

OCCUPATION AND OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE IN THE PHILIPPINES¹

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OCCUPATIONAL affiliation is the most commonly used indicator of social position for research on social stratification and social mobility, particularly in Western Europe and the United States. In part, this is because occupational data are more readily available than other indicators of social position. This is not, however, the only reason for the frequency with which occupational data are used. From a theoretical point of view, occupational affiliation has particular importance in industrialized and highly differentiated societies. Occupational affiliation is, in many respects, a major determinant of association, of life styles, and of attitudes.

The most common method of classifying and organizing occupational data is according to some kind of status or prestige continuum. These are serious questions about the validity of the uni-dimensionality assumption involved in the use of such continua. However, they have repeatedly proven useful in the sense that important correlations result from their use in various theoretical frames of reference.

Obviously, countries with lower levels of industrialization are, in many respects, organized differently from Western Europe and the United States. In particular, occupation may not play such a central role in the determination of be-

havior and attitudes (Form 1968).² Most of these countries are undergoing rapid social and economic change, however, and part of this change is an increase in "occupationalization" of the society. If this is true, an understanding of the occupational prestige hierarchy becomes essential for understanding the subjective aspects of social change. Furthermore, if it can be shown that occupational affiliation has begun to play a central role in these societies, the methodological convenience occupations provided to the researcher in industrialized societies becomes available in these un-industrialized societies as well. This, then, is an attempt to examine the importance of the occupational variable in the Philippines and to devise an optimal method of classifying occupations there. The end result is an occupational prestige index of 148 occupations, which can be used directly or interpolated to the occupational classification used by the Bureau of the Census and Statistics in 1960.

Review of the Nature and Uses of the Occupational Variable

First of all it seems appropriate to review the occupational classification in industrialized countries and in the Philippines and to examine the various methods available for classifying occupations.

Occupation in industrialized countries

The social status variable most frequently used in the study of social mobility and stratification is occupation (Miller 1960-62; Lipset and Bendix 1964). The major criticisms of this convention focus upon the arbitrariness of the occupational classification used by the United

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States census (Gross 1959), upon the lack of uni-dimensionality in the occupational classification (Hatt 1961) and upon the weakness of a uni-dimensionality approach. However, the sociological import of the occupational classification is apparent in the following quotation from Edward's description of the classification scheme which he devised for the United States Department of the Census:

It is evident that each of these groups represent not only a major segment of the nation's labor force, but also a large population group with a somewhat distinct standard of life economically and, to a considerable extent, intellectually and socially. In some measure, also, each group has characteristic interests and convictions as to numerous public questions—social, economic, and political. Each of them is thus a really distinct and highly significant social-economic group (Edwards 1940:179).

There are implications here of distinct styles of life associated with different occupations, an idea further elaborated by Hughes (1952:423–26) and epitomized in John Dewey's concept of "occupational psychosis" (Burke 1965). The idea is that occupational groups constitute basic classes of people which are similar in their sociological and psychological attributes.

Another justification for the use of the occupational variable follows from the functional theory of stratification (Davis and Moore 1945). According to this formulation, occupational affiliation is the basic social positional category which can be evaluated in terms of functional importance, difficulty of entry, and differential reward (Becker and Strauss 1956; Hollingshead 1939). In the views discussed above a claim is made for a significant causal relationship between occupation and a broad range of sociological and psychological attributes. Even in cases where the relationship is not considered to be a causal one, occupation is frequently held to be one of the best indicators of overall social position in American society (Hughes 1959:444; Nosow 1962; Duncan 1961; and Chinoy 1955).

Chinoy and Carlsson suggest that some of the alleged weaknesses of the occupational variable be turned to advantage. Thus, Chinoy suggests that this one variable is particularly useful because it may be used to "measure" significant aspects of many different theoretical orienta-

tions (Chinoy 1955:181). Carlsson advocates using the occupational classification as a kind of minimal unit of classification (Carlsson 1958). He conceives of it as being useful for a large number of analytic frames of reference. Two examples are the use of occupation to indicate functional position in society (Davis and Moore 1945) and to indicate relationship to the means of production in Marxian analysis.

Classifying occupations

Once the occupational variable is selected as the major index of social position, it is necessary to examine the classification itself. What is an occupation, how are occupations to be classified, how are they to be combined? These are some of the questions at issue (Miller 1960–62:11). Several approaches have been used in devising occupational classification schemes. The earlier technique was an *ad hoc* grouping according to presumed similarities of occupations or of incumbents. Frequently, attitudinal data and socio-economic data were then used to validate the classification (Edwards 1943). It is now common to group occupations according to prestige, either based upon empirical researches of this topic or on the basis of historical or sociological materials (Miller 1960–62). When a very small number of classes is desired the white collar-manual worker distinction is usually used, perhaps with a third category for farm (Jackson and Crockett, Jr. 1964; Broom and Jones 1969; Lipset and Bendix 1964; Miller 1960–62). This is justified on the basis of prestige differentials, presumed differences in styles of life, differences in income (Hamilton 1964), and relative infrequency of movement across these particular boundaries.

It is obvious that occupations can be classified on a large number of dimensions in addition to status or prestige. Perhaps the most ambitious attempt at a multi-variate classification scheme is the research carried out by the U. S. Employment Service using some 45 variables and a sample of 3000 occupations (Fine and Heinz 1958). The stated objective was to obtain a functional occupational classification useful in occupational counselling. The result has been incorporated

into the most recent edition of the Dictionary of Occupational Titles (U. S. Employment Service 1965). The applied objectives of this research seriously reduced any contribution it might make to the theory of occupational affiliation as a determinant of generalized social position. The research was primarily concerned with what the worker does on the job rather than with who he is in the larger community.

When prestige scales are desired it is common to turn to explicit studies of occupational prestige, of which there is now a relatively large number (North and Hatt 1953; Inkeles and Rossi 1955-56; Hodge *et al.* 1966). Frequently, these studies still do not include all of the occupations desired so the user must make interpolations from those which are included to some which are not. Duncan devised a socio-economic index for all occupations in the detailed classification of the 1950 census. His index is based upon criteria of education, income, and age combined in a manner designed to approximate the NORC occupational prestige rankings. Although this solved the problem of interpolation for many types of research, the detailed classification is still not adequate for some situations (Duncan 1961; Blishen 1958). In spite of its shortcomings, this scale or some variant of it is now very commonly used in the study of social stratification and social mobility.

Occupation in the Philippines

The most obvious feature of the occupational classification when applied to the Philippine population is the fact that more than half of the total employed population falls into the categories: "farmers, fishermen, hunters, loggers, and kindred workers." These categories made up 58 per cent of the Philippine population in 1960 (RP Bureau of the Census and Statistics 1964). The similar category made up only about 8.3 per cent of the population of the United States in 1960 (US Bureau of the Census 1964). The peculiar shape of the distribution thus limits its usefulness. This limited usefulness is exacerbated by problems in the classification procedure itself. Nurge (1965:26) has pointed out that, at least

in the *Leyte barrio* (village) which she studied, two obstacles fell in the way of making a clear occupational assignment for the population. She says:

The work patterns of the Filipino are such that he can, and does, work competently but not hurriedly for irregular lengths of time on whatever task interests him at the moment. Then he may go on to something else, apparently forgetting the first job and often leaving it in a state of incompleteness. How relevant to the establishment of an 'occupation' is the amount of time spent on an activity and the patterning or the lack of patterning of this time?

