Social Science Information

With articles contributed by *Social Weather Stations:*

**Self-Sustained Quality of Life Monitoring:
The Philippine Social Weather Reports**
**An Exploratory Study of Graft and Corruption
in the Philippines**
**Correlates of Premarital Sex Experience
among Filipino Youth**
**Filipino Attitudes Toward Unorthodox
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Profiles of Associate Members
College of Mass Communication,
University of the Philippines
National Tax Research Center
Philippine-China Development Resource Center
Social Research Center, University of Santo Tomas

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Editorial

In this issue of the *PSSC Social Science Information* for the first quarter of 1999, five articles were contributed by the Social Weather Stations (SWS). An associate member of the PSSC since 1986, SWS is a private, non-stock, non-profit social research institute engaged in public opinion polling in the Philippines.

The first article, *Self-Sustained Quality of Life Monitoring: The Philippine Social Weather Reports* by Mahar Mangahas and Linda Luz Guerrero discusses how SWS institutionalized the measurement of social indicators by means of a unique Social Weather Reporting System, based on a series of national surveys operated on a self-sustaining, syndicate-cum-omnibus basis. Starting on a semestral basis in 1986 and running quarterly since 1992, the Social Weather Reports include, among others, self-rated poverty, gaining/losing compared to a year ago, optimism/pessimism about the coming year, crime victimization, and government performance. Key to its success is the consistent focus on indicators of democracy and governance, and the accuracy in predicting election results.

The second article, *An Exploratory Study of Graft and Corruption in the Philippines* by Linda Luz Guerrero and Steven Rood reports on the study sponsored by The Asia Foundation which examined the Filipinos' cultural definition of graft and corruption. It involved consultations among NGOs, government and private sector groups on what aspects of graft and corruption can the average citizen be asked about, and from these consultations, a nationwide survey about graft and corruption was designed and conducted. The survey covered the Filipino public's general assessment of graft and corruption in government, descriptions of situations involving government officials, perceptions of wrong practices among government officials, corruption in the private sector, and personal experiences of graft and corruption.

The third article, *Correlates of Premarital Sex Experience among Filipino Youth* by Gerardo Sandoval discusses the results of the sealed envelope questionnaire inquiring, among others, about experiences of premarital sex among Filipino youth based on the surveys conducted by SWS for the National Youth Commission in April 1996 and November 1997. The factors examined in relation to premarital sex experience include socio-demographic characteristics, economic indicators, religious orientation, mass media exposure, and satisfaction with certain aspects in life.

The fourth article, *Filipino Attitudes Toward Unorthodox Sexual Relations: 1991 and 1998* by Carijane Dayag-Laylo and Patricia Angeli Belmonte-Montelibano examines the current attitudes toward sexual relations, particularly the unorthodox ones, such as premarital, extra-marital and homosexual relationships. In 1991, Social Weather Stations has looked into this topic and found out that most Filipinos hold restrictive views towards unorthodox sexual relations. Results of the recent 1998 survey reveal that conservative views still pervade. What contributes to such a conservative outlook? Age and marital status are factors, which slightly affect attitudes toward unorthodox sexual relations. Religious practice shows superficial association with restrictive-permissive dispositions. Attitudinal correlates prove to have moderate effects particularly the attitude towards cohabitation. In addition to these identified variables, future studies should also monitor other aspects such as media exposure, actual sexual behavior, libertarian-authoritarian dimension, parental responsibility and number of children, to aid in further explaining variance in attitudes toward unorthodox sexual relations.

The fifth and last article, 'SEARCH SWS: The Easy Way to Research' by Rumelia CE Mañgalindan discusses SWS's research facility instituted in April 1997. Standing for 'System for Easy Access to the Archives of Social Weather Stations,' SEARCH SWS is the first collection of social survey data in the Philippines that is open for public access. This facility archives all the surveys conducted by SWS since 1985, as well as over a hundred data sets of foreign surveys conducted by institutions which SWS has networked with.

This issue also features the organizational profiles of four PSSC associate members: College of Mass Communication, UP Diliman; National Tax Research Center based in Port Area, Manila; the Philippine-China Development Resource Center in New Manila, Quezon City; and the UST Social Research Center in España, Manila.

Self-Sustained Quality of Life Monitoring:
The Philippine Social Weather Reports[1]

MAHAR MANGAHAS AND LINDA LUZ B. GUERRERO*

Abstract

In the Philippines, measurement of social indicators covering Quality of Life and other social concerns has been institutionalized by means of a unique Social Weather Reporting system. The Social Weather Reports are based on a series of national surveys operated on a self-sustaining, syndicate-cum-omnibus basis by a private research institute which operates as an 'enterprising non-profit'. The surveys began on a semestral basis in 1986 and have been run quarterly since 1992. Among their regular topics are self-rated poverty, QOL gaining/losing and optimism/pessimism, victimization by common crimes, satisfaction with the performance of government institutions and officials, public opinion on contemporaneous critical issues, and electoral prospects. Since the topics all deal with public issues, subscribers to the Social Weather Reports are mostly from the public sector, plus some corporate and diplomatic institutions. Access of non-subscribers to the survey findings is on a delayed basis; all surveys are archived for public use. The most important factors behind the success of the Social Weather Reports have been their consistent focus on indicators of democracy and governance and their record in predicting the outcomes of the 1992, 1995, and 1998 national elections in the Philippines.

1. Historical development of Philippine social indicators

In the Philippines, the social indicators movement dates from the Social Indicators Project of the Development Academy of the Philippines,[2] which drew up a set of indicators for representing national well-being, including not only some existing indicators but also some experimental ones which it tested in a provincial pilot survey (Mangahas 1976, 1977). Inasmuch as the project was undertaken during the authoritarian regime (1972-86) of Ferdinand Marcos, the most noteworthy among its innovations were self-rated poverty and some subjective indicators of political well-being.

Social indicators do not grow on trees, as though waiting to be harvested, but are deliberately constructed by institutions. In due time, the DAP advanced from its previous conceptual work to the practical demonstration of new social indicators based on social surveys, in what was called the Social Weather Stations or SWS project. The term 'social weather stations' stems from the idea that social indicators,

somewhat like meteorological indicators, might be regularly collected from 'observation posts' of social progress (cf. Ghai, Hopkins and McGranahan 1989). In 1981-83, DAP conducted several such surveys in Metro Manila, and one national survey, but ultimately the book which would have published the findings (Mangahas, Miranda and Paqueo 1984) was suppressed, notwithstanding the DAP charter's guarantee of academic freedom.

The possibility of generating social indicators privately, rather than by the government, was established in the final phase of the Marcos era, when a civic group, the Bishops'-Businessmen's Conference on Human Development or BBC, took the initiative to conduct and publicly report two surveys on political and social conditions of the time. The BBC required these surveys to be nationwide (n = 2,000), despite the large cost, lest anything smaller be dismissed as case studies in biased locations. One survey was funded by businessmen, and the other was joined, with sponsor's consent, with an Asia Foundation-supported poll about the legal profession.

The highly favorable public reception to the mix of opinion poll data—showing public disapproval of Marcos's legislation by decree and detention of persons by fiat (BBC 1985)—and subjective social indicators provided by these private surveys encouraged the 1985 incorporation of the private non-stock, non-profit institute Social Weather Stations or SWS, named after the DAP project, for the purpose of generating survey data for social advocacy.

SWS is a creature of the social indicators movement. It understands that a nation has a multiplicity of social concerns—pointedly including a critical concern for good governance under democratic conditions—and that achievements along any social concern should be both equitable and sustainable (Mangahas 1994). SWS defines its mission as generating new survey data along key social concerns for the three purposes of:

> *"Education: So eyes may see social conditions.*
> *Conscientization: So hearts may feel social problems.*
> *Analysis: So minds may understand their solutions.*

Two general values underlying the SWS mission are (a) a discomfort with the social status quo, and (b) a preference for democracy as a system. In relatively young democracies such as the Philippines there is a high public demand for quality-of-life monitoring when blended with opinion polling (cf. recent South African experience, per Møller 1997). An SWS survey

shows that Filipino appreciation of opinion polls is no less than that of Americans (Guerrero and Mangahas 1997). As a highly influential type of social survey, opinion polling has great potential as a source of support for Quality of Life (QOL) monitoring done in tandem.

This paper describes how the QOL in the Philippines is tracked by a Social Weather Reporting system which is not only well-accepted by influentials, but also financially sustainable. Key to SWS's success is a credibility earned by undertaking reliable surveys on controversial issues with integrity, and in particular by consistently making accurate election predictions and 'exit polls'[3] (Posadas and Sandoval 1992; Guerrero and Ramirez 1998; Mangahas, May 1998; Laquian and Laquian 1998). Politicians at the helm of many SWS client-agencies have become eager for their latest survey ratings, knowing the strong correlation with chances of winning a national election (Mangahas March 1998). The phrase 'social weather' is so popular that SWS is trademarking it.

After the May 11, 1998 presidential election, 37% of Filipino adults in the nation—52% in Metro Manila—knew of the SWS election surveys. Among those aware of the surveys, 33% called them Very Credible, 53% called them Somewhat Credible, 10% were Undecided if they were credible or not, 3% said they were Somewhat Not Credible, and only 0.6% said they were Not At All Credible, giving the SWS election surveys an excellent Net Credibility Rating of +83 (i.e., credible minus not credible).[4]

Chart 1: Self-rated Poverty: % of "poor" respondents
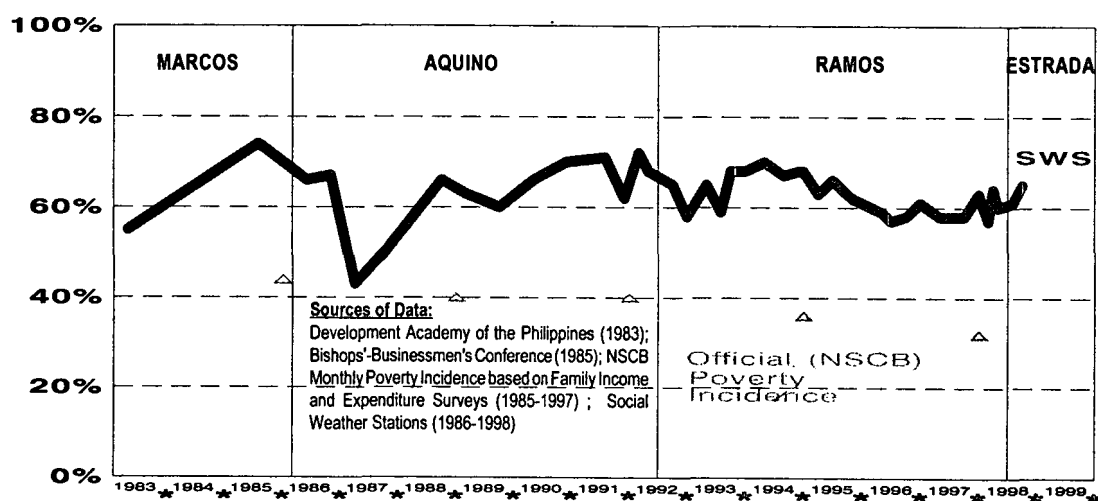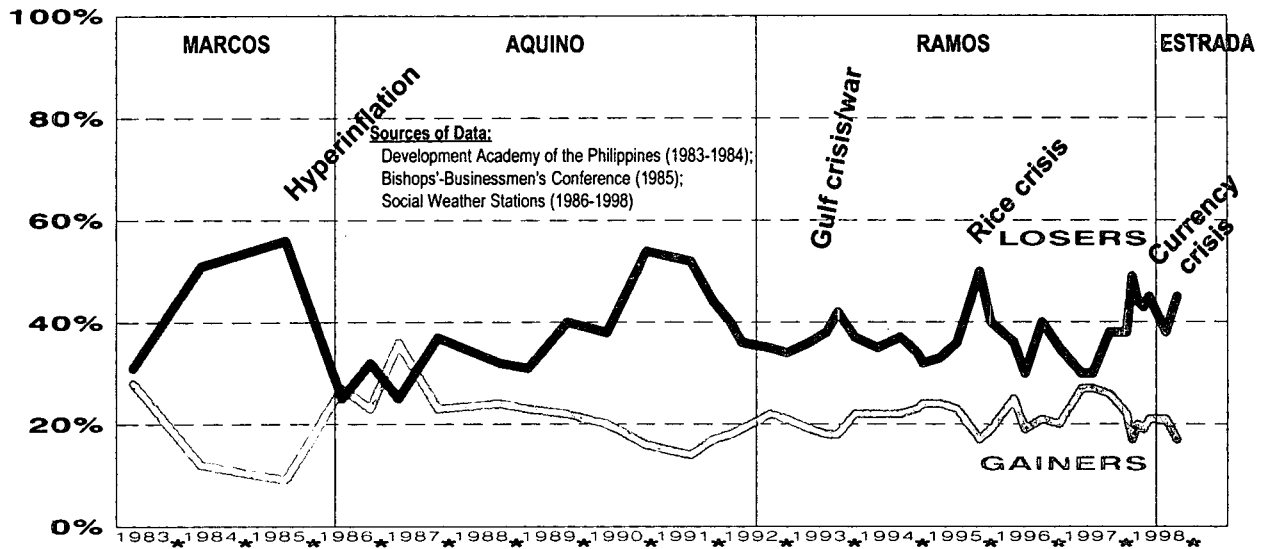Philippines, 1983 - 1998

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Chart 2: Change in quality of life
Philippines, 1983 - 1998

2. Monitoring QOL in the Social Weather Reports

SWS aims for its survey data to be socially relevant, simple to understand, and up-to-date. The accuracy of SWS surveys in elections—one of the very few social matters having an independent population count with which to compare a sample count—has helped immensely to convince skeptics of the technical quality of the quality-of-life surveys, in the same way that George Gallup's election track record promoted his bread-and-butter market research.

A Social Weather Report covers a wide array of social concerns, such as economic well-being, public safety, the quality of governance, and so forth, as well as readings of public opinion on contemporary issues. The Report's value-added increases in proportion to its ability to fill gaps in official statistics [5] (Mangahas 1991). The attached charts—on poverty, gainers/losers and optimists/pessimists with respect to QOL,[6] victimization by common crimes, satisfaction with the performance of the President, and satisfaction with government performance along selected issues—show some of the QOL indicators regularly tracked in the Reports.

For any topic, whether economic, political or social, the state of equity is conveniently depicted by means of a simple classification system from consumer research as practiced in the Philippines. The Marketing and Opinion Research Society of the Philippines has

guidelines, pertaining to dwelling appearance and amenities, which enable survey interviewers to judge respondents as Class A (rich), Class B (upper class), Class C (middle), Class D (mass), or Class E (very poor). The pertinence of socioeconomic class as a powerful discriminating variable is illustrated in Chart 3.[7]

Social Weather Reports should be issued at intervals as short as possible, to show that they are up-to-date. The sampling procedures draw from market research practices, inasmuch as these were developed in order to deliver results on time.[8] SWS is partial to subjective indicators of well-being mainly because they are respondent-friendly and thus easy to generate from surveys.

For instance, using the self-rating approach, SWS measured the incidence of poverty semestrally over 1986-90, and quarterly from 1991 to the present, producing a national time-series of 43 data points from mid-1983 to the 4th quarter of 1998. On the other hand, using the orthodox comparison of income to a poverty line, the government tracks poverty only once every three years, thus far producing data only for the five points of 1985, 1988, 1991, 1994, and 1997, the last point being no longer applicable at present since it fails to account for the current Asian economic crisis. The practical distinction between income-defined-poverty and self-rated poverty is not that one is objective and the other subjective, but that income is so complicated that surveying it is too expensive to do

Chart 3: Net optimists* by socio-economic class
Philippines, 1985-1998

MARCOS   AQUINO   RAMOS   ESTRADA

*PERCENT OPTIMISTS MINUS PERCENT PESSIMISTS of survey respondents.
Sources of Data:
Bishops'-Businessmen's Conference (1985);
Social Weather Stations (1986-1998)
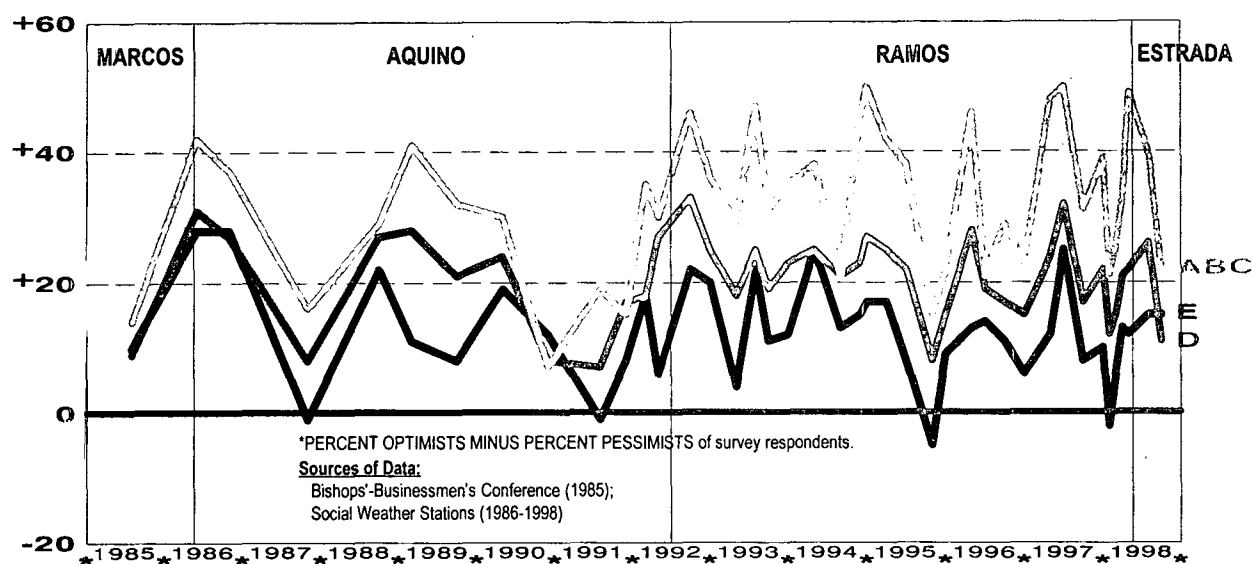
even on an annual basis. Yet only if tracked quarterly can poverty data compete for public attention with the quarterly-estimated Gross National Product, which is merely growth-oriented.

