0.0010

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

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

Male-female differences in self-concept

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

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

Multiple reference groups among Filipino adolescents

To determine which of the different groups were considered important depending on the situation, the responses of all 200 subjects were added. Table 6 shows which reference group was chosen most often for each of the five areas. For each area the score of each reference group was out of a possible total of 1,400. In general our subjects as a group considered peers the

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

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

Modernization and reference groups

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

Sex and SES differences in the salience of parents and peers

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

Table 6

Total reference-group scores across all subjects.

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

Achievement-motivation scores and educational and occupational aspirations

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

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

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

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

Modernization and achievement motivation and level of aspiration

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

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

Sex and SES differences in need for achievement and aspirations

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

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

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

Bulatao (1965:16) writes:

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

Table 7

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

Plans	Community				Sex		SES	
	A	B	C	D	Males	Females	Low	High
Study	94.0	83.7	84.0	70.0	74.7	91.0	74.8	94.9
Work	6.0	16.3	16.0	30.0	25.3	9.0	25.2	5.1

df = 3

chi-square = 10.29*

*p less than .01

df = 1

chi-square = 9.27*

df = 1

chi-square = 13.55*

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

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

Salary estimates

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

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

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

Attitudes toward success

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

Table 8

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

Occupation desired	Community				Sex		SES	
	A	*B*	*C*	*D*	*Males*	*Females*	*Low*	*High*
Clerical	7.0	38.6	34.8	15.9	10.9	30.9	31.1	14.3
Farming, technical business	23.2	22.7	15.2	34.1	34.9	13.8	27.4	18.6
Professional	69.8	38.6	50.0	50.0	48.2	55.3	41.5	67.1
	df = 6				df = 2		df = 2	
	chi-square = 20.00*				chi-square = 12.25*		chi-square = 11.61*	
	*p less than .01							

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

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

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

Implications and Possibilities for Future Research

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

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

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

Summary and Conclusions

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

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

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

Summary of Findings

The main findings of this study are the following:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Appendix A

Community and mean scores and F ratios for parents and peers.

Situation	Reference Group	Community				F Ratio
		A	B	C	D	
Recreation	Parents	.38	.22	.46	.34	1.25
	Peers	4.24	4.84	5.08	4.44	3.309*
Modelling	Parents	2.64	2.38	2.34	2.40	.559
	Peers	.88	1.08	.94	.56	2.636
Emotional	Parents	1.76	1.20	1.94	1.96	3.358*
	Peers	3.28	3.72	3.38	2.46	7.089**
Career	Parents	3.70	2.28	2.32	2.14	9.783**
	Peers	.66	1.22	1.40	1.38	3.896**
Task	Parents	2.10	.98	1.62	1.00	14.294 (non-homogeneous variances)
	Peers	2.50	3.44	3.28	3.36	5.654**
Total	Parents	10.58	7.06	8.88	7.84	9.168**
	Peers	11.56	14.30	14.08	12.20	5.963**

*p less than .05

**p less than .01

Appendix B

SES and mean scores and F ratios for parents and peers.

Situation	Reference Group	SES		F Ratio
		Low	High	
Recreation	Parents	.33	.34	.658
	Peers	4.64	4.67	.012
Modelling	Parents	2.44	2.59	.723
	Peers	.94	.68	3.051
Emotional	Parents	1.65	1.87	1.05
	Peers	3.30	3.01	1.515
Career	Parents	2.46	3.01	4.245*
	Peers	1.19	1.07	.348
Task	Parents	1.29	1.70	6.129*
	Peers	3.32	2.73	8.544**
Total	Parents	8.18	9.53	5.507*
	Peers	13.40	12.18	3.675

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

Appendix C

Sex and mean scores and F ratios for parents and peers.

Situation	Reference Group	Sex		F Ratio
		Male	Female	
Recreation	Parents	.31	.39	.80
	Peers	5.24	4.06	31.905**
Modelling	Parents	2.46	2.52	.134
	Peers	1.00	.73	3.973*
Emotional	Parents	1.57	1.86	2.242*
	Peers	3.51	2.91	8.940**
Career	Parents	2.47	2.75	1.436
	Peers	1.27	1.06	1.434
Task	Parents	1.31	1.54	2.601
	Peers	3.31	2.98	3.255
Total	Parents	8.12	9.06	3.498
	Peers	14.33	11.74	21.564**

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

Notes

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

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

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