Of course, occupational classification in the United States and Western Europe does not rely precisely upon the tasks being performed. Whole classes, such as professionals, are based upon the fact that the incumbents engage in different tasks more or less at their own discretion, just as her Filipino villager does. They still appear to be significant socio-economic categories.

The second problem mentioned by Nurge was multiplicity of occupations. Some of the people she studied had several occupations, some of which fit together into a seasonal pattern. Her solution was to classify the respondents according to an activity which they carried out in the exploitation of primary resources for cash. Apparently this was successful (Nurge 1965:27). The problem of multiple jobs is not unique to the Philippines either. Sociologists frequently deal with it. They usually think in terms of "transitional" or "supplementary" secondary occupations. In traditional agricultural societies many crafts and trades are carried out by farmers or fishermen as permanent secondary occupations which can hardly be considered transitional (Firth 1946). To the extent that this is true, occupation itself may not define with whom one will associate, or what his values will be, etc., as is implied in the quotation from Edwards (1940:179) above.

The relevance of the occupational variable in relatively unindustrialized societies like the Philippines can also be discussed from a theoretical point of view. There are two lines of argument, both of which suggest that low levels of industrialization should result in the occupational

classification being inappropriate to index social position. The first argument is based upon the fact of low functional differentiation. Inasmuch as occupation is probably a good index of functional position, low differentiation is, by definition, low occupational heterogeneity. This leads, of course, to the unsatisfactory distribution of the population on the occupational classification which was noted above. The second argument is articulated by Smelser (1963). In traditional societies, the kinship unit is more important for determining the individual's social position. His functional position in society as indexed by occupation is less important. However, this is really a statement about what *determines* position, not what *indicates* position. Even though the kinship unit may determine one's status so that status tends to be ascribed rather than achieved, this status position might still be associated with a rather narrow range of occupations. If this is true, occupation may be less important in a causal sense but still have considerable utility as an index. Whether or not it does becomes an interesting empirical question (Form 1968).³ Lynch has suggested that in two specialized communities for which data are available this is, indeed, the case (Lynch 1965).

Classifying occupations in the Philippines

The most detailed method of classifying occupations in the Philippines which is widely used is that used by the Bureau of the Census and Statistics (1960).⁴ This scheme is patterned after the International Standard Classification of Occupations and is analogous to the scheme used by the United States Bureau of the Census. However, there seems to be somewhat less consistency in the differentiation of socio-economic groups in the Philippine system.⁵ Furthermore, the writer is not aware of a single attempt to identify the relative prestige positions of all or even a large number of the occupational categories used by this system.

Previous sociological research in the Philippines which has made use of occupation has relied almost entirely upon *ad hoc* classifications.

There are several studies of occupational prestige available (Castillo 1961; Tiryakian 1957-58; Doherty 1965). However, the writer is not aware that the results of these studies have been used for studies of stratification and mobility. A rather small number of occupations were ranked in these three studies. Generally the results conform very closely to similar studies in other countries. Castillo compared her results with similar studies in the United States and Japan. Her results are based upon a ranking of twenty-three occupations. The correlation between the Philippine ranking and the Japanese ranking was .53 (Kendall's Tau). The correlation between the Philippine and U. S. rankings was .72.

In spite of the fact that these rankings generally conform to data from other countries, there are several anomalous rankings. These are discussed in detail by Castillo, and to some extent also by Doherty. The major anomalous rankings are farmer or farm owner-operator, military personnel, and the priesthood. Farming and military personnel are ranked higher than would be expected from United States and Japanese data.

Discussion of Philippine culture, particularly as they relate to occupational aspirations and prestige, lead to the conclusion that the white collar-manual distinction should be even more relevant in the Philippines than in the United States and Western Europe (Castillo 1958-59).

From this very brief review of the occupational classification scheme in the Philippines one may conclude that explicit attention needs to be given to the utility of this scheme in determining socio-economic status, style of life, etc., and to developing an optimal classification scheme to achieve these same ends.

Correlates of occupation in the Philippines

In European societies fertility differs significantly among occupational groups (Wrong 1966). A study of fertility differentials among occupational groups in the Philippines has recently been published. The occupational classes used

were farmers, farm laborers, and skilled workers. Although there were slight differences in fertility rates, these were not statistically significant (Nazaret *et al.* 1962). Castillo and Pua present evidence from several villages in Laguna province which supports Nazaret in indicating that no relationship exists between occupation of household head and fertility (Castillo and Pua 1963). Concepcion discovered differences in fertility related to rural-urban residence, levels of education, and occupation. However, education seems to explain most of the rural-urban differential and to discriminate more effectively than does occupation. Furthermore, the occupational classification was not related to fertility in the manner usually expected from experience in European cultures where the fertility rates of farmers are usually the highest. The Philippine data show that, on the educational variable and on the occupational variable, the pattern differs drastically for women of different ages (Concepcion 1964).

Castillo and Pua found other variables to correlate with the occupational classification when the occupations were grouped into white collar, proprietors and managers, farmers, and blue collar workers. Some of these variables are family composition, membership in formal organizations, exposure to printed media, educational level, and income (Castillo and Pua 1963). In general, proprietors and managers are high on these variables with white collar second, but the pattern is not very consistent and farmers and blue collar workers do change position. A cautionary note should be added here. With a large number of observations and when cross-tabulated variables do not result in extremely large numbers of individual cells, the chi square enumeration statistic nearly always rejects the null hypothesis of independence. Castillo and Pua used this test, and their total number of observations was around 1,500. Consequently, one would expect significant relationships even when the actual correlations were very low. This makes it all the more important that they did not find significant differences among occupational groups on fertility rates. It does not mean, of course, that the relationships which they did find are

not to be considered important. That question can only be answered by computing some measure of association. However, measures of association for cross-classifications are generally unsatisfactory, unless ordinal relationships can be assumed among the classes of the variables. That is not true in this case. The contingency coefficient (C) will be computed here because it can be computed from chi square values, because it is one of the more common chi square based measures of association, and because Castillo has presented C values on some of the data to be discussed here. The major limitation of C is that, although its minimum value is uniformly zero, its maximum value depends upon the dimensionality of the contingency table (number of rows and columns). Its lowest maximum value is for the two-by-two table, for which it is .707.

Table 1 presents the contingency coefficients as measures of association between occupation and the five variables discussed above. They are presented in rank order, and the differences are so great that it is unlikely that an adjustment for maximum possible value of the contingency coefficient would change the order.

Two other variables have been correlated with occupational classification in different areas of the Philippines, and they should be mentioned in this context. The first is level of living. The research was done by Castillo (1962). This research was in the same four villages which were the source of the data reported above. Castillo computed chi square and contingency coefficient values separately for each of the four villages. The relationship between level of living and occupational classification was significant in each of the four villages, and the average of the four contingency coefficients was .37. The occupational classification used was the same as that reported above (white collar, proprietors and managers, farmers, and blue collar workers).