Competition for public attention demands, furthermore, that social indicators be national in scope, and thus based on nationally-representative surveys. The need for wide geographical scope and for frequent updating puts a heavy financial responsibility on a private institution carrying out a social indicators monitoring program on a sustained basis. Thus, for reasons of economy, the SWS sample sizes were reduced in 1987 from the former 2,000 (error margin of 2.2% in estimating national percentages) to 1,200 (2.9% error margin). The periodicity of the Social Weather Reports was increased gradually, in line with financial capability. During 1988-91 the semestral national surveys were interpersed with extra rounds limited to Metro Manila, and starting 1992 the national surveys became quarterly.

3. Financial sustainability

SWS can be called *an enterprising non-profit*, using the terminology of a recent article in the *Harvard Business Review* (Dees, 1998). Like any non-profit institution with a social mission, it needs financial means to sustain its mission. As advantages, it has no stockholders and thus pays out no dividends, and has corporate-income-tax-free status under Philippine law.

Like many non-profits, SWS started off with only enough financial capital to pay for printed letter-head, with mainly volunteer labor, and with in-kind donations. Out-of-pocket survey expenses in the early years came from philanthropic sources, namely Ford Foundation for four national surveys jointly done by SWS with Ateneo de Manila University in 1986-87, and the Philippine economic planning agency, NEDA, for another set of four rounds in 1988-89.

In order to be sustainable, an enterprising non-profit must generate enough revenue from some part of its operations in order to meet regular costs. In the common case that its ultimate constituents are disadvantaged groups of society with little purchasing power themselves, it usually targets a market of third-party payers with a vested interest in the welfare of those groups (Dees 1998). This market has included, in addition to government and international agencies, a handful of corporate enterprises who realize that they are affected by changes in the social environment. Since enterprising non-profits should take care that 'the tail of market profits does not wag the dog of the social mission', in the case of SWS the survey agenda is driven primarily by the public-sector market and only marginally by the private corporate market.

SWS's approach for achieving financial sustainability involves: (a) charging annual subscription fees to clients, mainly government agencies, for the privilege

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or advance information from a common data set available in Social Weather Report or SWR surveys, (b) accepting commissioned questions as rider-items in the regular SWR survey, operating as an omnibus, and (c) accepting business-like contracts for social, political or economic surveys in areas of its expertise. SWS seeks to earn market-scale surpluses from such operations in order to cross-subsidize its main mission activities. As a private, self-sustainable system of monitoring a nation's quality-of-life, the quarterly Social Weather Reports are, to our knowledge, unique in the world.

3.1 The Social Weather Report subscription system

SWS got weaned early from foundation funding, unlike its initial partner, the Jesuit-run Ateneo University, which did its own social surveys for five more years (1988-92) before eventually succumbing to foundation-fatigue. The first Social Weather Report subscriber was the Department of Agriculture, which signed up in 1988 and renewed annually for about five years. The Department of Agrarian Reform and the Department of Labor and Employment which signed up next, have remained SWS subscribers up to the present.

President Fidel V. Ramos (July 1992-June 98), whose narrow election victory was accurately predicted by SWS, took a Social Weather Report subscription through the National Security Council at the start of his term, and then regularly invited SWS to present the main Report to his cabinet each quarter; President Joseph E. Estrada (July 1998-to date) has continued the practice. Many cabinet members followed President Ramos's lead, adding face-to-face to the SWS subscriber list the portfolios of health, education, defense, foreign affairs, interior/police, justice, tourism, transportation and communications, natural resources and environment, economic planning, finance, budget, internal revenue, housing, and social welfare. As the Office of the Vice-President (who headed an anti-crime commission at the time), the Senate, the House of Representatives, and the Supreme Court came in, all three branches of government became subscribers of the Social Weather Report. A few private companies, government corporations, and individual politicians make up the balance.

SWS maintains quarterly liaison with its subscribers so that it can design questions corresponding to their current interests, for inclusion in the next survey round of the Social Weather Report. The number of items has grown so large that a survey 'round' now typically requires two, and sometimes three, questionnaires simultaneously implemented on separate national samples, each generating its own dataset. SWS differentiates its service to each subscriber, after dealing briefly with the material of common interest, by focusing each presentation on the subscriber's special concern. It is reasonable to interpret a renewal of the annual subscription as evidence that the user has found it to be worth the price, presently set at ₱320,000 (about US$8,000) for four quarterly Social Weather Reports.

To keep the subscription system viable, data from one quarter's Social Weather Report, copyrighted by SWS, are not supposed to be published in the mass media until rendered 'obsolete' by the arrival of data for the succeeding quarter. SWR data have been frequently cited by subscribers in public statements, such as the President's State of the Nation Address. A special book prepared by De La Salle University and the Fletcher School for Law and Diplomacy for the 1996 APEC summit meeting in the Philippines included an 'SWS survey tour' of the country (Mangahas 1996).

3.2. The omnibus survey system

To help make the survey vehicle for a Social Weather Report financially viable, it also serves as an omnibus for research sponsors amenable to the common sample size, geographic scope, type of respondent, and project schedule. This omnibus, for public issues, has advantages similar to those currently used for research on business issues (cf. Davis, 1986). For the use of its omnibus, SWS charges no entry fee, but either a price per questionnaire item (less if closed-ended than if open-ended), or else a total fee negotiated on the basis of the interview time required for the client's survey module.

The SWS national omnibus is quite suitable for politicians aspiring to run for positions of President, Vice-President, or Senator,[9] all of which are elected by the nation at large. The standard survey divides the country into at least four major areas, Metro Manila, the rest of Luzon (sometimes further divided into North Luzon and South Luzon), Visayas, and Mindanao, each with n = 300 for a sampling error margin of 6% per area. Sponsors need not use every geographic area; for example, the omnibus was cost-

**Chart 4: Crime victimization of any family member within the past 6 months
Philippines, 1989-1998**
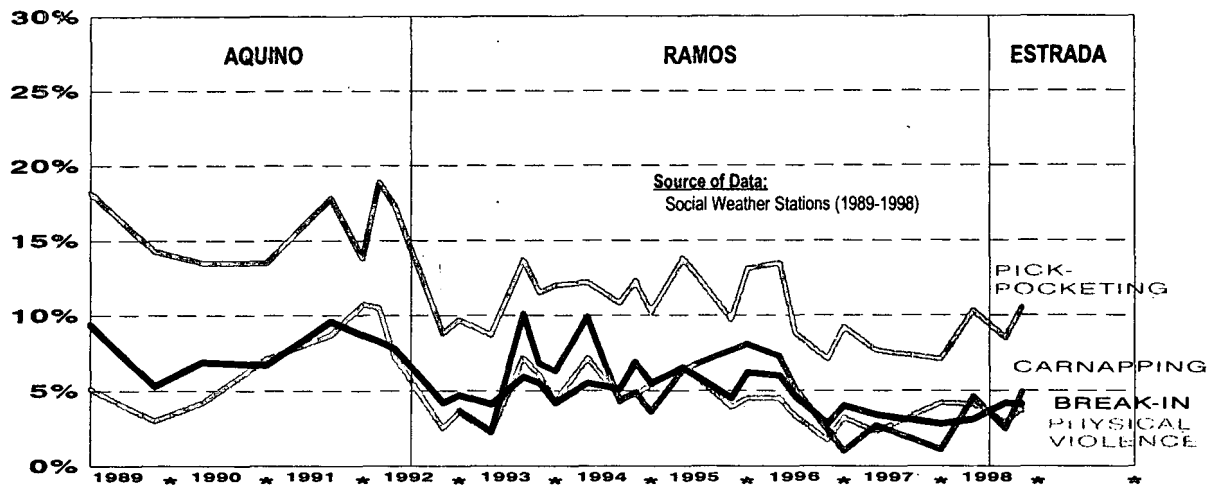
effective for a metropolitan agency interested in data about traffic-reduction schemes in Metro Manila specifically.

Omnibus sponsors may commission as little as one item to as many as twenty items per survey. For instance, many politicians, officials, and even private personalities commission only a single item, namely their public name recognition. Those with electoral ambitions may commission a few more items on what makes them popular, as well as unpopular. On the other hand, the omnibus has also carried much more detailed survey modules to test the effectivity of information campaigns for government programs on housing and on overseas employment.

Omnibus sponsors can obtain tabulations of their items not only by common socio-demographic variables, but also by the survey's QOL indicators and other items, which SWS is at liberty to share with them. If necessary, they may have a documented survey data diskette, including both commissioned items and correlates, aside from hard copy of the marginals crosstabulated by location, locale, gender, age, and socio-economic class.

The running of the omnibus surveys at regular intervals enables users to track time-trends. For instance, over 1994-97, USAID/Manila wanted to determine whether its activities were contributing to its strategic object-

ives, measured by qualitative indicators on democracy, natural resource management, population, health, and economic growth. A 1996-98 project is using non-traditional performance indicators to assess the Social Security System's impact on families and to learn about Filipino perceptions and sentiments about the social security program.

Since the Social Weather Report surveys cover social, economic, and political issues under the broad theme of *quality of life*, the implementation of a questionnaire combining syndicated or common items with omnibus or commissioned-items on different public issues has not been a problem.

3.3. Dedicated surveys

SWS has undertaken a number of special surveys,[10] many of which involve QOL indicators for specific sectors. These applications of social indicators also help to generate funds to sustain the Social Weather Reports. In 1988-89, SWS studied the socio-economic impact of the Upper Pampanga River Integrated Irrigation System on the farmers of Nueva Ecija province. SWS was tasked in 1989-93 to design indicators of rural well-being, particularly for agrarian reform beneficiaries. In 1996-98 it did two national surveys of the characteristics, attitudes, needs, aspirations and problems of the Filipino youth. SWS did five surveys for the Quezon City government

during 1993-97, to study the city's quality of life, and the impact of existing and proposed city government programs (Sandoval 1998).

SWS has been trusted by the government to survey public opinion on controversial issues. In 1993, an SWS survey established that residents of a village in Zambales province were opposed to the building of a coal-fired power plant in their area, but also had so much trust in the President that he visited them personally, and was able to change their minds about the project. On the other hand, in the same year, the government shelved its plan to operate a casino in Cagayan de Oro City, following an SWS survey showing majority opposition to it.

Some studies have combined riders on the national omnibus with dedicated surveys. In 1993-94, SWS combined a large rider with a survey of 300 metropolitan firms to study how Medicare program coverage could be expanded. Using data collected over 1985-96,[11] SWS studied the state of the legal profession and the judiciary by joining omnibus-riders, face-to-face sample surveys of lawyers in key cities, and mail surveys of about 1,000 judges throughout the country

(Mangahas, La Vina, Rood, Casambre, and Arroyo 1996).

4. Keeping to the social indicators mission

Aside from the publications[12] expected of academic institutions, SWS is actively involved in promoting social science knowledge through *data dissemination* and *training*. Such activities, which are not expected to be financially self-sustaining, serve to show that 'the tail of market profits does not wag the tail of the social mission,' despite success of SWS as an enterprising non-profit.

SWS is the only private Philippine survey institution which permanently archives all of its data for public use; its by-laws inhibit it from conducting purely proprietary surveys. By November 1998, the SWS Survey Data Bank included 165 Philippine surveys, encompassing 177,167 interviews, on 20,866 survey questions, not counting standard backgrounders. Of these 165 surveys, 75 are Social Weather Surveys, 68 of them being national in scope. In addition, the Data Bank has over 150 datasets from foreign surveys, many directly comparable with the SWS surveys. SWS has

Chart 5: People's fear for their safety
Philippines, 1985-1998
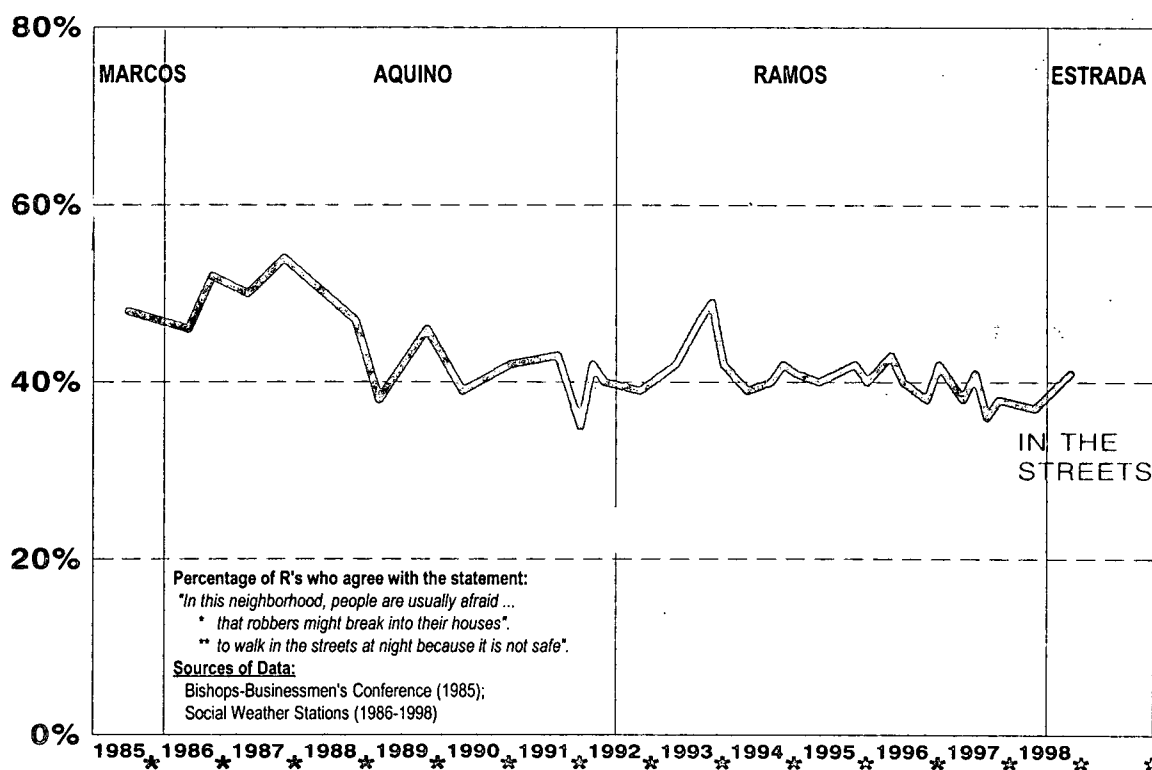
established its academic credentials internationally by representing the Philippines in the International Social Survey Programme since 1991, the World Values Survey in 1995/96, and the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems in 1994/98, all major cross-country survey networks.

For researchers' convenience, SWS has organized two electronic databases for a *System for Easy Access to the Archives of Social Weather Stations*, or *SEARCH-SWS*. One database allows access to the results of Social Weather Report surveys since 1986, cross-tabulated by location and socio-economic class, and the other contains question wordings of items used in the Social Weather Report surveys, following the original survey instruments. SWS is directly promoting the use of its survey data among social science departments of major universities, and has newly established a modest Student Paper Research Prize to encourage the use of the surveys in theses and dissertations.

To help educate the public on the value of social surveys in a democratic setting, SWS is regularly involved in training on principles of social surveys, quality-of-life indicators, and opinion polls. It has organized training programs and seminars for staff of the Bureau of Agricultural Statistics, the Bureau of Internal Revenue, and a number of local governments and academic institutions. It conducted special seminars for media companies on precision-journalism

in 1995, shortly before the senatorial elections. SWS has also provided training on social surveying and

Table 1: SWS data bank of Philippine surveys
(as of 5 November 1998)

	Data Sets*	Respondents	Items**	Data Bits
1984	1	2,000	19	38,000
1985	2	10,163	146	686,400
1986	2	3,200	260	411,200
1987	4	4,100	371	352,800
1988	3	1,800	367	244,200
1989	4	3,200	656	475,100
1990	11	11,946	1,209	1,661,200
1991	11	14,235	1,868	2,366,400
1992	17	18,397	1,594	2,310,900
1993	16	10,898	2,245	1,817,100
1994	10	9,420	1,639	1,760,100
1995	19	16,051	2,100	2,007,800
1996	23	19,866	3,011	2,764,600
1997	19	20,750	2,810	3,251,600
1998	23	31,141	2,571	2,934,100
TOTAL	165	177,167	20,866	23,081,500

*National Surveys (96 datasets)
 Special Area Surveys (69 datasets)
**excludes standard background variables

Chart 6:   Net performance ratings* of the president
Philippines, 1984 - 1998

Sources of Data:
Bishops'-Businessmen's Conference (1984-85);
Social Weather Stations (1986-1998);
Ateneo and SWS Surveys (1986-1987);
Ateneo Public Opinion Survey (1988)

MARCOS   AQUINO   RAMOS   ESTRADA

1984 1985 1986 1987 1988 1989 1990 1991 1992 1993 1994 1995 1996 1997 1998
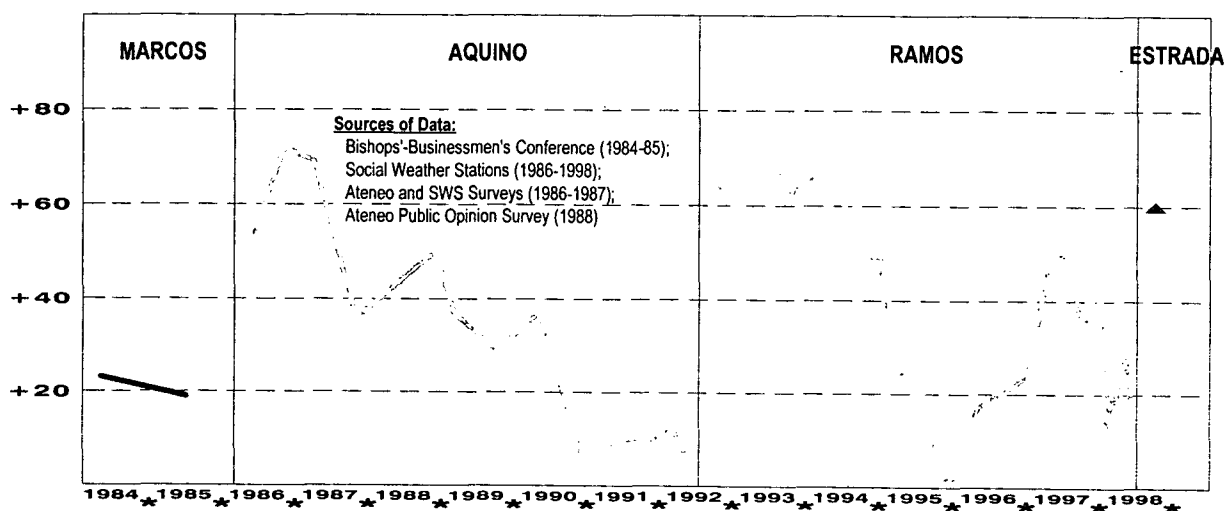
*Percent Satisfied minus Percent Dissatisfied

CHART 7: Net performance ratings* of the national administration on specific issues,
Philippines, 1987-1998
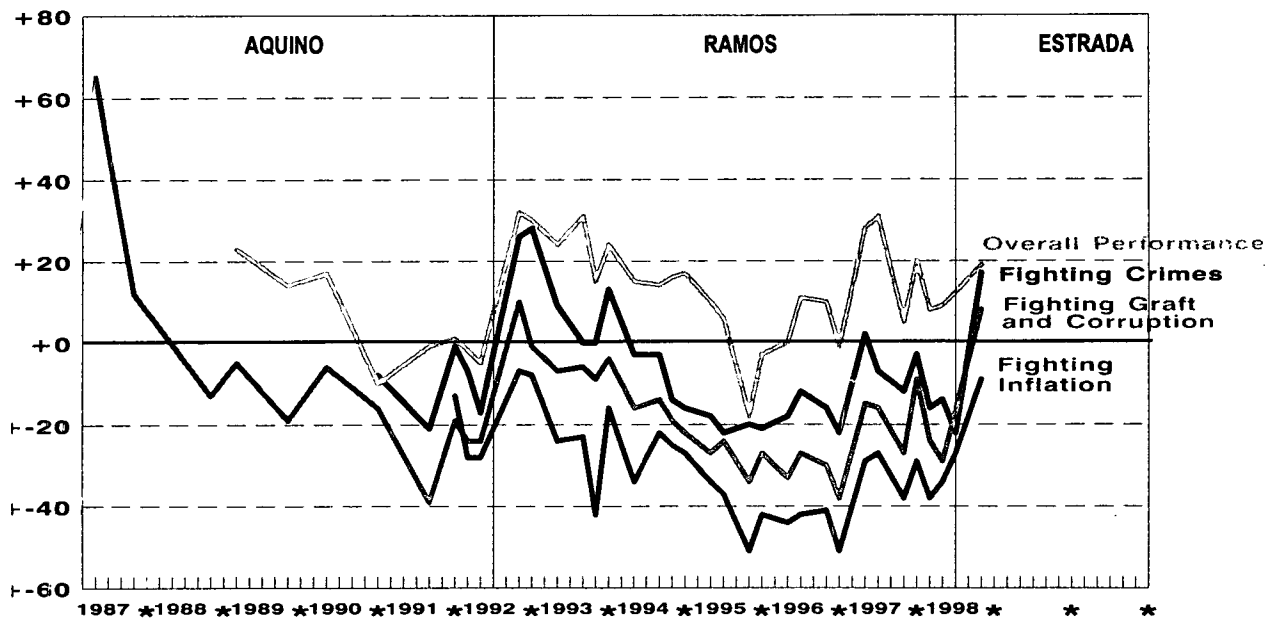
opinion polling to eleven research institutes located in several provinces and cities.

5. Concluding remarks

In his 'Where Do We Stand in the Mid-1990s?', Kenneth Land (1996) observed that social indicators work has switched from a *technocratic* model to an *enlightenment* model. The technocratic model aims for data to promote technical solutions for social problems. The enlightenment model seeks to place QOL issues on the political agenda by supplying data for public debate through the mass media—which according to Vogel (1997:104) is actually "the original purpose of social indicators: to send signals to governments, business, other organizations and the general public." These call to mind the deliberate order in the SWS mission statement: generate data first to stimulate the eye, next to influence the heart, finally to guide the mind.

SWS believes that the path towards effective social indicators is as much institutional as it is technical. There is considerable room for private institutions in the generation of social statistics for public use (Guerrero and Mangahas 1989). These institutions should develop indicators that are *meaningful, understandable, credible, frequent,* and *sustainable.*

Meaningfulness stems from keeping critical concerns on the agenda, in particular, remembering to include governance and political wellbeing. Understandability requires developing a public communication program. Credibility comes from following academic practices of transparency and passing the litmus test of predicting how citizens will vote. The frequency of social indicators should match, at least, that of the orthodox economic growth indicators. An enterprising non-profit can attain sustainability by exploiting the cost-effectivity of the omnibus approach in surveying and by actively engaging in survey research contract work, especially where quality-of-life indicators play a role.

Notes

*Mahar Mangahas is President of SWS; Linda Luz Guerrero is Vice President and Manager of Projects and Publications Group.

[1]Presented as an Invited Paper at the Second Annual Conference of the International Society for Quality-of-Life Studies, Williamsburg, Virginia, USA, December 3-6, 1998; a revised version of "Social Weather Reporting in the Philippines," paper presented at the 14th World Congress of Sociology, Working Group 6 (Social Indicators), July 26-August 1, 1998, Montreal, Canada.

[2]The DAP is a state institution mainly concerned with training the upper ranks of the bureaucracy.

[3]Strictly speaking, the SWS 'exit polls' of 1992, 1995, and 1998 were done in the dwellings of the sample of respondents on voting day, after they had already voted; to have the interviewers literally waiting outside polling places to accost voters as they leave was deemed too hazardous on account of the tendency of political partisans to mill around polling places.

[4]Based on the Social Weather Survey of June 27 to July 14, 1998, with a national sample size of 1,200.

[5] On the other hand, SWS gives low priority to the issues of indexation and of cross-country comparability. Indexation is a way of coping with a surplus of data; but the social indicators problem is one of data deficits rather than surpluses. Any requirement that a social indicator be internationally comparable before adopting it stultifies a country's initiatives to develop its own indicators.

[6]The gainers/losers indicator comes from the survey question, "Is your quality of life now better than, the same as, or worse than it was 12 months ago?" The optimists/pessimists indicator is from the question, "Do you expect your quality of life 12 months from now to get better than, stay the same as, or get worse than it is now?" Replies of 'no change' are not charted.

[7]In this case, classes A, B, and C were grouped together since the survey sample size did not warrant separating them.

[8]SWS has always used probability sampling rather than quota-sampling, however.

[9]The term for all of these positions is six years. There are 24 Senate seats, 12 of which are vacated every 3 years. The Vice-President and Senators may be reelected once, but the President may not be re-elected.

[10]Fieldstaff, data encoders and tabulators are provided by TRENDS-MBL, a respected market research company regularly subcontracted by SWS over the past 13 years.

[11]The openness of the SWS Survey Data Bank enables new projects to build on all earlier SWS surveys related to a research topic, whether or not commissioned by the same sponsor.

[12]SWS publishes monographs and Occasional Papers by SWS Fellows, and twice-monthly Social Weather Bulletins on specific survey topics, including tables, charts and the original survey questions. For general information, see the SWS webpage at htt://wwn.sws.org.ph.

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An Exploratory Study of Graft and Corruption in the Philippines

LINDA LUZ B. GUERRERO AND STEVEN A. ROOD*

1. Background of the study

In keeping with The Asia Foundation's long-term goal to promote mutually beneficial state-society relations, among others, it provided a 6-month support (Phase I) to Social Weather Stations for an exploratory study on public perceptions on graft and corruption. In particular, the support covered survey work and consultations to examine cultural definitions of corruption among Filipinos.

A Phase II will be designed to specify which sectors and levels are perceived by the Filipinos to be vulnerable to corruption.

2. Activities undertaken by the study

Initial probe. The first activity, undertaken at Social Weather Stations' initiative even before the beginning of Phase I, was a simple open-ended question asked of voting-age Filipino adults to the March-April 1998 Social Weather Report national survey:

> *Many people complain about graft and corruption in government. What, to you, are examples of graft and corruption in government? You may give up to three examples.*

Such open-ended questions are a "soft" way to begin the investigation. Often respondents will merely offer generalized responses, but this probe appropriately provides an empirically-based starting point for Phase I proper.

Conduct of group discussions. The results of the above probe were then used as a starting discussion point for a series of group discussions with three sectors:

- Philippine NGOs such as the Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism, Institute for Popular Democracy, Transparency International (held on August 13, 1998).

The main question asked was *"What aspects of graft and corruption can the average citizen be asked about?"* Three separate subgroups produced suggested question sequences. In addition, background variables were suggested, such as whether the respondent works for the government or has relatives in government.

- Government entities concerned with graft and corruption, like the Sandigan Bayan, the Ombudsman, Presidential Commission on Good Government, Presidential Management Staff, along with bilateral and multi-lateral institutions such as USAID, the ADB, and the World Bank (held on August 18, 1998).

The discussion was conducted in a plenary format, with the group as a whole used as resource persons. The focus was on types of graft and corruption. The group was very much in favor of limiting the meaning of "graft and corruption" to activities involving the government.

- The private sector, such as the Makati Business Club, Management Association of the Philippines, Philippine Chamber of Commerce and Industry (held on August 21, 1998).

The format was very much an informal roundtable discussion. The private sector was of the opinion that it was important to include consideration of graft and corruption outside of the government. (The practices of purchasing officers, for instance, are said to be the same in the government and in the private sector.)

The group discussions asked the help of these concerned sectors to interpret the results of the initial probe, gain their insights as to how the topic should be approached and thus enlist them from the very beginning in the design of the more detailed question module.

Design of the question items. Based on the inputs from the above mentioned discussions and the corruption literature, the question module was developed. Perhaps the most difficult part was limiting the total number of questions to what could be put into one questionnaire–a task made easier by the prospect of a second phase survey.

The survey module consisted of some 28 questions and focused more precisely on definitions of corruption. Close-ended questions elicited responses to possible aspects of graft and corruption that have been delineated in earlier open-ended responses, or aspects which were brought out in the group discussions. There were also items which asked about the effects of graft and corruption on their quality of life. (See Annex A for the survey module.)

Field work implementation and design of sampling scheme. The module was implemented within the 3rd quarter round of the Social Weather Report Survey which ran during September 11 to 29, 1998 (hereon to be referred to as the September 1998 survey). The survey within which the module was implemented divided the entire Philippines into four major areas: the National Capital Region, Balance Luzon (areas outside of NCR but within Luzon), Visayas and Mindanao. Except for NCR, which is totally urban, the three other major study areas are further subdivided into urban and rural areas. The sample size of the survey is 1,200 voting-age adults (i.e. 300 for each of the four study areas), which has a margin of error of +/-3%. (Refer to Annex B for the details of the sampling scheme.)

Dissemination workshop. The preliminary analysis of results was presented at a dissemination workshop on December 11, 1998 by Linda Guerrero (Project Director) and Steven Rood (Principal Investigator). Among others, key informants of the different group discussions participated once again. Media covered the presentation.

3. Socio-demographic profile of survey respondents

Table 1 shows the socio-demographic profile of the survey respondents. As predetermined by census weights, 15% of the respondents come from the National Capital Region, 42% from the balance of Luzon, 20% from the Visayas, and 23% from Mindanao. Also pre-determined is gender, with a 50-50 division.

Majority of the respondents live in the urban areas (59%), while 41% in the rural areas. A little over a third (36%) belong to the 45 and above age bracket. The youth (18-24 years old) comprise 16%; the intermediate young (25-34 years), 23%; and the middle aged (35-44 years), 25%.

A large majority are poor (D class, 71%); 17% are destitute; and a tenth belong to the upper middle classes (11%).

A plurality completed high school (40%); a few pursued college (15%). Majority are working (57%).

4. Context of the study

The September 1998 national survey of citizen attitudes towards graft and corruption is not the first time Social Weather Stations has results relevant to this topic. It can be expected that any issue that is of such great relevance and interest to the public will naturally crop up in the survey agenda pursued by the Social Weather Stations. In setting the context of the September 1998 results, some of the enduring aspects of public response to corruption issues and what the public counts as graft and corruption are explored.

4.1 Attitudes towards fighting corruption

Interestingly enough, given the attention paid to corruption issues in the media, citizens do not typically cite these as among the top issues facing the country. As seen in Table 2, over the years the top concern is reserved for more directly economic problems, particularly high prices and unemployment. Far behind these comes concern with more narrowly defined crime issues, specifically those related to drugs. One of the issues which typically garners from 3 to 5 percent of all responses is graft and corruption.[1]

Table 1. Socio-demographic characteristics
of respondents
Philippines, September 1998

Location	
NCR	15%
BAL. LUZON	42
Urban	25
Rural	18
VISAYAS	20
Urban	14
Rural	6
MINDANAO	23
Urban	6
Rural	17
Locale	
TOTAL URBAN	59
TOTAL RURAL	41
Gender	
MALE	50
FEMALE	50
Age	
18 - 24	16
25 - 34	23
35 - 44	25
45 and above	36
Socio-economic class	
ABC	11
D	71
E	17
Educational Attainment	
None to elem. grad.	33
HS/voc. to HS/voc. grad.	40
Some college	13
College grad. & higher	15
Employment Status	
Employed	57
Unemployed	6
Non-labor force	37

This is not to say that the public is complacent. Indeed fighting graft and corruption (along with fighting inflation) consistently counts in the public's eye as one of the failures of the government. Table 3 shows that satisfaction with the administration's efforts in fighting graft and corruption always trails the administration's overall rating. Whether the administration is enjoying high ratings, such as in the "honeymoon" periods after elections, or low ratings towards the end of presidential terms, the rating for fighting graft and corruption is always lower. Notice, however, the difference between the two ratings in September 1998: the first rating for the Estrada administration is one of the narrowest in the entire time period. In short, the public does give President Estrada more credit

than they typically did for his predecessors (given his explicit thrust against corruption as enunciated in his State of the Nation Address on July 27, 1998 and his Inaugural Speech on June 30, 1998).

Table 2. Most important problem of the country today
Philippines, June 1996 to September 1998, In Percent

	1996		1997	1998		
	JUN	DEC	JUN	MAR	JUL	SEP
ECONOMIC	60.0	71.3	61.1	67.1	83.1	76.2
High prices/ Inflation	27.9	38.6	22.8	37.8	31.0	27.2
Unemployment	17.7	18.3	23.5	15.7	33.4	23.7
Food/agriculture	2.0	0.9	1.1	2.2	3.6	6.7
Economic crisis	1.4	3.7	3.5	4.4	2.2	5.0
Poverty	7.0	3.1	3.2	2.5	1.0	3.7
Utilities	0.8	0.5	2.0	0.8	0.1	0.2
Infrastructure	0.7	0.8	1.0	0.4	0.6	0.1
Other economic problems	2.5	5.4	4.0	3.3	11.2	9.6
CRIME	20.8	14.3	21.2	20.1	.8.0	9.4
Drug addiction	4.3	3.7	9.0	7.2	3.4	3.9
Peace and order/ crime	12.4	7.5	4.5	7.3	2.5	0.7
Other crime problems	4.1	3.1	7.7	5.6	2.1	4.8
ENVIRONMENT/ CALAMITIES	1.5	0.8	0.5	5.1	4.4	5.3
GOVERNANCE	9.1	5.3	7.7	4.3	2.2	3.5
Graft and corruption	5.8	3.9	5.1	2.8	1.6	3.0
Other governance problems	3.3	1.4	2.6	1.5	0.6	0.5
MISCELLANEOUS	1.4	0.6	1.3	0.5	0.6	·0.8
NONE/CAN'T SAY	8.0	8.1	9.0	3.1	1.8	4.4

[PR1, Q17] What do you think is the most important problem of the country today?

To reiterate, while the public typically focuses more on economic concerns than on graft and corruption, it is clear that satisfaction with government action against graft and corruption is low.

4.2 Examples of graft and corruption in government

Another element in the context is what exactly respondents mean when they refer to "graft and corruption." [2]

Table 3. Net Satisfaction* with the National Administration's
overall performance, fighting inflation and fighting graft and corruption
(Philippines, 1987 - 1998)

*Percent Satisfied minus Percent Dissatisfied

		OVER-ALL	GRAFT	INFLA-TION			OVER-ALL	GRAFT	INFLA-TION			OVER-ALL	GRAFT	INFLA-TION
AQUINO					**RAMOS**					DEC	95	- 3	-27	-42
MAR	87			+65	SEP	92	+32	+10	- 7	APR	96	0	-33	-44
OCT	87			+12	DEC	92	+30	- 1	- 8	JUN	96	+11	-27	-42
SEP	88			-13	MAR	93	+24	- 7	-24	SEP	96	+10	-30	-41
FEB	89	+23		- 5	JUL	93	+31	- 6	-24	DEC	96	- 1	-38	-51
SEP	89	+14		-19	SEP	93	+15	- 9	-42	APR	97	+28	-15	-29
APR	90	+17		- 6	DEC	93	+24	- 4	-16	JUN	97	+31	-16	-27
NOV	90	-10		-16	APR	94	+15	-16	-35	SEP	97	+ 5	-27	-38
JUL	91	- 1		-39	AUG	94	+14	-14	-23	DEC	97	+20	- 9	-29
NOV	91	+ 1	-19	-13	NOV	94	+16	-19	-25	FEB	98	+ 8	-24	-38
FEB	92	- 2	-24	-28	DEC	94	+17	-22	-27	MAR	98	+ 9		-34
APR	92	- 5	-24	-28	MAR	95	+10	-27	-34	APR	98		-29	-27
					JUN	95	+ 6	-24	-37					
					OCT	95	-18	-34	-51	**ESTRADA**				
										SEP	98	+19	+8	- 9

As earlier mentioned, Social Weather Stations, even before this corruption study formally began, ran a simple question:

> *Many people complain about graft and corruption in government. What to you are examples of graft and corruption in government? You may give up to 3 examples. (Social Weather Report Survey March 25 to April 5, 1998)*

The intent of this item was to determine in a very rough fashion what ordinary Filipinos think about graft and corruption.[3]

Table 4 shows that the most frequent response has to do with officials "pocketing" the money for projects. Next come activities linked to public works, followed by overpricing of materials. All other answers had less than 5% of respondents citing them—but the range of concerns expressed in these responses were taken into consideration during question wording.

4.3 Effects of class and education on corruption awareness

The one finding from this open-ended question which merited further analysis was the percentage of res-

pondents who did not name any activity as meriting the label "graft and corruption." Overall, some 37% of respondents did not give any example—and there are some very interesting patterns (Table 5).

Confirmation of conventional wisdom that concern with graft and corruption tends to be concentrated in the middle and upper classes. In Class ABC 80% are able to give examples, while only 20% do not give examples. However, moving down the class hie-

rarchy, respondents are less able to give responses, so that when it comes to the poorest class, Class E, more than half of the respondents did not give responses.