The second variable to be noted here is a psychological measure called "resistance to innovations". The research is reported by Madigan (1962). The resistance scores for twelve occupational groups are presented in Table 2. The between classes analysis of variance indicates

TABLE 1
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENTS AS MEASURES OF
ASSOCIATION BETWEEN OCCUPATION AND
FIVE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS VARIABLES

Variable Name	Contingency Coefficient*	Size of Table	Approximate Maximum of C
Educational Level	.57	5x4	.866
Exposure to Media	.45	4x4	.866
Income Level	.45	7x4	.894
Organizational Membership	.28		.866
Family Composition	.08	2x4	.816

Source: Computed from Castillo and Pua, *op. cit.*

*See Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., *Social Statistics* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1960), p. 230 for the computational formula.

that the differences are statistically significant at the .01 level.

This does not tell us, of course, how great the correlation is between occupation and resistance scores, nor does it tell us which occupations are responsible for this relationship. Madigan interprets his findings as follows:

One notes a pattern in these resistance scores. As one goes from white collar to blue collar jobs, resistance increases. Similarly, as one goes from occupations requiring more education or training to those requiring less, resistance also increases. Finally, as one goes from occupations with less income or prestige resistance increases. The only exceptions to the rule are unskilled non-farm workers whose mean resistance score is lower than expected and transport workers, who have surprisingly high scores. Both of these mean scores may represent chance results due to sampling fluctuations as the number of cases in both categories is small (Madigan 1962:161).

In summary, a survey of the significance of occupation in the Philippines leads to rather ambiguous results. Although some expected relationships are low or do not exist, others seem to be quite important. A summary of the relation-

ships among several socio-economic status variables in the Philippines is presented in Table 3 below. From those data occupation appears to be as useful in relationship to other variables as education and income.

Analysis of Occupational Variable in the Philippines

For several reasons it seems advisable to explore occupational classification further. In the first place, previous studies of occupational prestige which do provide ranks that could be used rank a very small number of occupations. Second, many of the occupations which they do consider are not familiar to the average Filipino.

The major objective is to devise one or several occupational classification schemes which result in minimizing socio-economic heterogeneity among classes of the scheme. An additional objective is to assess the general predictive ability of such a "best" occupational classification scheme once it has been devised.

TABLE 2
RESISTANCE TO INNOVATIONS SCORES BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY

Occupational Category	Number of Cases	Mean Resistance Scores
Professionals and minor government officials	7	31.0
Clerical workers, government and business	9	35.2
Student men (above 15th birthday)	6	37.7
Traders, small businessmen	22	43.7
Unskilled, non-farm labor	13	44.2
Skilled and semi-skilled non-farm labor	24	44.5
Farm owners	156	45.7
Housewives	9	46.3
Farm tenants	213	46.4
Unemployed	16	47.9
Agricultural laborers, woodcutters and fishermen	35	48.3
Transport workers (rig drivers, jeepney drivers, bus employees)	9	52.0
TOTAL	519	45.7

Source: Madigan, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

Selection of Variables for Analysis of Occupations

The literature on job analysis is very extensive and will not be completely reviewed here (Shartle 1959). As was pointed out above, the most elaborate research has been done by the United States Employment Service (Fine and Heinz 1958). Caplow has an example of a similar technique applied to broader sociological questions about occupations (Caplow 1954). The method used is to choose a series of variables which describe occupations on the basis of the type of work, the amount of skill required, the authority relationships, etc. Each occupation is then "measured" on each of these variables and the values obtained are used to analyze the occupations and to create an occupational classification structure.

It is necessary, then, to select a group of relevant variables. The sociological objectives of

this analysis of occupations are somewhat different from those of the research described by Fine and Heinz (1958) so one cannot simply use their variables. A set of variables is needed which represents those aspects of occupations which are responsible for the hypothesized similarity of the incumbents. The sociological literature on the dimensions of occupations has been concerned primarily with these characteristics of occupations as they determine or are correlated with overall placement in a hierarchical stratification system. The objectives of this research are similar. Thus, some of the variables proposed by the American researchers mentioned above may be adopted. A combination of the dimensions discussed by Caplow and Gross (1958) results in the following list:

1. Importance to society or functional importance (Gross 1959:53).
2. Income or "the power to exact money" (Gross 1959:121).

TABLE 3
SUMMARY OF INTER-CORRELATIONS AMONG
SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS VARIABLES

Variables	Presence or Degree of Association	Source
<u>Occupation and:</u>		
Education	C = .57	Castillo and Pua, 1963
Income	C = .45	Castillo and Pua, 1963
Tenure status	No data	
Level of living	C = .40 (Approx.)	Various researches
Media participation	C = .45	Castillo and Pua, 1963
Organizational membership	C = .28	Castillo and Pua, 1963
Fertility	None	Nazaret, et. al., 1962
Resistance to innovations	Yes	Madigan, 1962
Leadership	C = .16	Castillo, 1962.
<u>Education and:</u>		
Occupation	C = .57	Castillo and Pua, 1963
Income	C = .44	Castillo and Pua, 1963
Tenure status	C = .19	Polson and Pal, 1952; Pal, 1962
Level of living	C = .40 to .50	Various researches
Media participation	C = .50	Castillo and Pua, 1963
Organizational membership	C = .28	Castillo and Pua, 1963
Fertility	Yes	Concepcion, 1964
Resistance to innovations	R = -.366	Madigan, 1962
Leadership	C = .18	Castillo, 1962
<u>Income and:</u>		
Education	C = .44	Castillo and Pua, 1963
Occupation	C = .45	Castillo and Pua, 1963
Tenure status	No data	
Level of living	Yes	Various researches
Media participation	C = .47	Castillo and Pua, 1963
Organizational membership	C = .28	Castillo and Pua, 1963
Fertility	No data	
Resistance to innovations	R = -.189	Madigan, 1962
Leadership	C = .23	Castillo, 1962

3. White collar and manual distinction (Gross 1959:125).
 4. Authority of the worker (Gross 1959:122; Caplow 1954:125).
 5. Freedom permitted the worker (Gross 1959:125).
 6. Amount of preparation required (Gross 1959:125).
 7. Nature of work (manipulate things, manipulate people, or manipulate data or symbols) (Gross 1959:125-26; Caplow 1954:52-54).
 8. Responsibility (Caplow 1954:52-54).
 9. Formal education required (Caplow 1954:52-54).
 10. Training exclusive of formal education (Caplow 1954:52-54).
 11. Class attributes of incumbents (Caplow 1954:52-54).
 12. Behavioral control (Caplow 1954:54).
- Two dimensions may be added to the list. The first derives from literature on Philippine culture and the second is a logical extension of several

already in the list.

13. Security of income.

Lynch has suggested that the basic distinction between the two social classes in rural areas of the Philippines is whether or not one has an occupation that provides a secure income (Lynch 1959:116). Tiryakian suggests that security of income might explain the unusually high job satisfaction among white collar workers in the Philippines (Tiryakian 1957-58).

14. Capital requirements.

Several different kinds of job prerequisites are included in the list already and there is some over-lapping. It seems reasonable to suggest three kinds of prerequisites which include all of those in the list above. They are formal education, training exclusive of formal education, and capital. Capital refers not only to monetary investment but also to tools, land, etc.