Looking at the effect of education, the differences among levels are even greater. The least educated, with at most an elementary education, are once again most unable to give examples, with 54% not giving examples. On the other end of the spectrum, only 14%

Table 4. Examples of graft and corruption in the government
Philippines, March 25 - April 5, 1998
(responses with more than 0.5 percent)

Binubulsa ang mga pondo ng mga opisyales/ Binubulsa ang pondo ng project	26%	Palakasan/Kamag-anak issue	1%
Ginagawa ng Public Works gaya ng kalsada/ Binabawasan nila ang pondo na para sa kalsada/dike sa Pampanga hindi natapos	7%	Selling of goverment properties/Pagbebenta ng lupa ng PNR	1%
Over bidding/pricing/Over pricings ng PANELCO sa mga materyales	6%	Budget sa gobyerno hindi binibigay ang tama	1%
Humihingi ng lagay para asikasuhin ang papeles	4%	Illegal logging/may proteksiyon ang mga illegal loggers/may lagay	1%
Mga nanghuhuli ng sasakyang walang violation	4%	Hindi naman nagtatrabaho pero sumusuweldo ang mga tao sa gobyerno/Ghost payroll	1%
Pandaraya sa Tax/Pagbawas ng sobrang tax/ Mga refund hindi binabalik/Taxes hindi na-remit lahat	3%	PEA-Amari Land Deal/Land scam	1%
Using government funds on travel expenses	3%	Pagsasamantala sa position/Abusing authority	1%
Gawa nang gawa ng projects pero hindi tinatapos/ Projects ng DPWH hindi tinapos	2%	Pangungutang sa ibang bansa/World Bank/ Utang nila tapos taong bayan ang nagbabayad ng utang nila	1%
Pork Barrel di nakikita ang distribution ng fund kung sino ang nakikinabang, Senado o taong-bayan/Pork Barrel/CDF ng mga Congressmen at Senador	2%	Mga sirang kalsada hindi ginagawa kahit may pondo	1%
Ginigipit ang suweldo/Bonus ng mga manggagawa/Pagkakamkam ng hindi kanilang suweldo	2%	Hindi nagpa-function sa position niya bilang government official/ employee	1%
Construction material binabawasan ng official/substandard ang materials	2%	Using government funds for campaigning	1%
Officials have percentage for every government project	1%	Justice system - pag walang pera talo sa kaso/ Nakukuha sa lagay hindi lumalabas ang katarungan	1%
Government official accepting bribes	1%	Jueteng/Gambling/Video Karera/Night spots here were protected by government	1%
Mga Suweldo/Bonus/Benefits/Honorarium ng teachers Hino-hold nila/Tina-time deposit	1%	Mga projects ng DOH/Health Center tulad ng gamot, hindi binibigay ng tama/ Tulad ng pagbigay ng gamot—dapat libre pero walang gamot, nireresetahan pa	1%
Mga tulong sa mahihirap hindi ibinibigay katulad ng mga food at financial/Hindi pinaparating ng DSWD ang tulong para sa mga mahihirap	1%	Red Tapes	1%
Drug addiction/May nagsusuporta sa mga druglord/Ibang government officials sumasama sa drug trafficking para malaki ang kita	1%		

[PR2, Q90] Many people complain about graft and corruption in government. What, to you, are examples of graft and corruption in the government? You may give up to 3 examples.

of college graduates are not able to give examples. Thus, the effect of education seems somewhat stronger than that of socio-economic class.

Table 5. Proportion of respondents not giving examples of graft and corruption Philippines, September 1998 (Base: % not giving examples)

TOTAL PHILIPPINES	37%
Economic Class	
ABC	20
D	35
E	54
Educational Attainment	
College graduate & post graduate	14
Some college	24
Some high school through vocational graduate	33
No formal education through elementary graduate	54

The effect of education continues to hold even if socio-economic classes are considered separately (Table 6). The proportion of respondents not able to give examples within each class always rises as the educational levels are lower. In short, the ability to cite instances of corruption is very closely related to education; it must be just that lower class people tend to have lower education levels. Whenever class differences in opinion are observed, this factor should be kept in mind.

Table 6. Effect of education per class on proportion not giving examples of graft and corruption Philippines, September 1998 (Base: Total interviews)

% not giving examples

	College grad. & & post grad.	Some college	Some HS thru voc. grad.	No formal educ thru elem. grad.
Economic Class				
ABC	12%	16%	28%	76%
D	17	28	31	49
E	11	11	45	66

It is worthwhile noting, however, that awareness levels can be raised over time. Five years worth of data on awareness of the U.S. military bases is seen in Table 7. At the beginning of the time series, some 90% of Class ABC were aware, while less than 50% of

Class E were aware. As time went on and the debate continued, awareness increased among the upper and middle classes to the 100% level. During the same time, awareness increased by almost 40% among Class E—drastically reducing the gap between the highest and lowest classes. In short, the lower awareness of poor respondents is not due to some unchanging circumstances, but to their marginalization from national discourse. Over time information does reach them, and they are able to become aware of issues. This bodes well for anti-corruption efforts in the long term.

4.4 Preliminary specification of location of corruption[4]

In SWS's April 1993 national survey, respondents were asked where graft and corruption were most prevalent. Overwhelmingly they felt that the problem was more serious at the national government level than at the local government level (Table 8).

A second type of specification is shown in Table 9, where different activities were presented to respondents. They were asked how much they believed was wasted due to corrupt practices (SWS September 1996 national survey). Building roads and collecting taxes were seen as activities with more wasted money than that of providing schoolbooks or installing computers. Of course, this is a relative ranking, inasmuch as even the activities ranked lower were seen to have considerable sums wasted due to corrupt practices.

5. Highlights of the September 1998 graft and corruption module

5.1 General assessments of graft and corruption in government

Table 10 shows that roughly a tenth (9%) think there is no graft and corruption in government. This opinion is related to class, inasmuch as Class ABC is more likely to think there is corruption, indeed a great deal of corruption, in government. Residents of Metro Manila were also more likely to cite corruption – a finding that is at least somewhat related to class, given the fact the Class ABC are much more prevalent in Manila than the rest of the country.

Table 7. Awareness of US military bases
Philippines, March 1987 - February 1992
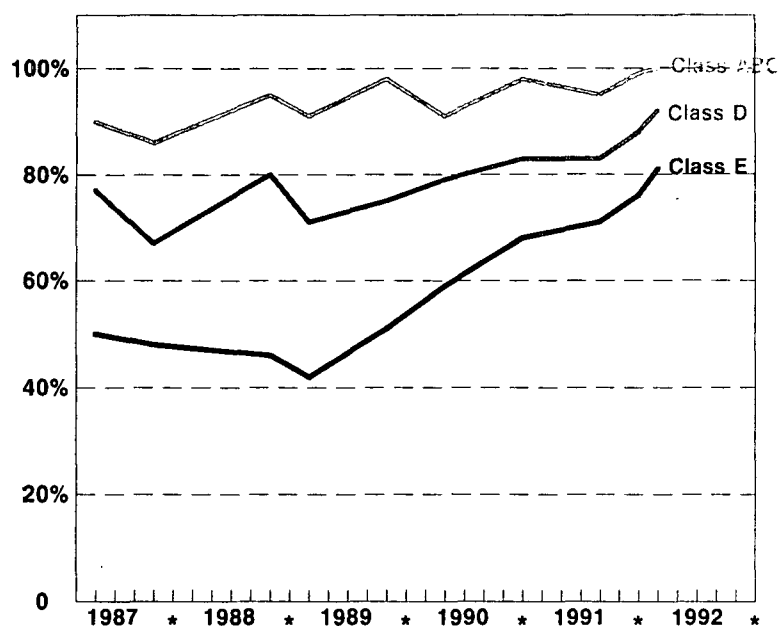
	ABC	D	E
MAR 87	90%	77%	50%
OCT 87	86	67	48
SEP 88	95	80	46
FEB 89	91	71	42
SEP 89	98	75	51
APR 90	91	79	59
NOV 90	98	83	68
JUL 91	95	83	71
NOV 91	99	88	76
FEB 92	100	92	81

Question: Are you aware that the US has military bases here in the Philippines or not? (Yes, No, Not know, Refused)

Table 8. Which has more funds wasted due to graft and corruption, national or local governments?
Philippines, April 1993

	National Gov't	Local Gov't
PHILIPPINES	70%	27%
NCR	83	17
BAL. LUZON	66	29
Urban	65	29
Rural	66	29
VISAYAS	69	28
Urban	71	25
Rural	68	30
MINDANAO	70	28
Urban	72	26
Rural	68	30
Socio-economic class		
ABC	81	18
D	68	28
E	69	28

[PR2, Q124]Kung ikukumpara ninyo ang pamahalaang nasyonal sa mga pamahalaang panlalawigan, alin po sa palagay ninyo ang mas malaking porsyento ang nasasayang na pondo dahil sa katiwalian at pangungurakot?

Table 9. Amount of funds wasted because of corrupt practices
Philippines, September 1996
(Base: Total interviews)

	More than 50%	30% to 50%	10% to 29%	Below 10%	Don't know
How much government funds do you think is wasted due to corrupt practices connected to...					
Building of roads	51%	29%	8%	3%	9%
Collecting taxes	41	31	13	6	10
Providing free books to children in public schools	30	32	21	8	9
Installing modern equipment like computers in government offices	23	39	17	7	10

Table 10. Assessment of graft and corruption in government
Philippines, September 1998

	RP	NCR	BAL. LUZ.	VIS.	MIN.	ABC	D	E
			LOCATION			CLASS		
How much corruption is there in our government at present?								
A great deal	38%	47%	36%	41%	32%	47%	37%	36%
Some	34	38	37	29	29	36	33	32
A little	19	11	17	20	27	13	20	17
None	9	3	10	9	12	3	8	14
To stop graft and corruption in our country, is the government doing...? (Base: 90% saying there's corruption in the government)								
A lot	15	17	18	13	9	12	15	16
Something	50	50	53	45	48	52	50	45
Almost nothing	23	26	21	24	24	30	22	23
Nothing at all	12	7	7	17	19	6	12	15

[PR2, Q43]Gaano kalaki, sa inyong palagay ang katiwalian sa ating gobyerno sa kasalukuyan? [Talagang malaki; Medyo malaki; Kaunti; o Wala]

[PR2, Q44]At ano naman po ang tingin ninyo sa ginagawa ng gobyerno upang masugpo ang katiwalian at pangungurakot sa ating bansa sa kasalukuyan? Ang gobyerno po ba ay [Malaki ang ginagawa; Medyo malaki ang ginagawa; Halos walang ginagawa; o Talagang walang ginagawa] sa pagsusugpo ng katiwalian at pangungurakot?

When it comes to the question—asked of all those who thought there was at least a little corruption in government—of how much the government was doing to stop corruption, very few respondents felt that a lot was being done. The "almost nothing" and "nothing at all" responses total roughly one-third of respondents. Interestingly enough there is no class pattern or locational pattern in these data—all groups responded in roughly the same way.

A third question probed whether respondents felt that corruption was part of the way things worked in the Philippines, or whether government could be run without corruption. A majority (59%) felt that government could be run without corruption. People in the National Capital Region and the balance of Luzon are the most idealists, followed by those in the Visayas and in Mindanao. The group in this table most likely to feel that corruption is part of the way things work in the Philippines is the upper and middle classes, Class ABC, in which 51% feel this way (Table 11). It should be noted in this context that this is not a finding that can be reduced to education—elementary and college

graduates agree on this question. It is in fact a class difference.

5.2 Descriptions of situations involving government officials

Respondents were then given descriptions of a number of situations and asked to label these. These questions were borrowed from a similar study of corruption in Thailand[5] and some comparisons can be drawn between the SWS and Thai studies. It should be noted that a particular Thai practice is to give a "gift of goodwill" (*sim nam jai*) to officials, teachers, and the like. In this question module, this term was translated into "tip" (*pabuya*) in an attempt to capture the essence of what Thais intend.

The first situation was paying a "fine" directly to a traffic enforcer[6] in order to avoid going to the station to pay the full fine. The descriptor used most often for this was "bribery"—and this was particularly true among Class ABC. Dishonesty in duty was the second most cited, and Classes D and E were more likely to

cite this label, with its connotation of blaming the enforcer (Table 12).

The next pair of situations had to do with interactions in a government office, where money is paid voluntarily to reward good service, or to speed up an official who is being deliberately slow. In the first instance, the more innocuous descriptions—tip, or snack money—are chosen by respondents. This was the instance in which there was the greatest difference with the Thai respondents, who overwhelmingly (70% of Thai respondents) described this transaction as a "gift of goodwill."

Table 11. Whether graft and corruption is part of the way things work in Philippine government
Philippines, September 1998
(Base: Total interviews)

	Corruption is part of the way things work in the Phils.	Government can be run without corruption
PHILIPPINES	41%	59%
NCR	46	54
BAL. LUZON	48	52
VISAYAS	39	61
MINDANAO	27	73
TOTAL URBAN	45	55
TOTAL RURAL	36	64
MALE	42	58
FEMALE	40	60
ABC	51	49
D	40	60
E	38	62
18-24	40	60
25 - 34	37	63
35 - 44	43	57
45 and above	43	57

[PR2, Q39]Sa inyong palagay, ang katiwalian ba ay bahagi ng pagpapatakbo ng gobyerno dito sa Pilipinas o maaaring patakbuhin ang gobyerno nang walang katiwalian. (Ang katiwalian ay bahagi ng pagpapatakbo ng gobyerno sa Pilipinas, Maaaring patakbuhin ang gobyerno nang walang katiwalian)

On the other hand, both Thai and Filipino respondents characterized the second situation negatively, with bribery, dishonesty in duty, and extortion used to describe the behavior. In short, the same overt behavior —money being given to a government employee—is viewed quite differently depending on the context of the transaction.

The fourth situation is a businessman giving a commission to a government official in charge of a project. The most cited description is "bribery," with again Class ABC being even more likely to cite this descriptor. Notice that "tip" and "part of the cost of doing business"—with connotations somewhat less negative —are also cited relatively frequently, indicating some ambiguity in responses.

The fifth situation describes what is a stereotype in Philippine culture—somebody promoted because of his or her relationship to a government official. This is widely seen as inefficient or dishonest, with a combined total of 69%. All classes and regions agree on this view, which may indicate a more meritocratic culture than the Philippines is generally characterized as having.

5.3 Specific practices: morality and whether corruption retards development

The next set of questions had to do with whether certain practices are wrong, and whether they retard the country's economic development. This begins the investigation of whether anti-graft sentiments are motivated more by morality or by practicality. The answers to these questions will help determine what anti-graft campaigns are likely to be more productive.

Table 13 lists a number of different practices, ranked by how often respondents say they are "always wrong." The results can be seen to fall into three groups. Most frequently cited are not being given a receipt, paying for medicines which should be free, and queue jumping by a relative of a government official. Somewhat less often cited as "wrong" are being stopped by traffic enforcers despite no violation, and fixers offering help. Finally, least often considered wrong, is paying a worker to make water or telephone connections.

The class patterns in these responses are worth explaining. For almost all of them there is a 10 to 15 point difference in responses of Class ABC and the lower classes, with Class ABC more likely to call them wrong. This is the typical class relation of upper and middle classes being more concerned with graft and corruption. The exception, where there is no class pattern, is with regard to paying for medicine that should be free. This is a practice impacting directly on the poor, since it is they for whom the free

Table 12. Description of situations involving government officials (Summary)
Philippines, September 1998
(Base: Total interviews)

1) *"To avoid having to visit the police station and pay a full fine, a traffic offender offers to pay a "fine" directly to the traffic policeman. The policeman did not ask for the money, but accepted it".*

% of respondents describing the situation as...

Bribery	30%
Dishonesty in duty	19
Tip	15
Snack-money/coffee money/cigarette money	14
Extortion	13
Inefficient administration	7
Part of cost of doing business	2

2) *"A person visits a government office and receives good assistance from the official in charge. When the matter is conducted, he offers 50 pesos which the government official accepts".*

% of respondents describing the situation as...

Tip	26%
Snack-money/coffee money/cigarette money	24
Bribery	21
Dishonesty in duty	15
Extortion	7
Inefficient administration	4
Part of cost of doing business	3

3) *"A person needs some service from a government department. The official in charge deliberately takes his time. The person gives the official money (P50) to speed up the work and to reward the official for his efforts".*

% of respondents describing the situation as...

Bribery	27%
Dishonesty in duty	16
Extortion	16
Snack-money/coffee money/cigarette money	14
Tip	13
Inefficient administration	9
Part of cost of doing business	4

4) *"A businessman gives a commission fee to a government official in charge of a project".*
% of respondents describing the situation as...

Bribery	29%
Tip	18
Dishonesty in duty	14
Part of cost of doing business	11
Extortion	10
Snack-money/coffee money/cigarette money	9
Inefficient administration	8

5) *"A person is promoted because he is a relative of a government official".*
% of respondents describing the situation as...

Inefficient administration	41%
Dishonesty in duty	28
Bribery	9
Tip	7
Part of cost of doing business	5
Extortion	5
Snack-money/coffee money/cigarette money	4

Table 13. Perception of wrong practices involving government officials (Summary)
Philippines, September 1998
(Base: Total interviews)

	Always wrong	Almost always wrong	Wrong sometimes	Not wrong at all
Not being given a receipt by the establishments which are required to give a receipt	61%	20%	15%	3%
Paying a health worker for medicines which should be free	61	19	14	6
Goes ahead of the queue because the person is a relative of a government official	60	21	14	4
Driver was stopped by the police even if no traffic rule was violated	49	22	19	10
"Fixers" in a government office offering to help	45	26	18	11
Paying a worker for the legal installation of telephone or water connection	33	23	19	24

medicines are intended, and there is no significant difference among the classes on how it is regarded. In short, this is the practice that Class E finds most wrong.

The practice of "fixers" offering to help is also worth exploring, since the class pattern there is particularly strong. Upon investigation, it turns out that the class pattern is stronger than one associated with education —for the response "always wrong" there is a 23 point difference between the highest and lowest classes, and only a 13 point difference between the highest and lowest educational levels. In short, Class E is very much less likely to find "fixers" in government offices wrong—and it is Class E that is most likely to need a fixer to help them maneuver through the bureaucratic labyrinth.

The results from the parallel set of questions, regarding effects on the country's economic development, are found in Table 14. A wide range of responses are observed here: from 82% indicating that officials pocketing project funds and saying this very much retards economic development, to only 44% saying that paying a worker for telephone or water connections very much retards development. Interestingly enough, in this set of data there is almost no class relation—in contrast to responses about the wrongness of specific practices. It is only with respect to fixers, once again, that we see a class relation with Class ABC

being more likely to say that paying a fixer to help very much retards development. (And, once again, class has more effect than does education.)

Does feeling that a practice retards economic development lead to a judgment that it is wrong? Table 15 shows the results regarding fixers (which is the practice showing the greatest class differences) and paying workers for telephone or water connections (which is the practice rated least wrong and least harmful to development).

For paying a worker, those who feel it very much retards development say it is "always wrong" while those who feel that it does not retard development feel it is not wrong at all. A similar, though weaker pattern, is found for "fixers" in government offices: 68% of those who feel it very much retards development feel fixers are always wrong, while only 45% of those who feel it does not retard development feel fixers are always wrong.

In conclusion, the sentiment about corruption is driven by practicalities. Class E, who are most affected, find being charged for putatively free medicine always wrong. Class E, who most need fixers, are least likely to find them wrong, or to think they harm the country's economic development. And there is a strong relation between feeling that a practice harms economic development and feeling that it is wrong.

Table 14. Effect of specific practices on Philippine economic development (Summary)
Philippines, September 1998
(Base: Total interviews)

	Very much retard	Somewhat retard	Not retard
Officials pocketing the money intended for government projects	82%	14%	4%
Contractors not using the agreed upon quality of materials	72	23	5
Paying a policeman to ignore a traffic violation	69	23	8
Businessmen bribing officials to win contracts	64	26	10
Officials giving favors to their friend and relatives	58	33	10
Paying a "fixer " to help in a government office	55	32	13
Asking for coffee-money, cigarette-money or snack-money in a government office	49	37	14
Paying a worker extra for telephone lines or water connections	44	36	19

5.4 Graft and corruption in government and in the private sector

When the group discussions were conducted with several sectors in the process of formulating the question module, there was a distinct difference of opinion between the government and the private sectors. The key informants from government were very firm in their assertion that the legal definition of corruption involves public office—which restriction is often true of academic definitions. In a different meeting, business representatives strongly urged consideration of corruption in private transactions— that bribery and kickbacks in business affairs is also worthy of note.

As a result, the survey directly asked respondents whether corruption had to involve government, or whether it could occur in the private sector with no governmental involvement. By a narrow margin of

Table 15. Relation between retarding the country's development and perception of practices as wrong
Philippines, September 1998 *(Column %)*

	"Paying a worker extra for telephone lines or water connections."		
	Very much retard	Somewhat retard	Not retard
Paying for a worker for the legal installation of telephone of water connection.			
Always wrong	46%	27%	15%
Almost always wrong	21	31	14
Wrong sometimes	19	19	20
Not wrong at all	13	23	51
Total	99*	100	100

	"Paying a 'fixer' to help in a government office."		
	Very much retard	Somewhat retard	Not retard
"Fixers" in a government office offering to help.			
Always wrong	68	51	45
Almost always wrong	17	28	24
Wrong sometimes	12	16	21
Not wrong at all	3	5	9
Total	100	100	99*

* Note: Figures may not total to 100% due to rounding errors.

52% to 47% (Table 16), respondents agreed that corruption also happens in the private sector with no government personnel involved. This is one of the issues on which Class ABC is different, with a greater propensity to limit consideration of corruption to government.

This is in stark contrast to the findings in Bangladesh, where respondents—allowed multiple responses—overwhelmingly cited a desire to get rich or moral degradation (76% and 58%, respectively) instead of low salaries (only 32% cited this reason). In this sense Filipinos are more "understanding" of corrupt prac-

Table 16. Whether graft and corruption happens not only in government but in private sector as well
Philippines, September 1998
(Base: Total interviews)

	It happens only in gov't. activities	It also happens in private sector even w/o gov't. personnel involved	Don't know
PHILIPPINES	47%	52%	1%
NCR	51	48	1
BAL. LUZON	48	51	1
VISAYAS	61	38	1
MINDANAO	29	70	1
TOTAL URBAN	50	49	0
TOTAL RURAL	42	56	2
MALE	49	50	1
FEMALE	45	54	1
ABC	55	44	1
D	46	53	1
E	47	53	0
18 - 24	50	49	1
25 - 34	50	50	0
35 - 44	46	53	1
45 and above	44	54	2

[PR2, Q66]May mga nagsasabi na ang katiwalian ay nangyayari lamang sa mga gawain sa gobyerno. May mga nagsasabi naman na ang katiwalian ay nangyayari rin sa mga gawaing pribado na walang kasangkot na tauhan ng gobyerno. Alin sa dalawa ang mas malapit sa inyong pananaw?

When businessmen and government officials are involved in corruption, respondents tend to blame both of them (Table 17). However, to the extent that one side or the other bears more blame, it is clearly the government official who is more often blamed.

Another question is why graft and corruption happen in government. This is a question patterned after one asked in a similar study in Bangladesh.[7] Respondents were allowed to answer this question any way they pleased, with their responses being categorized as seen in Table 18. Among Filipino respondents is seen a split view, between seeing government employees and officials as wanting to get rich or serve their own interests, and those who cite economic reasons such as low salaries or difficulties of life.

tices, seeing practical reasons why it might happen in government.

Interestingly enough, in the June 1995 national survey of SWS (Table 19), a class relation exists with understanding of low salaries as a cause of corruption, but in what might seem like the opposite direction from expectations. Throughout any study of corruption, the middle and upper classes, Class ABC, are more concerned with such practices. However, they are not less "understanding" of low-paid government employees, but are rather more likely to agree that low salaries increase temptation to engage in corruption. This has probably to do with the fact that government salaries are roughly comparable to those of the "C" class, while generally above those in the D and E

Table 17. Who's to blame for corruption: Businessman or government official?
Philippines, September 1998
(Base: Total interviews)

| | *When there is corruption involving a businessman and a government official, who is to blame?* | | | | |
	Official only	Mostly the official; somewhat the businessman	Both	Mostly the business-man; somewhat the official	Businessman only
PHILIPPINES	19%	8%	66%	2%	4%
NCR	12	5	80	1	2
BAL. LUZON	16	8	73	1	2
VISAYAS	27	13	52	4	4
MINDANAO	24	8	57	3	8
TOTAL URBAN	18	8	68	3	3
TOTAL RURAL	21	9	63	2	5
MALE	23	9	63	1	4
FEMALE	16	8	70	3	3
ABC	21	9	65	3	3
D	20	8	67	2	4
E	18	10	65	2	5
18 - 24	21	8	66	1	3
25 - 34	19	9	64	3	4
35 - 44	21	11	65	2	1
45 and above	18	7	68	2	5

[PR2, Q57]Kapag may katiwaliang kasangkot ang isang negosyante at isang opisyal ng gobyerno, sino sa palagay ninyo ang dapat na sisihin? (ANG OPISYAL LAMANG, KADALASAN ANG OPISYAL, AT MEDYO ANG NEGOSYANTE, PAREHONG DAPAT NA SISIHIN , KADALASAN ANG NEGOSYANTE, AT MEDYO ANG OPISYAL,ANG NEGOSYANTE LAMANG)

classes. Thus the latter two classes probably have trouble considering government salaries inadequate.

6. Effects of characteristics and experiences on corruption attitudes

Earlier in this report the effects of class and education on attitudes towards corruption were considered. In this section the effects of other characteristics and experiences—how religious respondents are, whether they had experienced corruption themselves, and whether they had traveled abroad and therefore had an idea of how things work in other countries are discussed.

6.1 Religiosity

Cross-country studies participated in by the Social Weather Stations have consistently found that Filipinos are quite religious in comparison to other nationalities. In order to test whether this had any

effect on attitudes towards corruption, variables measuring religiosity were correlated with those attitudes. Two measures of religiosity are used: how respondents see themselves, and how often they attend religious services.

Table 20 shows that Filipinos tend to describe themselves as religious, with no consistent differences among different population groupings. Also, more than half of the respondents attend religious services every week. In these data there are clear patterns, with urban residents, females, and Class ABC, being more likely to attend weekly. Particularly considering the class relation, it could be that religious feelings are the root of Class ABC's higher concern with corruption.

However, this turns out not to be the case. When the six questions about the morality of certain practices are correlated against the two different religiosity items, only 3 of the 12 are significant.[8] Further, the relations that are significant are, in fact, quite weak.

Table 21 compares the effects on views about morality of fixers between:

- religiosity (attendance at religious services)
- believing that a practice retards development

In this table is seen that religiosity makes a difference of only eight percentage points (72% to 64%) in saying that fixers in government offices are wrong, while belief that fixers retard economic development has a sixteen percentage points effect (85% to 69%).

Once again, the conclusion that indignation about corruption is less an abstract moral issue, and more connected to practical realities—in this case, whether a practice retards economic development – is reinforced.

Table 18. Reasons why graft and corruption happen in government
Philippines, September 1998
(Open-ended; Multiple response)

MORALITY AND PERSONAL REASONS		*44%*
To be richer	22	
Own interests	7	
Government officials have many vices	5	
To satisfy/fulfill their needs	5	
To be powerful	2	
Government officials love money	2	
To have higher position	1	
Lack of discipline	1	
ECONOMIC		*43*
Their salaries are not enough	25	
Difficulties of life today	12	
They need funds	3	
High prices of commodities	2	
To add more to their income	1	
GOVERNANCE		*3*
They are allowed by higher officials	2	
Those in power are the ones who disobey/neglect	2	
MISCELLANEOUS		*7*
They have many families, like police	2	
It's like a disease/way of the world	1	
It's in the veins/blood of government officials	1	
Others (below 0.5%)	3	

[PR2 , Q45]Bakit po sa palagay ninyo nangyayari ang katiwalian at pangungurakot sa ating gobyerno? [Open-ended]

6.2 Having previously paid to expedite transactions

In order to measure whether actual experience of corruption has an effect on attitudes, a series of questions were asked about the respondents' experience:

- Whether they had ever been asked for money or gifts to speed transactions;
- If so, did they report this; and
- If they did not report the incident, why not.

Slightly more than one-fifth of the respondents report having been asked for gifts or money. Table 22 shows that there is a class relation, with Class ABC somewhat more likely to have had this happen. Similarly, the experience is more common in the National Capital Region.

Table 19. Whether employees are tempted into corruption because of low salaries
Philippines, June 1995
(Base: Total interviews)

	Agree	Un-decided	Dis-agree	Net* Agreement
"Gov't. employees who handle money will be tempted to engage in corrupt practices if their salaries are lower than those in the private sector"				
TOTAL PHILIPPINES	46%	19%	33%	+13
Socio-Economic Class				
ABC	62	18	18	+34
D	46	20	33	+13
E	38	19	42	- 4

* Net = % agree minus % disagree

(For greater precision, margins are first computed before figures are rounded off.)

The overwhelming majority of those who have had this experience—more than 90%—did not report the incident. This was true of all classes. However, the different classes had different reasons for not reporting. Class ABC were more likely to say that it was too small to bother about, but also more likely to be afraid of retaliation. Class D and Class E were more likely to not know where to report the incident.

Table 20. Religiosity of the respondents
Philippines, September 1998

	Would you describe yourself as...?			
	Very religious	Somewhat religious	Not very religious	No religious beliefs
PHILIPPINES	27%	61%	12%	0
TOTAL URBAN	27	61	12	0
TOTAL RURAL	26	60	13	0
MALE	25	60	14	0
FEMALE	28	62	10	0
ABC	34	54	11	0
D	24	64	12	0
E	32	53	15	0

	How often do you attend religious services?			
	Less often	Once a month	2-3 times a month	Weekly
PHILIPPINES	5%	26%	16%	53%
TOTAL URBAN	5	28	15	60
TOTAL RURAL	5	20	16	43
MALE	8	32	13	47
FEMALE	3	20	18	59
ABC	3	12	8	77
D	6	27	16	51
E	5	31	19	44

Looking at the effect of this experience on more general attitudes on corruption, persons who have been asked for money or gifts are more likely to say that there is "A great deal" of graft and corruption in government, by a 59% to 32% margin. At the same time, reasonably enough, respondents with this experience are less likely to believe the government is taking action to stop graft and corruption, with only 56% saying that the government is doing "something" or "a lot" as compared to 68% of those who have not experienced being asked for gifts or money (Table 23).

6.3 Travel abroad

One of the characteristics of respondents that might affect attitudes towards corruption is experience in other countries. It is expected that those who have traveled abroad will have a wider context within which to view graft and corruption in the Philippines.

Some 8% of Filipino adults have traveled abroad. (Further specification of what they were doing reveals that they were mostly working abroad.) There are strong class and location effects, with some 27% of Class ABC having traveled abroad, as opposed to much smaller percentages of Class D and Class E. In truth, the direction of causality here is not known—it may have been the fact that a respondent has worked abroad that was enough to lift him or her into Class ABC, or it may be that Class ABC are more likely to go abroad (Table 24).

In any case, those who have traveled abroad are considerably more likely to have been asked for money or gifts to speed transaction. This may simply be in line with the class relation we have already noted, or it may be that the process of traveling abroad (getting a passport, having a work contract, and the like) may expose respondents to the likelihood of being asked for gifts or money.

Table 21. Effect of Religiosity on Attitudes Toward Graft and Corruption
Philippines, September 1998
(Base: Total interviews)

	Church attendance			
	Weekly	2-3 times a month	Once a month	Less often
Percent saying that *"'Fixers' in a government office offering to help"* is "Always" or "Almost always" wrong	72%	67%	63%	64%

	Effect on the Economic Development of the Country of *"Paying a 'fixer' to help in a government office"*		
	Very Much Retard	Somewhat Retard	Not Retard
Percent saying that *"'Fixers' in a government office offering to help"* is "Always" or "Almost always" wrong	85%	79%	69%

Table 22. Personal experience of paying to speed up transactions
Philippines, September 1998

		LOCATION				CLASS		
	RP	NCR	BAL. LUZ.	VIS.	MIN.	ABC	D	E
Ever been asked for money or any gift to speed up your transactions?								
Yes	22%	33%	17%	24%	24%	29%	23%	16%
No	78	67	83	76	76	71	77	84
IF YES: Did you report this?								
Yes	8	7	8	12	4	6	8	9
No	92	93	92	88	96	94	92	91
IF NO: Why did you not report?								
It's too small to bother about	40	47	37	42	35	48	38	41
Nothing would be done anyway	34	45	41	25	23	32	35	31
Did not know where to report	13	5	9	17	20	2	14	17
Afraid of retaliation	7	0	9	11	9	11	7	6
(volunteered)								
Waste of time	2	0	2	3	1	0	2	0
Still need to present papers	2	1	2	0	3	4	0.3	6
For easy processing	1	0	0	0	4	0	2	0
There's no evidence	0.7	0	0	2	1	0	1	0
It's only a tip	0.6	1	0	0	1	2	0.5	0
"Para walang gulo"	0.4	0	0	0	1	0	0.5	0

[PR2, Q40]Kayo po ba mismo ay nakaranas nang hingian ng pera o ng anumang regalo upang mapadali ang proseso ng mga papeles ninyo o di kaya's makakuha ng permit o lisensiya? [Oo, Hindi]

[PR2, Q41]KUNG OO: Ito ba ay ini-report ninyo? [Oo, Hindi]

[PR2, Q42]KUNG HINDI: Bakit po ninyo ito hindi ini-report? [SHOWCARD: Hindi alam kung saan dapat mag-report; Takot paghigantihan; Wala rin namang gagawin tungkol dito; Masyadong maliit na bagay para pagkaabalahan; Iba pa_____]

As was hypothesized, the experience of traveling abroad has a strong effect on views on corruption—whether practices are wrong or retard development (Table 25). This is not the case for officials giving favors or relatives of government officials going ahead in a queue. Traveling abroad has barely an effect on whether paying a worker for telephone or water installation is wrong, and no effect on whether such payments retard economic development. For all the rest of possible responses, though, those who have traveled abroad are more likely to state that these practices are wrong and that these retard the economic development of the country.

In short, travelers abroad are more sensitized to graft and corruption. However, when their attitudes towards government efforts to stop graft and corruption are considered, a counter-intuitive finding is observed (Table 26). These people are more likely to say that the government is doing a lot to stop graft and corruption. This is despite their increased sensitivity to the problem, and despite the fact that they are more likely to be from Class ABC (and Class ABC is less likely to praise the government for what it is doing to stop graft and corruption, Table 10).

Table 23. Effects of having paid to speed up transactions
Philippines, September 1998
(Base: Total interviews)

| | Asked for money or gifts | |
	YES	NO
How much corruption is there in our government at present (% saying "A Great Deal")	59%	32%
To stop graft and corruption in our country, is the government doing... (% saying "A lot " or "something")	56	68

However, having been asked for Money or Gifts does not affect other attitudes, such as:
- ❑ whether "fixers" are wrong, or whether they retard development
- ❑ whether asking for snack money retards development
- ❑ who to blame for corruption as between government & businessmen

Thus, persons who have been exposed to other countries give the Philippine government's efforts against graft and corruption more credence. A similar encouraging message about government efforts can be gleaned from the next section.

Table 24. Respondent profile: Travel abroad and ever been asked for money
Philippines, September 1998
(Base: Total interviews) Column %

| | Whether respondent has traveled abroad | |
	YES	NO
TOTAL PHILIPPINES	8%	92%
Location		
NCR	20	80
LUZON	9	91
VISAYAS	4	96
MINDANAO	2	98
Socio-Economic Class		
ABC	27	73
D	6	94
E	2	98

Have you ever been asked for money or any kind of gift to speed up the processing of your papers, or getting a permit or a license?

| Yes | 36 | 21 |
| No | 64 | 79 |

6.4 Connections with government

As noted above, the first group discussion suggested that an important background variable might be whether the respondent works in government, or is otherwise connected to government. It was felt that such connection might make it more likely that the respondent would "understand" graft and corruption—to know what leads to it and accept it as normal. Thus, respondents who were not themselves government employees (a regular background variable used by Social Weather Stations) were asked whether any relative worked in government. Thus, there are three categories: those with no connection to the government, those with relatives in government, and those who are government employees.

When the attitudes of these three categories of respondents are compared, the opposite of what was expected by the group discussion participants is noted. Consistently, those who are government employees are more likely to say that the practices in question are "always wrong." Those who are not government employees but who have relatives in government generally have the same attitudes as those with no connection to government, but when there is a difference those with a connection with government are also more likely so say the practices are "always wrong" (Table 27).

Table 25. Effect of travel abroad on views about corruption's effects and morality
Philippines, September 1998

	Travel Abroad		
	Yes	No	Difference
% Responding that the Practice "Very Much Retards" Development			
Paying a policeman to ignore a traffic violation	82	68	14
Contractors not using the agreed upon quality of materials	82	71	11
Paying a fixer to help in a government office	64	54	10
Businessmen bribing officials to win contracts	73	63	10
Officials pocketing the money intended for government projects	88	81	7
Officials giving favors to their friends and relatives	58	not significant	
Asking for coffee-money, etc. in a gov't office	49	not significant	
Paying a worker extra for telephone lines or water connections	44	not significant	
% Responding that the Practice is "Always Wrong"			
"Fixers" in an office offering to help	58	44	14
Driver stopped by police even if no traffic rule was violated	61	48	13
Paying a health worker for medicines which should be free	70	60	10
Not being given a receipt by establishments required to give receipts	68	61	7
Paying a worker for the legal installation of telephone or water	38	33	5
A relative of government official goesa head of the queue	60	not significant	

7. Governance and corruption

The question of the relationship between attitudes towards corruption and attitudes towards the government is discussed in this section.