This list of dimensions of occupations will not be used in its entirety. In the first place, functional importance is ambiguous (Tumin 1953). Responses on this variable appear to indicate personal value judgments (i.e., occupations which are considered to be good or ethical versus those which are not).⁶ Furthermore, functional importance can only be defined relative to some specific end or goal which requires a rather comprehensive theory as background for its use. The distinction between white collar and manual occupations is similar to "nature of work". It is hardly necessary to use both of them. Furthermore, this is an objective characteristic for which it is not necessary to make use of an opinion survey. "Authority," "freedom permitted," "responsibility," and "behavioral control" are all very closely related. In fact, it is doubtful whether they could be distinguished without extensive training of judges and liberal use of examples. Consequently only "authority" and "freedom" will be used. "Class attributes" is ambiguous. It seems advisable to simply call this occupational prestige, which will make the research comparable to studies of occupational ranking which have been done in the Philip-

pines (Castillo 1961; Tiryakian 1957-58; Doherty 1965).

The following variables are suggested, then, as the appropriate dimensions of occupations for a multivariate analysis of the occupational classification in the Philippines:

1. Formal education.
2. Skills or training.
3. Nature of work (work with things, people or data).
4. Freedom of worker.
5. Income.
6. Security of income.
7. Capital requirements.
8. Occupational prestige.
9. Authority.

The procedure in using these characteristics of occupations will be to (1) obtain values on each characteristic for each occupation, (2) use these values to classify occupations, and (3) validate such a classification with objective data on individuals who actually hold these occupations.

Selection of Occupations to be Classified

Now it is necessary to select occupations to be classified. The objective is to obtain a list of occupations relevant to people in the Philippines which is as comprehensive as possible. Ideally, of course, this would require a nationwide survey of occupational names and categories. This was not feasible in this research, which was part of a larger project limited geographically to the Dumaguete Trade Area of Negros Oriental province.

During the 1966-67 academic year Professors R. A. Polson and A. P. Pal carried out a survey in the Dumaguete Trade Area (Polson and Pal 1952, 1958).⁷ In order to have a basis for a stratified sample they conducted a preliminary census of households in all of their sample villages. There were 28 sample villages and the census resulted in the enumeration of 3212 households.

The respondents of this census were asked to report the occupations of all members of the

household. They were also asked to report the occupations of household members not present in the household at the time of the interview. These responses were used to derive a list of occupations for the analysis to be reported here. To this list were added the 23 occupations ranked by Castillo in her study (Castillo 1961). These were added for comparative purposes and to provide validation for the results. These two sources (the 1966-67 census results and the Castillo research list) provided a basic list of 156 occupations (Voth 1969).

Research Instruments and Data Collection

A questionnaire was designed to elicit ratings of individual occupations on the nine variables proposed above. These variables are:

1. Formal education.
2. Skills and training.
3. Nature of work.
4. Freedom of worker.
5. Income.
6. Security of income.
7. Capital requirements.
8. Occupational prestige
9. Authority.

This questionnaire was pre-tested and revised several times. Several different types of response categories were used. The questions on prestige, income, security of income, capital requirements, authority, and freedom of the worker utilized a five point rating technique. The question about education required the respondent to indicate the estimated number of years of schooling required. The question on skills and training utilized an eight-point rating technique relative to the estimated time required to learn the job. The time varied from "hardly any time at all" to "several years". The question on nature of work performed utilized a ranking of three possibilities in terms of relative importance. These possibilities were "working with people," "working with things or tools," and "working with information or data". Thus, for purposes of analysis, this question became three interrelated in-

dividual items, resulting in a total of eleven dimensions of occupations. The pre-test indicated two rather serious problems in carrying out occupational ratings in the Dumaguete area. First, the respondents were reluctant to rate a large number of occupations. Second, they were reluctant to rate occupations with which they were not personally acquainted in highly specific ways. Consequently, the following procedure was devised:

The 156 occupations were ranked impressionistically by the author. This ranking was according to general occupational prestige. Then, the 156 occupations were divided into five separate lists with 32 or 31 in each list.⁸ Occupations were assigned to these lists carefully so as to ensure that each list had a wide range of occupations according to the impressionistic prestige ranking. Five sets of questionnaire were prepared, one set for each list of occupations. Two groups of people were asked to respond to these questionnaires. They are described as follows:

Group One: The first group was made up of village captains⁹ and councilmen and village school teachers. Approximately 60 such persons were selected. Interviewers went to the respondents' homes or schools and presented one of the five lists of occupations to each of them. They were then asked to select ten occupations from the list with which they were most familiar. When they had made their selection the questionnaires were explained to them and they were given ten copies of the questionnaire, one for each of the ten occupations which they had selected. These forms were left with them to be completed at home. One week later they were picked up by the interviewer.

Since respondents from group one (teachers and village officials) were allowed to select occupations to which they wanted to respond, the numbers of respondents per occupation are not equal. In fact, several occupations had to be dropped from further analysis because they were not selected at all. One hundred and forty-eight occupations made up the final list to be analyzed.

Group Two: The second group of respondents was made up of upper class sociology students at Silliman University. There were approximately 45 such respondents. In this group all respondents were asked to rate 15 occupations which were selected for them. Thus, they were not allowed to rate only those occupations familiar to them. All occupations were rated by at least three respondents from this group with only one exception.

Combination and Manipulation of Data

First of all, mean ratings were computed for each of the occupations on each of the eleven variables separately for group one (teachers and village officials) and for group two (college students). Then, the means of these means were computed across all 148 occupations for each of the eleven variables. These computations resulted in eleven pairs of means for the eleven variables. One of each pair represents group one and one represents group two. Rather large differences appeared on nearly all variables between the means for group one and group two. Due to these differences it seemed inadvisable to use simple averages for deriving final scores. This is because the groups would be combined in unequal proportions in the computation of such an average since the proportion of people from groups one and two rating each occupation varied from occupation to occupation. Consequently, the following rather tedious computations were performed:

1. The scores for the occupations were standardized separately for group one and group two on all eleven variables using the usual formula:

$$Z_{ijk} = \frac{X_{ijk} - X_{jk}}{SD_{jk}}$$

Where:

Z_{ijk} = Standardized score for the i -th occupation ($i = 1 - 148$), for the j -th variable ($j = 1 - 11$), for the k -th group ($k = 1 - 2$).
 X_{ijk} = The original means, referred to here as scores, for the i -th occupation, the i -th variable, and the k -th group.

2. These two sets of standardized scores (one set for group one and one set for group two) were then combined into a weighted average as follows:

$$Y_{ij} = \frac{Z_{ij1} + Z_{ij2}}{N_{i1} + N_{i2}}$$

Where:

Y_{ij} = The new score for the i -th occupation on the j -th variable.

Z_{ij1} and Z_{ij2} = Standardized score for the i -th occupation on the j -th variable for groups one and two respectively (see formula 1 above).

N_{i1} and N_{i2} = The number of respondents rating the i -th occupation from groups one and two respectively.

These new scores (Y_{ij}) were again standardized using the conventional formula (see 1 above). The resulting scores were used to rank all 148 occupations on each of the eleven variables. These eleven sets of scores were used in the analysis of occupations to follow.