7.1 Awareness of and trust for anti-graft agencies

In Table 28 is shown the awareness and trust rating of selected government agencies. Included in the table are attitudes towards the major branches of government—the House of Representatives, Senate, Supreme Court, and the Cabinet—in order to provide a basis of comparison.

The first thing to be noted is that the level of awareness of various anti-corruption agencies is somewhat below that for the main branches of government. In particular, the Senate Blue Ribbon Committee was not, in September 1998, well-known, with less than half of respondents having read or heard something about it.

Secondly, while the Sandiganbayan's approval rating matches that of the Senate, House, Supreme

Court and Cabinet, the other anti-graft agencies do not fare as well. The least well-rated is the PCGG, which in fact gets a negative overall rating—more respondents are dissatisfied than satisfied with its performance.

7.2 Satisfaction with "fighting graft and corruption"

Going back, Table 3 shows the satisfaction with the government's efforts to fight graft and corruption to be generally negative, but that there is an upsurge in satisfaction early in President Estrada's term.

This measure of satisfaction is correlated with several of the variables that have been examined. For instance, if a person has been asked for money or a gift, that person is much more likely to be dissatisfied with the government's effort to eradicate graft and corruption. Similarly, those who think there is a great deal of corruption, or who think the government is not doing anything at all to stop graft and corruption, are more likely to be dissatisfied with the government's performance in stopping graft and corruption (Table 29).

Table 26. What those who have traveled abroad feel
government is doing about corruption
Philippines, September 1998

What do you think of what the government is
doing to stop graft and corruption in our country
at present? Is government . . . to stop graft and
corruption?

| | Traveled Abroad | |
	Yes	No
Doing a lot	23%	14%
Doing something	50	50
Doing almost nothing	21	24
Not doing anything at all	6	12
	100	100

And, given the stance of the President against graft
and corruption, it is not surprising that satisfaction
with the government's efforts to fight graft and
corruption are strongly related to satisfaction with the
President and the national administration. Among
those who are satisfied with the fight against graft
and corruption, the President's rating is a net +73, as
compared to only +44 among those who are not
satisfied with the fight against graft and corruption.
A parallel pattern is found with respect to the rating
of the national administration in general, although
at a lower level of satisfaction than the satisfaction
with President Estrada personally (Table 29).

Table 27. Effect of connection to government on perception of wrong practices involving government officials
Philippines, September 1998
(Base: % saying "Always Wrong")

	RP	No gov't connection	Relative in gov't	Gov't employee
Not being given a receipt by the establishments which are required to give a receipt	61%	60%	67%	71%
Paying for a health worker for medicines which should be free	61	61	62	72
Goes ahead of the queue because the person is a relative of a government official	60	58	65	69
Driver was stopped by the police even if no traffic rule was violated	49	48	47	60
"Fixers" in a government office offering to help	45	44	44	63
Paying for a worker for the legal installation of telephone or water connection	33	33	34	45

Table 28. Awareness and performance ratings of government agencies
Philippines, September 1998

| | Aware | Base: Those aware | | | Net* |
		Satisfied	Undecided	Dissatisfied	
Supreme Court	92%	46%	31%	22%	+24
Senate	96	44	33	22	+22
House of Representatives	90	41	36	22	+19
Cabinet as a whole	90	38	39	21	+18
Sandiganbayan	79	40	33	21	+18
Senate Blue Ribbon Comm.	47	35	32	25	+10
Ombudsman	71	32	35	28	+ 3
Presidential Comm. on Good Gov't	75	31	33	33	- 1

*For greater precision, net performance ratings (% satisfied minus % dissatisfied) are first computed before figures are
rounded off.

7.3 Satisfaction with the way democracy works

A final attitude has to do with satisfaction with the way democracy works in the Philippines. This can be read as measuring more generally the legitimacy of the government. As can be seen in Table 30, the Philippines generally is more satisfied than is shown by the same question in Europe, where the question has been asked for some time now. Also, in the Philippines, there are peaks in 1992 and 1998, reflecting respondents' satisfaction with the electoral

processes that produced Presidents Ramos and Estrada, respectively.

Several of the survey variables have an impact on satisfaction with the way democracy works. How much corruption respondents think there is in the government has an impact, with a 14% difference in satisfaction between the extreme views of "a great deal of corruption" and "none." A somewhat greater dependency is on how much respondents think the government is doing to stop graft and corruption—

Table 29. Satisfaction with the present National Administration's performance in eradicating
graft and corruption in government
Philippines, September 1998

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Net*
Have you yourself ever been asked for money or any kind of gift to speed up the processing of your papers, or getting a permit or license?			
Yes	32	36	- 4
No'	39	28	+11
How much corruption do you think there is in our government presently?			
A great deal	33	35	- 2
Some	41	28	+13
A little	38	27	+11
None	45	26	+19
And what do you think the government is doing to stop graft and corruption in our country at present? Is the government...			
Doing a lot	46	29	+17
Doing something	40	26	+14
Doing almost nothing	31	31	0
Not doing anything at all	27	50	-13

	Among those ... with the National Administration on Fighting Graft and Corruption		
	(41.6%)	(26.3%)	(32.0%)
The rating of President Joseph Estrada is... (Base: 99.7% aware of Pres. Estrada)			
Satisfied	78%	66%	60%
Undecided	17	29	24
Dissatisfied	5	6	16
Net *	+73	+60	+44
The rating of the Overall National Administration is... (Base: Total Interviews)			
Satisfied	50	36	32
Undecided	34	46	37
Dissatisfied	16	19	30
Net *	+34	+17	+ 2

* % Satisfied minus % Dissatisfied

Note: For greater precision, net ratings are first computed for before figures are rounded off.

'75% of those feeling that the government is "doing a llot" are satisfied with democracy, whereas only 54% of those who feel the government is "not doing anything iat all" are satisfied.

The greatest difference in satisfaction with the way democracy works is found between those who are "very satisfied" with the performance of the government in fighting graft and corruption—87% of whom are satisfied with the way democracy works—and those who are "very dissatisfied" with the government's performance in fighting graft and corruption—

only 50% of whom are satisfied with the way democracy works in the Philippines. This 37 percentage points difference is one of the greatest in the entire study (Table 31).

8. Summary and conclusions

It is worth highlighting several findings as general conclusions.

Attitudes towards graft and corruption are complex, but several features stand out. Respondents gene-

Table 30. Percent satisfied with the way democracy works in country
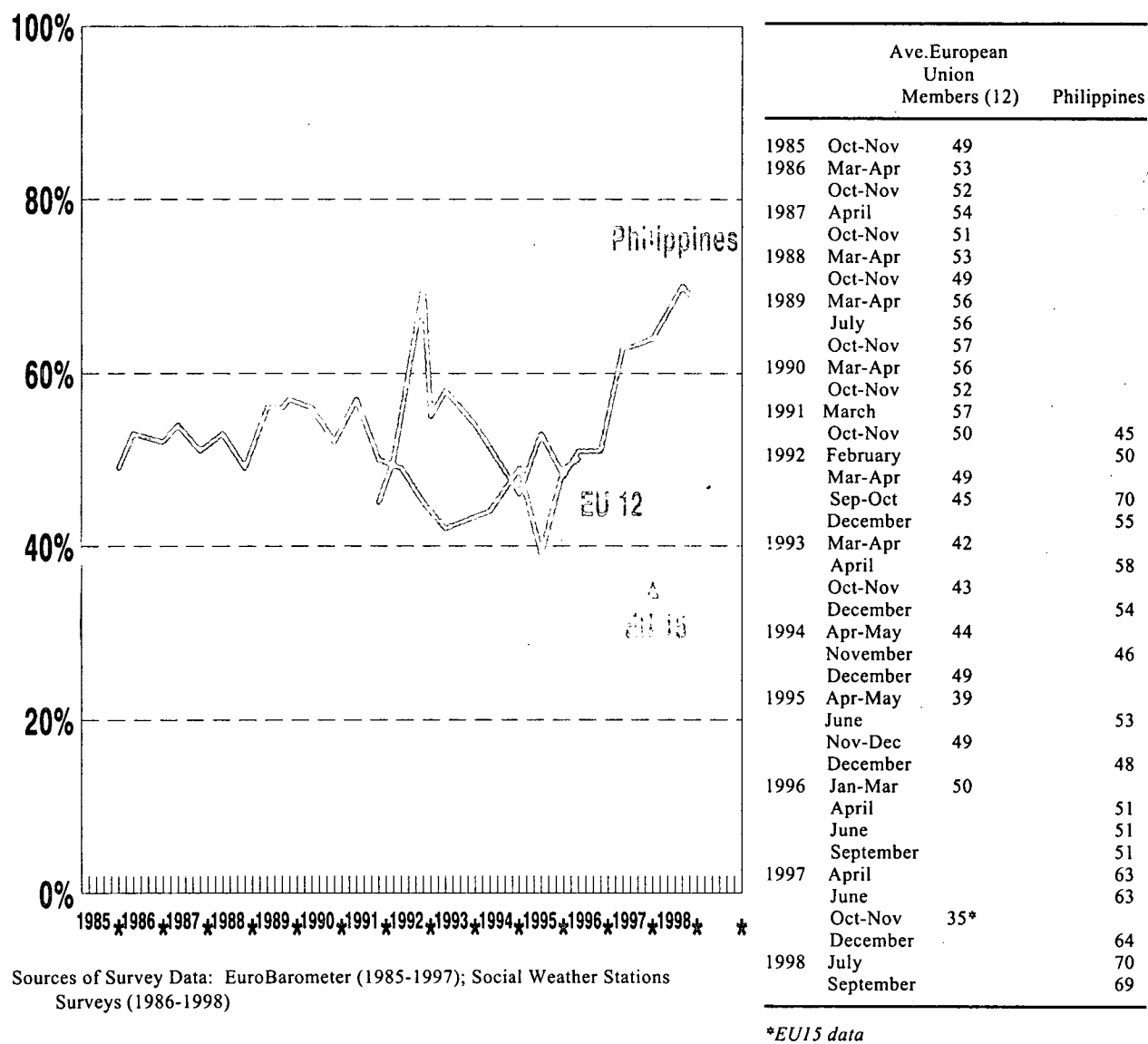(% Satisfied, 1985 - 1998)

		Ave.European Union Members (12)	Philippines
1985	Oct-Nov	49	
1986	Mar-Apr	53	
	Oct-Nov	52	
1987	April	54	
	Oct-Nov	51	
1988	Mar-Apr	53	
	Oct-Nov	49	
1989	Mar-Apr	56	
	July	56	
	Oct-Nov	57	
1990	Mar-Apr	56	
	Oct-Nov	52	
1991	March	57	
	Oct-Nov	50	45
1992	February		50
	Mar-Apr	49	
	Sep-Oct	45	70
	December		55
1993	Mar-Apr	42	
	April		58
	Oct-Nov	43	
	December		54
1994	Apr-May	44	
	November		46
	December	49	
1995	Apr-May	39	
	June		53
	Nov-Dec	49	
	December		48
1996	Jan-Mar	50	
	April		51
	June		51
	September		51
1997	April		63
	June		63
	Oct-Nov	35*	
	December		64
1998	July		70
	September		69

*EU15 data

Sources of Survey Data: EuroBarometer (1985-1997); Social Weather Stations Surveys (1986-1998)

Table 31. Correlates of satisfaction with the way democracy works in the Philippines
Philippines, September 1998
(Base: Total interviews)

	Percent who say they are "Very satisfied" or "Fairly satisfied" with the way democracy works in the Philippines
How much corruption do you think there is in our government presently?	
A great deal	62%
Some	74
A little	74
None	76
And what do you think of what government is doing to stop graft and corruption in our country at present? Is the government...	
Doing a lot	75%
Doing something	72
Doing almost nothing	67
Not doing anything at all	54
Satisfaction with the present national administration's performance in eradicating graft and corruption in the government	
Very satisfied	87%
Somewhat satisfied	80
Undecided	68
Somewhat dissatisfied	60
Very dissatisfied	50

rally have other problems that they are concerned with, but at the same time they tend to be dissatisfied with government efforts to combat corruption.

Second, personal experiences often affect attitudes towards graft and corruption, but not always in the way expected by conventional wisdom. Yes, people who have experienced graft and corruption are less likely to be satisfied with the government's efforts. However, those who have been abroad are more likely to credit the government's efforts, even though they are likely to have had personal experience with the problem. Perhaps going abroad gives citizens a more realistic expectation about what can be accomplished.

Another seeming contradiction is that government employees, compared to the self-employed and private employees are more likely to think graft and corruption are wrong. They are *not* "more understanding" of the problem.

Further, another finding needs emphasizing—that feelings against graft and corruption are not about "morality" but rather about practical issues—whether the practices retard the economic development of the country. Thus, an anti-graft campaign could be anchored less in abstract exhortations about morality

and more in pinpointing the harmful effects of these practices.

Finally, the findings show how various attitudes are interrelated. Experiences of graft and corruption, and judgements about how prevalent it is or how much government is doing about it, affect whether respondents are satisfied with government's efforts to eradicate graft and corruption. This level of satisfaction, in turn, affects how satisfied respondents are with the way democracy works in the Philippines.

In sum, while a campaign aimed at the average citizen could emphasize practicalities, in the long run a reason for an anti-corruption campaign has to do with the legitimacy of the governmental system. Left unchecked, respondents could become dissatisfied with the way democracy works, and alienated more generally from their government.

Notes

*Linda Luz B. Guerrero is SWS Vice President and Manager of Projects and Publications Group; Steven A. Rood is SWS Fellow.

[1]It is worth noting that when similar questions are asked about the local level, even less concern is exhibited about graft and corruption. Preliminary indications are that respondents associate corruption more with the national government than with local governments. More work will be done on this distinction in future surveys.

[2] It is a principle of survey work that, if one wants to understand respondents' own way of conceptualizing issues, open-ended questions (that is, with no suggested answers) should be asked before closed-ended questions. The reason for this is to avoid having the researchers' conceptualizations imposed on survey respondents—at least before the respondents have had a chance to express matters in their own terms. When survey researchers construct closed-ended questions, with a limited number of responses from which respondents choose, such constructions give cues to respondents as to permissible answers.

[3] As indicated early on, the views of key informants were later gathered in a series of group discussions, which helped in the design of the questionnaire.

[4] As mentioned earlier, more work is planned in the future about where respondents feel graft and corruption is most prevalent. In this section only two findings from previous SWS work are cited, in order to provide some preliminary idea of where respondents perceive corruption is prevalent.

[5] Pasuk Phongpaichit and Sungsidh Piriyarangsan, *Corruption and Democracy in Thailand* (Bangkok: Silkworm Books, 1996)

[6] The original wording of the question as put to respondents uses the word "policeman". It was however pointed out during the public presentation held December 11, 1998 that the word "police" is not used for persons enforcing traffic laws. Thus, in this report the suggested correction is "enforcer".

[7] "*A Survey on Corruption in Bangladesh*" conducted for Transparency International-Bangladesh by the Survey and Research System (Dhaka:1997).

[8] The three are: Self-described religiosity with not getting a receipt. Attendance at religious services with drivers being stopped even if there is no violation. Attendance at religious services with fixers in government offices.

ANNEX A

QUESTION ITEMS IMPLEMENTED WITHIN SWR 98-III
FOR THE ASIA FOUNDATION (TAF)

H. RELATIVES IN GOVERNMENT

27. Mayroon po ba kayong kamag-anak na <u>opisyal ng gobyerno</u>?
    Do you have a relative who is an <u>official of the government</u>?

    MAYROON (Yes)   1
    WALA (No)   2 — GO TO Q29

28. <u>KUNG OO</u>: Ano pong posisyon ang hinahawakan niya?

    _____

    IF YES: What position does he/she hold?

I. PERFORMANCE RATING OF THE PRESENT NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION ON ERADICATING GRAFT AND CORRUPTION

29. Gaano po kayo nasisiyahan o hindi nasisiyahan sa pamamalakad ng **kasalukuyang administrasyong nasyonal** tungkol sa **pagpuksa ng katiwalian at pangungurakot sa gobyerno**? Masasabi ba ninyong kayo ay... (<u>SHOWCARD</u>)

    How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with regard to the **present national administration's** performance in **eradicating graft and corruption in government**? Would you say that you are ...

    LUBOS NA NASISIYAHAN (Very satisfied)   1
    MEDYO NASISIYAHAN (Somewhat satisfied)   2
    HINDI TIYAK KUNG NASISIYAHAN O HINDI   3
    (Undecided if satisfied or not)
    MEDYO HINDI NASISIYAHAN (Somewhat dissatisfied)   4
    LUBOS NA HINDI NASISIYAHAN (Very dissatisfied)   5

J. AWARENESS/PERFORMANCE RATING OF GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS

30-33.
34-37.

> MAY NARINIG O NABASA NA BA KAYO TUNGKOL SA (INSTITUTION) KAHIT NA KAILAN O WALA PA?
>
> Have you ever heard or read anything about (institution) or not?
>
> FOR EACH INSTITUTION AWARE OF: BATAY HO SA KABUUANG NAGAWA NILA, ANO PO ANG PAKIRAMDAM O OPINYON NINYO SA MGA SUMUSUNOD NA INSTITUSYON NG GOBYERNO? KAYO BA AY **LUBOS NA NASISIYAHAN, MEDYO NASISIYAHAN, HINDI TIYAK KUNG NASISIYAHAN O HINDI, MEDYO HINDI NASISIYAHAN,** O **LUBOS NA HINDI NASISIYAHAN**. PAKILAGAY PO ANG MGA KARD SA NAAANGKOP NA LUGAR DITO SA RATING BOARD.
>
> Based on their overall performance, how do you feel about the performance of the following government institutions? Are you **VERY SATISFIED, SOMEWHAT SATISFIED, UNDECIDED IF SATISFIED OR NOT, SOMEWHAT DISSATISFIED** or **VERY DISSATISFIED**? You may indicate your answer by placing each card on the appropriate answer on this rating board.

(SHUFFLE CARDS - RATING BOARD 1)		VS	SS	S/D	Aware U SD	VD	NK	R	Not Aware
30/34.	Senate Blue Ribbon Committee	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
31/35.	Ombudsman	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
32/36.	Sandiganbayan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
33/37	Presidential Commission on Good Government (PCGG)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

L. GRAFT AND CORRUPTION MODULE

39. Sa inyong palagay, ang katiwalian ba ay bahagi ng pagpapatakbo ng gobyerno dito sa Pilipinas o maaaring patakbuhin ang gobyerno nang walang katiwalian.

Do you think corruption in government is part of the way things work in the Philippines, or do you think the government can be run without corruption?

    ANG KATIWALIAN AY BAHAGI NG PAGPAPATAKBO NG GOBYERNO SA PILIPINAS   1
    (Corruption in government is part of the way things work in the Philippines)
    MAAARING PATAKBUHIN ANG GOBYERNO NANG WALANG KATIWALIAN   2
    (The government can be run without corruption)

40. Kayo po ba mismo ay nakaranas nang hingian ng pera o ng anumang regalo upang mapadali ang pagproseso ng mga papeles ninyo o di kaya'y makakuha ng permit o lisensya?

Have you yourself ever been asked for money or any kind of gift to speed up the processing of your papers, or getting a permit or a license?

    OO (Yes)   1
    HINDI(No)   2 - **GO TO Q43**

41. KUNG OO: Ito po ba ay ini-report ninyo?
    IF YES: Did you report this?

    OO (Yes)   1 - **GO TO Q43**
    HINDI(No)   2

42. KUNG HINDI: Bakit po ninyo ito hindi ini-report? (SHOWCARD)
    IF NOT: Why did you not report?

    HINDI ALAM KUNG SAAN DAPAT MAG-REPORT   1
    (Did not know where to report)
    TAKOT PAGHIGANTIHAN   2
    (Afraid of retaliation)
    WALA RIN NAMANG GAGAWIN TUNGKOL DITO   3
    (Nothing would be done about it anyway)
    MASYADONG MALIIT NA BAGAY UPANG PAGKAABALAHAN   4
    (Its too small a thing to bother about)
    IBA PA, PAKITUKOY   ( )
    (Others, please specify)

43. Gaano kalaki, sa inyong palagay, ang katiwalian sa ating gobyerno sa kasalukuyan?   (SHOWCARD)
    How much corruption do you think is there in our government presently?

TALAGANG MALAKI (A great deal)	1
MEDYO MALAKI (some)	2
KAUNTI (A little)	3
WALA (None)	4 — GO TO Q45

44. At ano naman po ang tingin ninyo sa ginagawa ng gobyerno upang masugpo ang katiwalian at pangungurakot sa ating bansa sa
    kasalukuyan? Ang gobyerno po ba ay may ... (SHOWCARD) ... sa pagsusugpo ng katiwalian at pangungurakot sa ating bansa?
    And what do you think of what government is doing to stop graft and corruption in our country at present. Is government ....
    (SHOWCARD) to stop graft and corruption in our country.

MALAKI ANG GINAGAWA (doing a lot)	1
MEDYO MALAKI ANG GINAGAWA (doing something)	2
HALOS WALANG GINAGAWA (almost doing nothing)	3
TALAGANG WALANG GINAGAWA (not doing anything at all)	4

45. Bakit po sa palagay ninyo nangyayari ang katiwalian at pangungurakot sa ating gobyerno?
    Why do you think graft and corruption happens in our government? (OPEN ENDED)

46-50. Magsasalarawan ako ng ilang mga sitwasyong kasangkot ang mga tauhan ng gobyerno. Pakisabi kung alin sa mga salitang ito ang
    pinaka-naaangkop sa sitwasyong aking isasalarawan.
    I am going to describe a number of situations to you involving government officials. Please tell me how you would describe the situation.

    a. PABUYA (Tip)
    b. PANG-MERYENDA/PANG-KAPE/PANG-SIGARILYO
       (Snack-money/Coffee-money/Cigarette-money)
    c. HINDI TAPAT SA TUNGKULIN (Dishonesty in duty)
    d. PANUNUHOL (Bribery)
    e. PANGUNGUWARTA O PANGINGIKIL (Extortion)
    f. KASAMA SA GASTOS SA TRABAHO (Part of cost of doing business)
    g. HINDI MAAYOS NA PARAAN NG PAGTATRABAHO (Inefficient administration)

(SHUFFLE CARDS AND RATING BOARD 2)

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g
46. UPANG MAIWASANG PUMUNTA SA STASYON NG PULISYA AT MAGBAYAD NG BUONG MULTA, INALOK NG TAONG LUMABAG SA BATAS TRAPIKO NA BAYARAN NA LAMANG NIYA ANG MULTA SA PULIS. KAHIT NA HINDI NANGHIHINGI NG PERA ANG PULIS, TINANGGAP NIYA ITO. (To avoid having to visit the police station and pay a full fine, a traffic offender offers to pay a "fine" directly to the traffic policeman. The policeman did not ask for the money, but accepted it)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
47. NAGSADYA ANG ISANG TAO SA ISANG OPISINA NG GOBYERNO AT SIYA AY MAAYOS NA TINULUNGAN NG OPISYAL NA NAMAMAHALA. NANG TAPOS NA ANG KANIYANG SADYA, INABUTAN NIYA NG P50 ANG OPISYAL NG GOBYERNO AT ITO AY KANIYANG TINANGGAP. (A person visits a government office and receives good assistance from the official in charge. When the matter is concluded, he offers 50 pesos which the government official accepts.)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
48. NANGAILANGAN NG SERBISYO ANG ISANG TAO SA ISANG DEPARTAMENTO NG GOBYERNO. SINADYANG TAGALAN NG EMPLEYADO NG GOBYERNO ANG PAG-ASIKASO SA KANIYA. INABUTAN NIYA ANG EMPLEYADO NG PERA (P50) UPANG MAPABILIS ANG TRABAHO AT BILANG KABAYARAN SA KANIYANG GINAWA. (A person needs some service from a government department. The official in charge deliberately takes his time. The person gives the official money (P50) to speed up the work and to reward the official for his efforts)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

49.	NAGBIGAY ANG NEGOSYANTE NG KOMISYON SA ISANG OPISYAL NG GOBYERNO NA NANGANGASIWA SA ISANG PROYEKTO. (A businessman gives a commission fee to a government official in charge of a project)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
50.	TUMAAS ANG POSISYON NG ISANG TAO DAHIL SIYA AY KAMAG-ANAK NG ISANG OPISYAL NG GOBYERNO. (A person is promoted because he is the relative of a government official)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

51-56. Pakisabi po kung ang mga sumusunod ay ... KAILANMAN AY MALI, KADALASAN AY MALI, KUNG MINSAN AY MALI O HINDI NAMAN MALI.

Please tell me if the following is... ALWAYS WRONG, ALMOST ALWAYS WRONG, WRONG SOMETIMES, OR NOT WRONG AT ALL

(SHUFFLE CARDS /RATING BOARD 3)	Always Wrong	Almost Always Wrong	Wrong Sometimes	Not Wrong At all
51. PAGPAPAHINTO NG PULIS SA SASAKYAN KAHIT NA ITO AY HINDI LUMABAG SA BATAS-TRAPIKO (Driver stopped by police even if no traffic rule was violated)	1	2	3	4
52. PAGKAKAROON NG "FIXERS" O MGA TAONG NAG-AALOK NG TULONG NA MAY BAYAD SA OPISINA NG GOBYERNO. ("Fixers" in a government office offering to help)				
53. PAGBABAYAD SA TRABAHADOR UPANG MABIGYAN NG LEGAL NA KONEKSYON NG TELEPONO O TUBIG (Paying a worker for the legal installation of telephone or water connection)	1	2	3	4
54. PAGBABAYAD SA ISANG HEALTH WORKER SA MGA GAMOT NA DAPAT NAMAN AY LIBRE (Paying a health worker for medicines which should be free)	1	2	3	4
55. PAGPAPAUNA SA PILA NG ISANG KAMAG-ANAK NG ISANG OPISYAL NG GOBYERNO (Goes ahead of the queue because the person is a relative of a government official)	1	2	3	4
56. HINDI BINIBIGYAN NG RESIBO NG MGA ESTABLESIMYENTONG DAPAT MAGBIGAY NG RESIBO(Not being given a receipt by the establishments which are required to give receipt)	1	2	3	4

57. Kapag may katiwaliang kasangkot ang isang negosyante at isang opisyal ng gobyerno, sino sa palagay ninyo ang dapat na sisihin? (SHOWCARD)

When there is corruption involving a businessman and a government official, who in your opinion is to blame?

ANG OPISYAL LAMANG (The official only)	1
KADALASAN ANG OPISYAL, AT MEDYO ANG NEGOSYANTE (Mostly the official, and somewhat the businessman)	2
PAREHONG DAPAT NA SISIHIN (Both equally to blame)	3
KADALASAN ANG NEGOSYANTE, AT MEDYO ANG OPISYAL (Mostly the businessman, and somewhat the official)	4
ANG NEGOSYANTE LAMANG (The businessman only)	5

58-65. Ano po sa palagay ninyo ang epekto ng mga sumusunod sa pag-unlad ng ekonomiya ng ating bansa. Ang mga ito ba ay TALAGANG MAGPAPABAGAL, BAHAGYANG MAGPAPABAGAL, O HINDI MAGPAPABAGAL sa pag-unlad ng bansa.

Please tell me how the following will affect the economic development of our country. Will it definitely VERY MUCH RETARD, SOMEWHAT RETARD, OR NOT RETARD the country's development?

(SHUFFLE CARDS / RATING BOARD 4)	VERY MUCH RETARD	SOMEWHAT RETARD	NOT RETARD
58. MGA OPISYALES NA NAGBUBULSA NG PERANG NAKALAAN PARA SA MGA PROYEKTO NG GOBYERNO (Officials pocketing the money intended for government projects)	1	2	3
59. MGA OPISYALES NA NAGBIBIGAY NG MGA PABOR SA KANILANG MGA KAIBIGAN AT KAMAG-ANAK (Officials giving favors to their friends and relatives)	1	2	3
60. MGA NEGOSYANTENG NAGBIBIGAY NG SUHOL SA MGA OPISYAL NG GOB-YERNO PARA MANALO SA KONTRATA (Businessmen bribing officials to win contracts)	1	2	3
61. MGA KONTRATISTANG HINDI GUMAGAMIT NG PINAGKASUNDUANG KALIDAD NG MATERYALES (Contractors not using the agreed upon quality of materials)	1	2	3
62. PAGHINGI NG PANG-KAPE, PANG-SIGARILYO, O PANG-MERYENDA SA MGA OPISINA NG GOBYERNO (Asking for coffee-money, cigarette-money, or snack-money in a government office)	1	2	3
63. PAGBIBIGAY NG KARAGDAGANG BAYAD SA TRABAHADOR UPANG MABIGYAN NG LINYA NG TELEPONO O TUBIG (Paying a worker extra for telephone lines or water connections)			
64. PAGBABAYAD SA PULIS UPANG IPAGWALANG-BAHALA NA LAMANG ANG NAGAWANG PAGLABAG SA BATAS-TRAPIKO (Paying policeman to ignore a traffic violation)	1	2	3
65. PAGBABAYAD SA "FIXER" UPANG TUMULONG SA TRANSAKSIYON SA OPISINA NG GOBYERNO (Paying a fixer to help in a government office)	1	2	3

66. May mga nagsasabi na ang katiwalian ay nangyayari lamang sa mga gawain sa gobyerno. May mga nagsasabi naman na ang katiwalian ay nangyayari rin sa mga gawaing pribado na walang kasangkot na tauhan ng gobyerno. Alin sa dalawa ang mas malapit sa inyong pananaw?

Some people think that graft and corruption only happens in government activities. Others feel that graft and corruption also happens in the private sector even if there is no government personnel involved. Which of the two is closer to your opinion?

ANG KATIWALIAN AY NANGYAYARI LAMANG KUNG KASANGKOT ANG GOBYERNO   1
(Graft and corruption only happens in government activities)
ANG KATIWALIAN AY NANGYAYARI RIN SA MGA GAWAING PRIBADO NA WALANG
KASANGKOT NA TAUHAN NG GOBYERNO   2
(Graft and corruption also happens in the private sector even if there is no government
personnel involved)

ANNEX B

SAMPLING SCHEME OF THE SEPTEMBER 1998
SWS NATIONAL SURVEY WITHIN WHICH
THE GRAFT AND CORRUPTION MODULE WAS IMPLEMENTED

1. LOCATION

The Social Weather Report Survey 98-III (SWR 98-III) survey conducted in September 1998 covers the entire Philippines and has four major study areas: National Capital Region (NCR), Balance Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao.

2. FIELDWORK SCHEDULE

National Capital Region	-	September 11-26, 1998
Balance Luzon	-	September 16-26, 1998
Visayas	-	September 15-26, 1998
Mindanao	-	September 17-29, 1998

3. RESPONDENTS

The survey focuses on registered voters (18 years and above) and gathers data through face-to-face interviews. It asks the sample of registered voters a host of questions about political, social, and economic issues and also about specific personal information.

The sample size for the survey is 1,200.

4. SAMPLING METHOD

Sample Sizes and Error Margins. An indicator of data quality used is the standard error of the estimate, on which the margin for sampling error is based. As survey statistics are mostly proportions, the key measure of data precision is the standard error of a proportion taken from a sample. It is computed as follows:

$$\sqrt{\frac{p(1-p)}{n}}$$

where p is the sample proportion estimate and n is the sample size. The overall sample size of 1,200 registered voters gives a maximum error margin of +/-2.6% at the 95% confidence level, assuming a simple random sampling design. (The sampling error is at its highest when the true proportion being estimated is close to 50%.)

The following approximate 95%-confidence margins for sampling error should be made when aggregating data at various levels:

	Sample size	Error margin
Philippines	1,200	+/-3%
National Capital Region	300	+/-6%
Balance Luzon	300	+/-6%
Visayas	300	+/-6%
Mindanao	300	+/-6%

However, somewhat higher error margins should be expected since we used multi-stage cluster sampling (This is a "design-effect" but it is not readily measurable using even any common and established statistical software).

Sampling scheme. The Philippines is divided into four study areas: National Capital Region (NCR), Balance Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao. The sample size for each of the five study areas is 300 registered voters.

Multi-stage probability sampling was used in the selection of sample spots. The allocation of sample units in each stage is as follows:

	Cities/ Prov.	Mun.	URBAN Original Precincts	URBAN PR	URBAN HHH*	RURAL Barangays	RURAL PR	RURAL HHH*
NCR	—	17	60	300	180	—	—	—
Balance Luzon	10	15	30	150	90	30	150	90
Visayas	5	15	30	150	90	30	150	90
Mindanao	5	15	30	150	90	30	150	90
	20	62	150	750	450	90	450	270

* Indicates the minimum number of household heads interviewed per study area.

For the National Capital Region:

Stage 1. Selection of Sample Precincts. For NCR's first stage, 60 precincts are distributed among the 17 NCR cities/ municipalities in such a way that each city/municipality is assigned a number of precincts that is roughly proportional to its population size. An additional provision

is that each municipality must receive at least one precinct. Precincts are then selected at random from within each city/municipality with probability proportional to population size.

Stage 2. Selection of Sample Households. In each sample precinct map, interval sampling is used to draw 5 sample households:
- A starting street corner is drawn at random
- The first sample household is randomly selected from the households nearest to the starting street corner
- Subsequent sample households were chosen using a fixed interval of 6 households in between the sampled ones; i.e. every 7th household is sampled

In each sample household, the household head was asked questions which pertains to the entire household. If during the interview of the sample registered voter, the household head was not available, questions for the household head were left blank. However, it was required that there should be at least 3 households per precinct where the household head and the sample registered voter belong to the same household. Callbacks were made to meet this requirement.

Stage 3. Selection of the Sample Adult. For the third stage, in each selected household, a respondent is randomly chosen among the household members who are 18 years and older, using a probability selection table. In selecting the probability respondent of a household, only male family members were pre-listed in the probability selection table of odd-numbered questionnaires; only female family members were pre-listed for even-numbered questionnaires. In cases where there was no qualified probability respondent of a given gender, the interval sampling of households would continue until five sample respondents were identified.

For the Rest of the Philippines

Stage 1. Selection of Sample Provinces. For the rest of the country, the provinces serve as the first stage unit. The following number of provinces from each region is selected without replacement and with probability proportional to registered voter population size.

Study Area	No. of Provinces
Balance Luzon	10
Visayas	5
Mindanao	5

Stage 2. Selection of Sample Municipalities. Within each study area, 15 municipalities are distributed among the sample provinces in such a way that each province is assigned a number of municipalities roughly proportional to its population size. However, each sample province must receive at least one municipality. Sample municipalities are then selected from within each sample province with probability proportional to population size, without replacement.

Stage 3. Selection of Sample Spots. Once the sample municipalities have been selected, 60 spots are distributed among the sample municipalities in such a way that each municipality is assigned a number of spots roughly proportional to its population. However, each sample municipality must receive at least one spot.

If based on the National Statistics Office categorization, the chosen sample municipality/city is 100% urban in 1990 (latest), then sample precincts are systematically drawn from this municipality/city. Otherwise, sample barangays within each sample municipality are selected with probability proportional to population size without replacement.

In the effort to update the urban-rural classification of barangays, the survey adopted a classification scheme slightly different from the official NSO definition. The interviewers were instructed to ascertain whether the barangay has the following:
- A. Street Patterns i.e. network of streets in either parallel or right angle orientation
- B. At least 6 establishments (commercial, manufacturing, recreational and/or personal services)
- C. Any of the following:
  - 1a. town/barangay hall
  - b. church/chapel
  - 2a. public plaza/park
  - b. cemetery
  - 3. market place
  - 4. public building like school,hospital, health center or library

If the barangay has at least two of the categories listed as A, B, or C, then the barangay is classified as urban. Otherwise, the barangay is categorized as rural.

Stage 4. Selection of Sample Households. For the fourth stage, within each sample spot, systematic sampling is used to select 5 households after a random start. In sample (urban) precincts, a random corner was identified; a random start generated; and the interval was seven. In ascertained urban barangays (with no precinct maps), the designated starting point was the same as in rural barangays - it was a school, the barangay captain's house, a church/chapel, or a barangay/municipal hall. The sampling interval for urban barangays was seven, while for rural barangays it was two.

The household head in these sampled households is asked questions pertaining to the entire household. If during the interview of the sample adult, the household head is not available, after a number of valid callbacks, questions for the household head were left blank. However, it was required that there should be at least 3 households per sample spot where the sample household head and the sample adult belong to the same household. Callbacks were made to meet this requirement.

Stage 5. Selection of Sample Respondents. For the fifth and final stage, a respondent is randomly chosen from among the voting-age adults in each selected household using a probability respondent selection table. To ensure that half of the respondents are males and half are females, male respondents are selected for odd-numbered questionnaires, while female respondents are selected for even-numbered questionnaires. To do this, in selecting the probability respondent of a household, only qualified male family members were pre-listed in the probability selection table of odd-numbered questionnaires: only qualified female family members were pre-listed for even-numbered questionnaires.

5. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

a. Preparation

1. Questionnaire. The Tagalog version of the questionnaire was translated into English, Cebuano, Ilonggo, Ilocano, and Bicolano by langauage experts. Then the language translation was translated back to Tagalog by another set of experts to make sure that the messages were conveyed accurately.