Since the computations described here were rather tedious, it seemed useful to compare the results with a more simple average which disregarded the proportions with which the two groups were combined. For the eleven variables under consideration the lowest correlation (using Spearman's rank correlation coefficient) was .979 (Variable eleven). The next lowest was .973 (Variable nine). The rest were more than .99. Thus, it appears that the manipulations could have been dispensed with without having affected the results significantly.

Factor Analysis of Eleven Dimensions

It was argued above that occupation is one of the most important reference categories for individuals in the United States and Western Europe. Occupational affiliation may also be an important reference category in the Philippines. However, an appropriate method of classifying occupations must be devised in order to take advantage of the variable's full potential. The

specialized terms will be defined as they occur. It is necessary to point out, however, that there is an element of indeterminacy in factor analysis (Harman 1967). Apparently the only factor analytic approach for which there is a unique solution is the principal components approach (Harman 1967). However, the principal components solution accounts for all of the variance in all of the variables, whereas the principal factor solution accounts only for the matrix of correlations. Since the latter is the concern of this analysis, the principal factor solution will be used. The indeterminacy of the solution is resolved by supplying estimates of communalities for each variable.¹¹ The estimates used in this analysis are the absolute values of each variable's highest correlation coefficient from Table 4. These are the values entered in the main diagonal

of Table 4. In the interest of simplicity this analysis will deal only with unrelated (orthogonal) factors and will attempt to extract (rotate) only two factors.

First of all, six factors were identified. This factor matrix appears in Table 5. The last row of Table 5 indicates the cumulative proportion of total variance accounted for by the six successive factors. The first two factors were rotated in a manner designed to keep them unrelated (orthogonal). It should be noted that these two factors account for 69 per cent of the total variance. Factor one accounts for the initial 55 per cent and factor two accounts for an additional 14 per cent. Table 6 presents the results of this analysis.

TABLE 5
FACTOR MATRIX OF SIX ORIGINAL FACTORS

Variable Name and Number	Original Factors					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Formal Education	.85	-.20	.18	-.26	-.04	.04
2. Skill or Training	.73	.14	.01	-.37	.20	.06
3. Work with Things or Tools	.62	-.63	-.16	.15	.08	.06
4. Work with People	-.12	.66	.52	.09	.08	.00
5. Work with Information or Data	-.72	.22	-.31	-.28	-.19	-.09
6. Freedom of Worker	.28	.50	-.42	.06	.13	.12
7. Income	.93	.19	.00	.06	-.15	.07
8. Security of Income	.90	-.02	.17	.01	-.25	.04
9. Capital Required	.68	.46	-.28	.10	-.09	.02
10. Prestige	.95	.01	.01	.01	.03	-.09
11. Authority	.89	.08	-.10	.06	.08	-.26
Cumulative Proportion of Variance	.55	.69	.75	.78	.80	.81

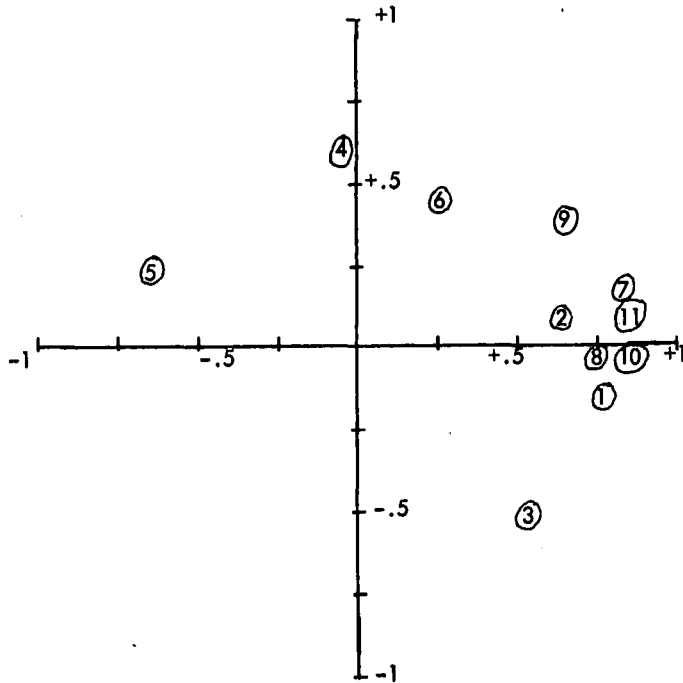
TABLE 6
FACTOR MATRIX OF TWO ROTATED FACTORS

Variable Name and Number	Rotated Factor Matrix		Communalities of Variables
	I	II	
1. Formal Education	.84	-.23	.76
2. Skill or Training	.73	.11	.54
3. Work with Things or Tools	.60	-.66	.79
4. Work with People	.01	.66	.45
5. Work with Information or Data	-.71	.24	.57
6. Freedom of Worker	.30	.49	.33
7. Income	.93	.15	.89
8. Security of Income	.90	-.05	.82
9. Capital Required	.70	.43	.67
10. Prestige	.95	-.02	.90
11. Authority	.90	.05	.80
Cumulative Proportion of Variance	.55	.69	

Before Table 6 is interpreted it is necessary to make note of two limitations. First, the method of data collection may have caused a certain amount of built-in correlation. When the respondent answered the series of questions one after the other for the same occupation, there may have been a tendency to allow the rating on one item to influence the rating on all others. These correlations probably account for part of factor one. Second, the tendency toward negative correlations among questions three, four, and five is because of the nature of the questions upon which they are based. Thus, when "working with things or tools" is rated one, the other two must necessarily be either two or three. Consequently, no substantive conclusions may be drawn from the correlations among these three variables.

Interpretation is sometimes facilitated by expressing numerical values geometrically. Since this analysis focuses upon only two factors, it lends itself very well to this kind of expression because two dimensions can be displayed on a plane. If the two factors rotated in Table 6 are interpreted as perpendicular axes on a plane, the variables may be plotted by using their correlations with the two factors as coordinates. In this way the clustering of variables which has been achieved may be expressed graphically (Kerlinger 1964; Guilford 1936). This has been done in Table 7. Considering the values in Table 6 and the clustering in Table 7, factor one is not difficult to identify. It is a general occupational status or prestige factor. Most variables are quite highly related to this factor and the only one that is not, number four, has rather low correla-

TABLE 7
PLOT OF ELEVEN VARIABLES ON TWO FACTORS



tions with all other variables (Table 4). The implication is that there is one major factor operating. From the plot in Table 7, it appears that this factor is made up of a combination of variables one, two, five, seven, eight, ten, and eleven. Ten is central to the factor, and ten is the question about occupational prestige. All of these variables are positively loaded on this factor except variable five.

The predominance of one factor has sociological significance. Social status is one of the most persistent of sociological variables. The classification of occupations devised by Edwards was done to identify distinct socio-economic groups (Edwards 1940:179). However, the hypothesis that occupations can be arranged in a uni-dimensional hierarchical dimension has been challenged (Hatt 1953). These data tend to confirm this hypothesis.

It is very difficult to identify the content of factor two from the factor matrix in Table 6 and from the clustering in Table 7. However, these data lend themselves to another kind of interpretation which is frequently not possible with factor analysis. Factor scores were computed for each occupation on factors one and two. If these occupations are classified into groups on the basis of their values on the two factors, an examination of the occupations which fall into each group may contribute to an understanding of the factors. Table 8 presents the nine groups generated by a three-by-three cross-classification of the two factors. The factor scores were computed in standard form with mean zero and a standard deviation of one. The scores were trichotomized as follows:

- Low = Less than $-.43$ standard deviations.
- Medium = $-.43$ to $+.43$ standard deviations.
- High = More than $+.43$ standard deviations.

TABLE 8
CLASSIFICATION OF 148 OCCUPATIONS BY TWO FACTORS

Low on factor I and low on factor II:

Houseboy	Conductor	Vendor (sweepstakes)
Dispatcher (bus, etc.)	Market vendor	Cabin boy
Deliveryman	Driver (car)	Garbage collector
Hotel boy	Lavandera	Municipal street cleaner
Storeboy	Truck loader	Waitress, waiter
Housemaid		

Low on factor I and medium on factor II:

Coconut gatherer	Tenant farmer	Dock worker
Driver (truck, bus)	Market sweeper	Street sweeper (caminero)
Baker	Cook	Painter (house)
Herbilario	Janitor	Pedicab driver
Unskilled factory work	Warehouseman	Barber
Mason	Tartanilla driver	Wage laborer

Low on factor I and high on factor II:

Charcoal maker	Shingle maker	Bicycle mechanic
Copra maker	Making pottery	Road roller operator
Shoe repairman	Watch repairman	Weaving mats
Gardener	Making rope	Abaca stripper
Farm laborer	Telephone lineman	Weaving sawali
Welder	Blacksmith	Butcher
Firewood gatherer	Making fishing equipment	Restaurant owner
Tuba gatherer	Weaving fishnets	

Medium on factor I and low on factor II:

Barrio captain	Forestryman	Policeman
Private messenger	Theatre employee	Barrio council member
Hospital attendant	Municipal secretary	Provincial clerk
Sales clerk	Sidewalk vendor	Provincial guard
Town council member	Market tax collector	Petty trade (Negosyo)
Postmaster	Security guard	

Medium on factor I and medium on factor II:

Electrician	Hairdresser	Tailor, seamstress
Tobacco planter	Cattle merchant	Traditional midwife
Beautician	Photographer	

Medium on factor I and high on factor II:

Carpenter	Construction worker	Logging, logger
Furniture maker	Mechanic (auto)	Tinsmith
Crane operator	Plumber	Printing press worker
Selling gravel	Fisherman	Pedicab owner-manager
Poultry producer	Radio technician	

High on factor I and low on factor II:

Agricultural Ext. Agent	Insurance agent	Mayor
Register of deeds	Accountant	Chief clerk
High school teacher	Movie artist	PACD worker
College professor	Private secretary	Salesman, agent
Collector at port	Sanitary inspector	Supervisor of malaria unit
Chief of police	Paymaster	Public service comm. member

High on factor I and medium on factor II:

Land owner	Registered midwife	Surveyor
Bakery owner-manager	Copra merchant	Lawyer
Butchery owner-manager	City treasurer	Corporation executive
Elementary school teacher	Grounds supervisor	Public health nurse
Soldier	Vice mayor	Nurse
Office worker	Priest, minister	Sari-Sari store owner
Author	Civil engineer	Restaurant owner-manager
Sugar merchant		

High on factor I and high on factor II:

Mechanical engineer	Owner-manager factory	Physician, doctor
Piggery operator	Hacendero	Chemical engineer
Farm owner-operator	Musician	Raising coconuts
Shoemaker	Dentist	Raising abaca

Table 8 confirms the observation that factor one is a general prestige factor. It also suggests that factor two discriminates on a continuum of traditional, independent occupations versus more modern governmental and bureaucratic occupations. This suggests the existence of an important variable of modern versus traditional which warrants further exploration. For example, on the low (modern) end of factor two are found conductors, drivers, teachers, insurance agents, etc. On the high (traditional) end of factor two are found shingle makers, potters, *hacenderos*, physicians, etc. Perhaps, if it were possible to separate the traditional component from the free, independent component, two somewhat distinct factors would emerge. The identification of the traditional-modern component is very important in the study of change from a traditional, agrarian economy to a more modern and urbanized one.

Validation of Occupational Classification

The data on occupational analysis just reported provided several different ways of classifying occupations. It also provided some suggestive substantive information about occupations. In this section an attempt will be made to validate the results of that analysis. The objective is to find a method of classifying occupations appropriate for the measurement of the social status of incumbents. This will be done by correlating the various occupational classifications with "objective" characteristics of occupational incumbents in order to see how high the correlations are.

Four methods of classifying occupations are to be compared. They are as follows:

1. Factor scores on factor one. Presumably the use of these factor scores is an optimum method of identifying the prestige component

- since they combine the prestige aspect of all eleven variables used in the occupational analysis.
2. Factor scores on factor two. Factor two would hardly be expected to be the best method of classifying occupations but it is of interest to see how well it correlates with objective characteristics of incumbents.
 3. Variable number ten. Variable ten (prestige) has the highest communality on the factors in the factor analysis (Table 6). Since it is central to factor one, one would expect it to correlate highly with the characteristics of incumbents.
 4. White collar-manual distinction. The simplicity of this classification is extremely appealing. Therefore, it is of considerable interest to compare its correlations with those of the other methods of classifying occupations.

Data on individuals who actually held the respective occupations to be used in the analysis were required for this validation of the occupational classifications. These data were available in the 1966 household enumeration performed by Polson and Pal. A sub-sample of 1252 male household heads was drawn from their original list of 3212 respondents. It was possible to classify these 1252 males into 118 of the 148 occupations used in the analysis reported above. They were each assigned scores or values for the four occupational classifications listed above.

The following characteristics of households and of household heads were available to correlate with these occupational variables:

1. Whether or not the household was in a *poblacion*.
2. Age of household head.
3. Whether or not the household head was born in the village in which he was living in 1966.
4. Educational attainment of the household head.
5. Number of children in the household.
6. Number of relatives in the household.
7. Whether the household head was reported as having "gotten ahead" during the last ten years.
8. House score (similar to a Chapin living room score).
9. Wealth rating. Three judges rated the household heads into three classes as follows: (1) well to do; (2) poor; and (3) more or less average. The wealth rating used here is an average of these three ratings for each household head.¹²

There are several features of these data which make them especially useful. In the first place, they are taken from the Dumaguete area and provide validation in terms of the local situation. Second, the wealth rating is quite similar in the stimulus provided to the respondent to several of the items in the occupational rating questionnaire. This is especially true of the prestige question (number ten). The correlation between these two variables in a rough way represents the contribution of occupation to social prestige of the individual household head.

On the negative side, these variables were selected because they were available, not because they were arrived at deductively. Furthermore, using only household heads as respondents restricts the range of occupations. It eliminates, for example, occupations such as houseboys. This probably tends to decrease the variation in occupational scores and, consequently, may tend to reduce the correlations with other variables.

The four by nine correlation matrix in Table 9 presents the basic set of correlation of validating criteria against the four methods of classifying occupations.

The correlations all appear to be rather low. The implication is that occupation, no matter how it is classified, may not be a very good indicator of general social position. There is a temptation to compare these correlations with the C values computed above (Table 3). However, since the correlation coefficient and the

TABLE 9
CORRELATION MATRIX AMONG VALIDATING CRITERIA
AND OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATIONS

Validating Criteria (Characteristics of Household heads)	Occupational Classifications			
	Factor I	Factor II	Prestige Scores	White collar-manual distinction
1. Live in <u>poblacion</u>	+.07*	-.22	+.10	+.19
2. Age	.11	.04	.09	.03
3. Born in village of present residence	.03	-.01	.04	.05
4. Education	.18	-.21	.21	.27
5. Number of children in house	.09	.00	.09	.03
6. Number of other rela- tives in house	.15	-.04	.16	.12
7. Did household head "get ahead?"	.21	-.05	.21	.19
8. House score	.26	-.05	.27	.23
9. Wealth rating	.28	-.10	.28	.27
10. Average of absolute value of correlations	.15	.08	.16	.15

*These are correlation coefficients (r). Values of r above .062 are statistically significant at the .05 level with 1252 cases (J. P. Guilford, Psychometric Methods (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1936), p. 58).

coefficient of contingency (C) are quite different statistics, such a comparison would not be meaningful.

When these correlations are compared with each other an interesting fact emerges. Apparently the best classifications of occupations, in terms of their ability to correlate with other variables, are occupational prestige scores, the white collar-manual distinction, and factor one. Factor one is no better than the white collar-manual distinction, and poorer than the prestige scores. The major implication of this is that the results of the factor analysis need not be pur-

sued further. If occupational prestige provides a better set of continuous scale values than the factor scores, it seems best, in the interest of simplicity, to retain that scale rather than to use the factor scores. These correlations also imply that the white collar-manual distinction is approximately as good a method of classifying as any other suggested here.

Occupational Prestige Index

It will be recalled that the eleven variables describing occupations were transformed into standardized scores (Z scores). In order to use

the occupational prestige score for correlation and regression, it is desirable to make another transformation in order to eliminate negative values and to reduce the number of significant digits which need to be taken into consideration. Both of these objectives are motivated by convenience. In order to achieve them a transformation was chosen which would spread the values between 0 and 99. Given the values taken by the original scores, the following transformation seemed most appropriate:

$$\text{Index} = 20X + 40$$

Where X is the original Z score for each occupation and Index is the new set of transformed scores.

These new scores have a mean of 40 and a standard deviation of 20. They are computed in two significant digits with no decimals. This, then, is the occupational prestige index, presented with the reservations which should already be apparent to perceptive readers.¹³

This occupational prestige index has been used by the writer in a study of social stratification and mobility in the Dumaguete Trade Area. For that application the index values were interpolated to the Philippine Occupational Classification (1960). The index is presented here for possible use by interested scholars. However, the reader should be fully aware of a number of serious limitations. Therefore, a brief discussion of the index itself follows:

In the first place, it will be recalled that quite a small number of respondents rated some of the occupations.¹⁴ This could be expected to result in unstable values (i.e., values which would fluctuate considerably if this same procedure were repeated again and again). Consequently, the precise position of occupations within about five steps cannot be taken very seriously. It is interesting to note, however, that there are few obvious anomalies. One of the obvious ones which does exist is the fact that vice mayor is ranked above mayor. However, in several cases apparently similar occupations are ranked very closely together. One example of this is High

School Teacher and Elementary School Teacher (Index values of 66 and 65).

It is also instructive to compare these rankings with those done by Tiryakian and Castillo which have been discussed above. There are, of course, fundamental differences among the methods used in these three researches. The Tiryakian study had a sample of 641 rural and urban adults not more than 90 miles from Manila in any direction. His sample was selected in much the same way as the one reported above. Furthermore, he states that most of his respondents were school teachers (Tiryakian 1957-58). However, he asked the respondents to rank a deck of cards which had the names of the occupations written on them. He examined only one variable, occupational prestige. He correlated his results with results from other countries and obtained an average correlation coefficient of .94 with the United States, Great Britain, New Zealand, Japan, and Germany.

Castillo's respondents were high school seniors from six high schools, five of which were in the greater Manila area. She used the same five-point rating technique used in this study. She also found rather high correlations between her results and results from the United States and Japan.

Correlations have been computed between the prestige scores derived from this research and those presented by Castillo and Tiryakian. In order to do this, of course, it was necessary to select those occupations which actually appear in the two researches to be correlated. In both cases there were twenty occupations which could be used for these computations. The correlation with the Castillo result was .86 (Spearman's rho). The correlation with the Tiryakian result was .95.

Castillo noted unusually high ranks for several occupations in the Philippines. Of particular interest were farmers and soldiers (Castillo 1961: 139, 147). Although Tiryakian does not comment upon this aspect of his results, he also has

farmer and soldier ranked unusually high in the Philippines. Thus, it is interesting to note that this research in the Dumaguete area also has high rankings for farmer and soldiers.¹⁵ Of course, the rank of the military is very interesting from the point of view of Philippine cultural values. However, the rank of farmer is far more significant from the point of view of the number of people affected. The prestige of farming will

dominate the total trend from rural to urban since in a rapidly industrializing country with a peasant agricultural base most people originate on farms. If farming has high prestige this process will mean a general reduction in prestige as a concomitant of industrialization (Smelser and Lipset 1966:47). On the other hand, if farming has low prestige, this process will mean a general increase in prestige.

Appendix

Occupational Prestige Index, Score, and Rank for 148 Occupations

Occupation Name	Occupational Prestige		
	Index	Score	Rank
Author	92	2.583	1.0
Hacendero	88	2.409	2.0
Vice mayor	83	2.163	3.0
Lawyer	76	1.806	4.0
Soldier	75	1.771	5.0
College professor	75	1.750	6.0
Physician, doctor	74	1.713	7.0
Public health nurse	74	1.690	8.0
Chemical engineer	73	1.644	9.0
Mayor	71	1.560	10.0
Chief of police	71	1.553	11.0
Movie artist	71	1.537	12.0
Public service commission	71	1.535	13.0
Corporation executive	70	1.494	14.0
City treasurer	67	1.374	15.5
Supervisor malaria unit	67	1.374	15.5
Accountant	67	1.360	17.0
Priest, minister	67	1.359	18.0
Nurse	67	1.341	19.0
Sari-Sari store owner	66	1.309	20.0
High school teacher	66	1.285	21.0
Elementary school teacher	65	1.247	22.0
Dentist	64	1.214	23.0
Civil engineer	63	1.174	24.5
Musician	63	1.174	24.5
Raising coconuts	63	1.144	26.0
Mechanical engineer	62	1.094	27.0
Salesman, agent	60	0.991	28.0
Butchery owner	60	0.979	29.0
Copra merchant	59	0.957	30.0
Paymaster	57	0.857	31.0
Private secretary	57	0.838	32.0
Radio technician	56	0.808	33.0
Raising abaca	55	0.749	34.0
Farm owner-operator	55	0.734	35.0
Forestryman	54	0.712	36.0
Land owner	54	0.705	37.0

Occupation Name	Occupational Prestige		
	Index	Score	Rank
Traditional midwife	54	0.684	38.0
Owner of small factory	53	0.667	39.0
Sugar merchant	53	0.657	40.0
Bakery owner-manager	53	0.631	41.0
Barrio captain	52	0.604	42.0
PACD worker	52	0.600	43.5
Pedicab owner-manager	52	0.600	43.5
Barrio council member	52	0.588	45.0
Restaurant owner	52	0.577	46.0
Municipal secretary	51	0.538	47.0
Chief clerk	50	0.521	48.0
Office worker	50	0.488	49.0
Poultry producer	50	0.483	50.0
Town council member	49	0.456	51.0
Register of deeds	49	0.431	52.0
Sanitary inspector	48	0.404	53.0
Selling gravel	48	0.400	54.0
Insurance agent	47	0.329	55.5
Grounds supervisor	47	0.329	55.5
Surveyor	46	0.305	57.0
Provincial guard	46	0.300	58.0
Registered midwife	46	0.291	59.0
Petty trade	46	0.282	60.0
Postmaster	46	0.279	61.5
Shoemaker	46	0.279	61.5
Agricultural Extension Agent	44	0.214	63.0
Printing press worker	44	0.183	64.5
Beautician	44	0.183	64.5
Hospital attendant	43	0.156	66.0
Policeman	43	0.154	67.0
Provincial clerk	43	0.151	68.0
Market tax collector	41	0.047	69.0
Collector at port	40	-0.002	70.0
Carpenter	39	-0.067	71.0
Cattle merchant	39	-0.073	72.0
Furniture maker	38	-0.081	73.0
Mechanic (auto)	38	-0.109	74.0

Occupation Name	Occupational Prestige		
	Index	Score	Rank
Photographer	38	-0.123	75.0
Piggery operator	37	-0.134	76.0
Sales clerk	37	-0.140	77.0
Tailor, seamstress	37	-0.149	78.0
Security guard	36	-0.178	79.0
Theatre employee	36	-0.190	80.0
Electrician	36	-0.198	81.0
Private messenger	35	-0.236	82.0
Logging, logger	34	-0.299	83.0
Crane operator	33	-0.333	84.0
Construction worker	33	-0.357	85.5
Truck or bus conductor	33	-0.357	85.5
Tobacco planter	32	-0.393	87.0
Fisherman	32	-0.422	88.0
Copra maker	31	-0.427	89.0
Plumber	31	-0.434	90.0
Road roller operator	30	-0.489	91.0
Abaca stripper	30	-0.501	92.0
Telephone lineman	30	-0.522	93.0
Hairdresser	29	-0.537	94.0
Vendor (sweepstakes)	29	-0.547	95.0
Tinsmith	29	-0.559	96.0
Pedicab driver	28	-0.588	97.0
Weaving sawali	28	-0.601	98.0
Making fishing equipment	28	-0.605	99.0
Butcher	28	-0.624	100.0
Bus or truck dispatcher	27	-0.631	101.0
Tenant farmer	27	-0.653	102.0
Deliveryman	27	-0.657	103.0
Painter (house)	26	-0.686	104.0
Sidewalk vendor	26	-0.689	105.0
Tartanilla driver	26	-0.721	106.0
Making pottery	25	-0.763	107.0
Tuba gatherer	23	-0.828	108.0
Cook	23	-0.845	109.5
Weaving fishnets	23	-0.845	109.5
Unskilled factory work	23	-0.854	111.0
Baker	23	-0.864	112.0
Warehouseman	22	-0.876	113.0
Tomato planter	22	-0.877	114.0
Watch repairman	22	-0.881	115.0
Shingle maker	22	-0.907	116.0
Gardener	22	-0.922	117.0
Shoe repairman	22	-0.925	118.0
Driver (truck)	21	-0.953	119.0

Occupation Name	Occupational Prestige		
	Index	Score	Rank
Janitor	20	-1.019	120.0
Waitress, waiter	18	-1.080	122.5
Storeboy	18	-1.080	122.5
Farm laborer	18	-1.080	122.5
Driver (car)	18	-1.080	122.5
Bicycle mechanic	18	-1.082	125.0
Blacksmith	18	-1.084	126.0
Barber	18	-1.089	127.0
Market vendor	18	-1.108	128.0
Welder	17	-1.147	129.0
Market sweeper	16	-1.183	130.0
Lavendera	16	-1.209	131.0
Mason	16	-1.216	132.0
Wage laborer	15	-1.228	133.0
Houseboy	14	-1.276	134.0
Making rope	14	-1.279	135.0
Herbilario	14	-1.304	136.0
Coconut gathering	14	-1.316	137.5
Making charcoal	14	-1.316	137.5
Weaving mats	14	-1.320	139.0
Cabin boy	13	-1.352	140.0
Hotel boy	13	-1.363	141.0
Dock worker	11	-1.435	142.0
Garbage collector	11	-1.445	143.0
Street sweeper	10	-1.486	144.0
Municipal street sweeper	8	-1.591	145.0
Truck loader	8	-1.594	146.0
Firewood gatherer	8	-1.595	147.0
Housemaid	4	-1.786	148.0

FOOTNOTES

2. Form uses the terms "occupational societies" and "status societies". In his terms traditional, unindustrialized societies are organized around status rather than around occupation.

3. Form suggests a distinction which is central to this issue. He suggests that it is possible to distinguish between occupational societies and status societies. In the former, of course, occupation is a major determinant of the social position of the individual. In the latter, on the other hand, other criteria predominate.

4. Republic of the Philippines, National Economic Council, Office of Statistical Coordination and Standards, *Philippine Occupational Classification* (Manila: Draft copy corrected according to final copy used in 1960 Census, mimeo).

5. In particular, it does not distinguish among skill levels in the first digit of the classification as does that used by the U.S. Census. In the U.S. this skill level distinction has many socio-economic correlates, which makes it very useful to the social scientist.

6. This conclusion the author has drawn from the occupations considered to be "functionally important" in Castillo, "Occupational Evaluation in the Philippines" (1961).

7. This was the third in a series of studies of the Dumaguete Trade Area carried out by Professors Polson and Pal. The other two are reported in Robert A. Polson and Agaton P. Pal, 1952 and 1958.

8. A copy of the final instrument is presented in Voth 1969.

9. The village captain is the chief executive officer of the village. His actual powers are extremely limited, as the major locus of local government is the municipality level.

10. Originally, of course, there were only nine items. Two more were added by the response categories used for the item on the nature of work. See page 48.

11. The communality of a variable is the sum of its squared correlation coefficients with the various factors. In the principal factor approach estimates of these communalities must be supplied in advance. In the principal components approach they are assumed to be one.

12. See Voth 1969, pp. 184-186, for the actual questions used by Polson and Pal in 1966.

13. These prestige index values are presented in the appendix.

14. The average number of respondents for the 148 occupations was eight. The range was from five to sixteen (Voth 1969, pp. 167-171).

15. In another paper the writer intends to deal with the anomalous ranking of farming in greater detail. Briefly, there is reason to believe that the prestige attributed to farming in the Philippines does not reflect the reward and motivation structure accurately. See Voth 1969, pp. 154-158.

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