2. Training

(a) Training was conducted in 3 central locations: Manila, Iloilo City and Cebu City. The interviewers needed to cover Luzon were trained in Manila. Those trained in Iloilo covered Ilonggo-speaking regions, while those in Cebu City covered all of Cebuano-speaking areas (Central & Eastern Visayas and Mindanao).

(b) Training Time - The minimum training time for group supervisors and interviewers was one week.

(c) Training Activities - These mainly consisted of:
- One or two days office training to learn the basics of the project.
- Mock interviews with co-workers to get accustomed to the flow of interviewing and questionnaire format.
- Practice interviews with a supervisor around until the interviewer could be left on her own.

(d) Evaluation of interviewer's work - The interviewer was left to interview on her own only after she has conducted 3 successive interviews without committing any error in interviewing and recording.

b. Fieldwork

1. *Workers on Hand.* Since TRENDS-MBL, the field and data encoding implementor of SWS surveys, has a pool of trained interviewers all over the country, most if not all of the interviewers were experienced. A few were new hires who underwent a thorough training program before they were left on their own.

2. *Supervision*

(a) Supervisors reporting to the field manager monitored the study full-time. They observed the interviewers (at least 10% of total interviewers are observed by supervisors), made follow-ups and did surprise checks on the field interviewers. They also ensured that field logistics were received promptly and administered properly.

(b) Spot-checking was done at various stages of field work. The first one took place after about 30% of interviews were completed. The second spot-checking was conducted after 60% completion and the last one, immediately after 90% completion of interviewing.

During spot-checking, at least 20% of the unsupervised interviews were re-interviewed/back-checked. If serious errors persisted after 20% spot-checking, the original interviews were invalidated and respondents re-interviewed. An error was considered serious if dishonesty in recording was apparent or if there was a serious misinterpretation of the study such that it resulted in the wrong information.

If some questionnaires were found incomplete or had inconsistent answers, the interviewer was asked to go back to the respondent, so that the questionnaire could be completed and corrected.____

3. *Number of Calls and Substitution.* A respondent not contacted during the first attempt was visited for a second time. If the respondent remained unavailable, a substitute (from another household) who possessed the same qualities (in terms of gender, age bracket, and socio-economic class) as the original respondent was interviewed. The substitue respondent was taken from another household beyond the covered intervals in the sample precinct.

4. Field Editing

(a) After each interview, the interviewer was asked to go over her own work and check for consistency.

(b) All accomplished interview schedules were submitted to the assigned group supervisor who, in turn, edited every interview.

(c)   Data Processing

    1. An office editor conducted a final consistency check on all interviews prior to coding.

    2. Interview sheets were edited/checked twice by office editors before the information were encoded into diskettes.

    3. A data entry computer program verified and checked the consistency of the encoded data before data tables were generated.

6. WEIGHTING PROCEDURE

To yield representative figures at the regional and national level, census-based population weights are applied to the various area domains. The weight projection is computed by dividing the population in the area by the sample size of the same area. Appropriate projection factors were applied so that original population proportions are reflected in the data tables using this formula:

$$\text{Projection factors (Weight)} = \frac{\text{Population}}{\text{No. of Interviews}}$$

For questions answered by the sample voting-age adult, the following projection factors were used:

	1998 NSO Projected Population Sample (in thousands)	Total Size	Projection Factors (in thousands)
NCR	6,289.987	300	20.9666220000
Balance Luzon	17,481.565	300	58.2718833333
Visayas	8,378.714	300	27.9290453333
Mindanao	9,385.458	300	31.2848600000
TOTAL	41,535.723	1200	

Correlates of Premarital Sex Experience Among Filipino Youth

GERARDO A. SANDOVAL*

1. Background and focus of the study

Republic Act 8044 or the "Youth in Nation-Building Act" of 1995 created the Philippine National Youth Commission (NYC) to serve as the sole policy-making and coordinating body of all youth programs and government projects. This Act mandates the NYC to undertake "a national study on the situation of youth in the Philippines" which identifies (a) priority needs, (b) prevailing attitudes and values, (c) existing services, and (d) gaps in the delivery of basic needs of the youth (Sec. 13b).

This Act also sets the definition of youth in the Philippines as those who are 15-30 years old, as the youth definition varies across many Philippine institutions[1]. Adopting this definition, the number of Filipino youth in 1997 is estimated at 21.1 million or about 30 percent of the country's projected 71.5 million total population.[2]

While some government statistics encompass the newly defined youth or those 15-30 years old, they mostly pertain to their demographic characteristics and hardly include information on their attitudes, values, needs, aspirations, and problems.

In response to the gap in available data on the youth, the NYC commissioned Social Weather Stations (SWS) to conduct a nationwide survey of Filipino youth in April 1996 (for results of this survey, refer to Sandoval, Mangahas and Guerrero 1998). Given the initial findings of this survey and the need to monitor changes through time, as well as with the objective of understanding the youth more especially on areas where no data have yet been gathered, SWS conducted the second national youth survey in November 1997 (SWS 1999).

Like the first NYC-SWS youth survey, the second study had a statistically-representative national sample of 1,200 youth respondents for an error margin of ±3%

at the 95% confidence level (see Annex A). Both surveys utilized face-to-face interviews for items considered non-sensitive, and the sealed envelope method (see Annex B) near the end of the interview for sensitive issues, including among others, experience of premarital sex by the youth.

This paper reports on the factors associated with premarital sex experience of Filipino youth. Factors examined include socio-demographic characteristics, economic indicators, religious orientation, mass media exposure, and satisfaction with certain aspects in life.

2. Highlights of the findings

For both the first and second SWS-NYC surveys, the question on premarital sex experience was included in the sealed-envelope questionnaire. Since the definitive questionnaire version was in Tagalog, the question was phrased as follows:

> 'Kayo ba, kahit na kailan ay nakipagtalik nang hindi pa kasal?'
> (Have you ever engaged in a sexual relation when not yet married?)

Inquiring about the Filipino youth's experience of premarital sex would certainly make them consider sexual activities within the confines of marriage. As Xenos (1997) explains, the very definition of what is 'premarital' is not always entirely clear. In the Philippines in particular, the Young Adult Fertility and Sexuality Study[3] (YAFS II) conducted in 1994 among adolescents aged 15-24 identified 27-32 percent of women and men currently living-in with a partner who described themselves as married. Therefore, living-in with a partner in the Philippines is somehow considered a form of marriage, rather than a trial arrangement. (This issue will be tackled again when premarital sex experience is examined in terms of marital status.)

Given the above paremarital sex experience question, 13 percent of Filipino youth claimed that they have experienced premarital sex based on the first SWS-NYC youth survey conducted in April 1996. This proportion slightly increased to 17 percent in the second SWS-NYC survey conducted in November 1997.

These proportions are slightly lower compared to the 18 percent with premarital sex experience obtained by the YAFS II (Raymundo and Lusterio 1995), considering that the SWS-NYC surveys have a larger coverage in terms of age (i.e., 15-30 years old).

In terms of absolute numbers, the SWS-NYC 1996 survey estimates about 2.7 million Filipino youth aged 15-30 with premarital sex experience (Sandoval, Mangahas and Guerrero 1998). This number, increased to about 3.6 million, based on the SWS-NYC youth survey in 1997 (SWS 1999).

The YAFS II survey in 1994 estimates about 2.2 million adolescents aged 15-24 with premarital sex experience (Raymundo and Lusterio 1995). The SWS-NYC survey in 1996 estimates about 1.5 million of the same age group—adolescents aged 15-24—with premarital sex experience, and 2.3 million aged 15-24 with premarital sex experience based on the 1997 survey.

It should be noted, however, that the SWS-NYC question on premarital sex experience involved only one item. The YAFS II survey, on the other hand, obtained its result from three questions about premarital sex experience at three different points in the survey questionnaire that was implemented via a face-to-face interview. Since there are three questions, a respondent with inconsistent answers was considered to have experienced premarital sex if he or she answered positively to any of the three questions (Xenos 1997, Xenos, Raymundo and Lusterio 1997).

Beyond the incidence of premarital sex experience, other information can also be obtained in a survey and they include patterns of premarital sex experience. For instance, does premarital sex experience tend to be higher among males than females, in urban than rural areas, among younger than older people, among non-religious than religious people, and among those dissatisfied with their parents than those satisfied? These questions and many others are answered in the succeeding sections.

Before these questions are answered, a few methodological notes need to be explained. First, the response categories of most of the variables used have been collapsed from the original four- or five-point scale to a two- or three-point scale. Second, responses such as Don't know, Refuse to answer and Cannot choose, which counted very few cases in nearly all of the variables used in this report, were declared as "missing cases" and excluded from the computations. Third, as most variables utilized in the analysis are in the ordinal scale (i.e., with ranks or presumed to have ranks from highest to lowest or vice-versa), a statistical measure for ordinal variables called Gamma[4] (G) is used.

2.1. Premarital sex and socio-demographic characteristics

Locale. Half of the Filipino youth respondents live in urban areas while the other half live in rural areas. Disaggregating premarital sex experience by locale, Table 1 shows that those living in urban compared to those in rural areas report higher levels of premarital experience (23% vs. 11%; G=-0.43, p<.001).

Area. By major geographical area, the largest proportion of Filipino youth respondents is situated in Balance Luzon at 41%, followed by Mindanao at 24%, Visayas at 20%, and the National Capital Region (NCR) at 15%.

Distance from NCR does not reveal a significant association with premarital sex experience (G=-0.09, ns). However, premarital sex experience in the NCR is significantly higher compared to all other areas combined (G=-0.32, p<01; not shown in table).

Socio-economic class. SWS uses a simple system based on Philippine consumer research for identifying socio-economic class. This includes a set of guidelines pertaining to dwelling and neighborhood appearance that allow survey interviewers to classify respondents as Class A (rich), Class B (upper class), Class C (middle), Class D (poor), or Class E (very poor) (Arroyo 1990a). Using this scheme, majority (70%) of Filipino youth respondents, 70%, is classified under class D, 21% to class E, and the remaining 9% to classes ABC.

Table 1 shows that premarital sex experience is not associated significantly with socio-economic class. Stated differently, youth belonging to upper class report about the same level of premarital sex experience compared to those in the lower classes.

Table 1. Experience of Premarital Sex by Socio-
Demographic Characteristics
Philippine Youth, November 1997 SWS Survey

	Never experienced	Ever experienced	Gamma coefficient
Total Philippines (100%)	83%	17%	
Locale			-0.43**
Urban (52%)	77	23	
Rural (48%)	89	11	
Area			-0.09, ns
NCR (15%)	74	26	
Luzon (41%)	85	15	
Visayas (20%)	87	13	
Mindanao(24%)	82	18	
Socio-economic Class			-0.09, ns
ABC (9%)	80	20	
D (70%)	83	17	
E (21%)	85	15	
Sex			-0.20**
Male (50%)	80	20	
Female (50%)	86	14	
Age Group			0.34***
15-16 (15%)	98	2	
17-21 (39%)	85	15	
22-24 (17%)	74	26	
25-30 (29%)	78	22	
Civil Status			-0.37***
Ever-married (35%)	76	24	
Living-in (2%)	57	43	
Never married (63%)	88	14	
Educational Attainment			0.19**
Elem. or less (16%)	85	15	
HS to Voc. (60%)	85	15	
College or more (24%)	76	24	

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001

Sex. The distribution of male and female respondents was predetermined to have a 1:1 ratio. Examining premarital sex experience by sex reveals that the males report higher premarital experience compared to females (20% vs. 14%; G=-.20, p<.01). A different study has alluded this discrepancy to the possibility of underreporting by the female respondents and the engagement of males in commercial sex (Xenos 1997, Xenos, Raymundo and Lusterio 1997).

Age. Fifteen percent of the youth respondents belong to the 15-16 age group, 39% in 17-21, 17% in 22-24, and 29% in the 25-30 age group. Experience of premarital sex is directly associated to age (G=.34, p<.001). The percentage of youth with premarital sex experience rises from 2% among age group 15-16 to 22-26% among the 22-30 age group.

Marital status. About 6 out of 10 Filipino youth said they are single, while about a third said they are married. A small proportion, 2%, claimed that they are currently living-in with a partner. Marital status is significantly associated to premarital sex experience (G=-0.37, p<.001).

The percentage of those reporting premarital sex experience is 14% among single youth compared to a higher 24% among ever-married youth, which some-how indicates that premarital sex experience initiates or accelerates the process of marriage (Xenos 1997, Xenos, Raymundo and Lusterio 1997).

Of the 2% who are living-in with a partner, only 43% claimed they have experienced premarital sex. The remaining 57% said that they have never experienced premarital sex, indicating that among this group, living-in with a partner is considered as a form of marriage already (Xenos 1997).

Educational attainment. Six out of ten Filipino youth reached or finished high school level or even voca-tional training, 24% had some college or higher, and 16% had at most elementary education.

Similar to the finding on age, educational attainment is positively correlated to premarital sex experience (G=0.19, p<.01), although the Gamma obtained is not as strong as that obtained for age. This means that those with higher education tend to report higher experience of premarital sex.

Among the seven socio-demographic variables tested, only one—socio-economic class—is therefore not significantly associated with premarital sex expe-rience. All the remaining six variables—locale, area (in terms of NCR vs. other areas), sex, age group, marital status, and educational attainment—show significant associations to premarital sex experience. It should be noted, however, that the Gamma coefficients obtained vary across these variables, with locale, marital status and age showing the strongest correlation with premarital sex experience.

2.2. Premarital sex and economic indicators

Following the social indicators movement[5] which recognizes that a nation has a multiplicity of social concerns, SWS develops and includes many political, economic, and social indicators in its surveys (Mangahas 1976 and 1977, Mangahas and Guerrero 1998). This section presents some of the economic indicators—self-rated poverty, gaining compared to a year ago, and optimism about the coming year—and examines premarital sex experience in terms of these indicators.

Self-rated poverty. This pertains to those who point to the word 'Poor' when shown a card by a survey interviewer containing the words 'Poor' and 'Not poor,' and a line separating the two. This approach yields a three-way classification of respondents as Poor, Not poor, or on the Borderline (Abrera 1976, Mangahas, 1988, 1992, and 1995).

Half of the Filipino youth assessed themselves as poor, while the other half as not poor. As shown in Table 2, self-rated poverty is not correlated with PMS experience. Whether the youth respondents consider themselves poor or not poor, the level of premarital sex experience reported is the same.

Gaining compared to a year ago. SWS determines those who gain or lose in the economy by asking the people directly. This is the concept of trends in the quality of life (Arroyo 1990b). Have their living standards improved, worsened, or remained the same over the past year? The SWS-NYC survey asked respondents to compare their present quality of life with that of 12 months ago: did they gain, lose, or experience no change?

Using this form of inquiry, about four out of ten of Filipino youth considered themselves as gainers, while about three out of ten said their quality of life has deteriorated; a third said there was no change.

Gaining or losing compared to a year ago shows a slight association with premarital sex experience (G=.14, p<.05). Experience of premarital sex tends to be lower among those who assessed themselves as gainers (14%), compared to those who assessed themselves as losers (20%) or whether there was no change in their status (19%).

Table 2. Experience of Premarital Sex
by Economic Indicators
Philippine Youth, November 1997 SWS Survey

	Never experienced	Ever experienced	Gamma coefficient
Total Philippines (100%)	83%	17%	
Self-rated Poverty			-0.08, ns
Not poor/On the line (48%)	82	18	
Poor (52%)	84	16	
Gaining Compared to 12 Months Ago			0.14*
Better now (39%)	86	14	
Same as before (33%)	81	19	
Worse now (28%)	80	20	
Optimism About Coming Year			-0.02, ns
Will be better (51%)	83	17	
Same (39%)	84	16	
Will be worse (10%)	81	19	

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Optimism about the coming year. Similar to the gaining vs. losing question, the survey also asked whether the respondents foresee a gain or a loss in their quality of life over the next year. Those who predict improvements were classified as optimists, while those who expect losses may be called pessimists (Arroyo 1990b).

Results of this question reveal that half of the Filipino youth were optimistic about their future. About four out of ten did not foresee a change in their status, while one out of ten was pessimistic about the coming year.

Like for self-rated poverty, optimism about the future is not correlated with premarital sex experience. Whether or not the youth are optimistic about the future, the figures for premarital sex experience are the same.

2.3. Premarital sex and religious orientation

Religious affiliation. A large majority of Filipino youth, 86%, is Catholic, while the remaining 14% have other religions. Table 3 shows that regardless of religious affiliation, the levels of premarital sex experience among the youth is about the same.

Table 3. Experience of Premarital Sex
by Religious Orientation
Philippine Youth, November 1997 SWS Survey

	Never experienced	Ever experienced	Gamma coefficient
Total Philippines (100%)	83%	17%	
Religious Affiliation			-0.11, ns
Catholic (86%)	82	18	
Others (14%)	86	14	
Importance of Being Religious in Life			-0.48**
Important (95%)	82	18	
Not important (5%)	93	7	
Active Participation in Religious Organizations			-0.06, ns
Active members (15%)	84	16	
Inactive members +Non- member (85%)	83	17	
Self-Assessed Religiosity			0.02, ns
Religious (83%)	83	17	
Neither (7%)	85	15	
Non-religious (10%)	81	19	

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001

Importance of being religious in life. This question was included in a battery of items[6] that the youth respondents classified as very important, rather important, not very important or not at all important in their lives. Nearly all of the youth, 95%, considered being religious as very or rather important in their lives. Only 5% said it was not very important or not at all important in their lives.

Ironically, the importance attached by the youth to being religious is inversely related to premarital sex experience. This means that those who gave more importance to being religious were the ones who reported higher levels of premarital sex experience, compared to those who gave less importance to being religious (18% vs. 7%; G=-.48, p<.001).

Active participation in religious organizations. Similar to the question on importance attached to being religious in life, the question on participation in religious organizations was also included together with a number of items on organizational involvement.[7] This question asked the respondents whether they were active members, inactive members, non-

members but intend to join or non-members and do not intend to join. In terms of active organizational participation, 15% of the youth considered themselves as active members of religious organizations. The remaining 85% were either inactive members or non-members.

Experience of premarital sex does not vary by active membership in religious organizations. Active members and non-members alike reported similar levels of premarital experience.

Self-assessed religiosity. The final indicator of religious orientation included in this report is on self-assessed religiosity. As Table 3 shows, a large majority of Filipino youth, 83%, considered themselves religious; the remaining 17% were either non-religious or neither religious nor non-religious. The high level of self-assessed religiosity among Filipinos has been demonstrated by past SWS surveys (Acuña 1991, Mangahas and Guerrero 1992, Abad 1994, Abad and Delos Reyes 1994).

Self-assessed religiosity does not affect premarital sex experience, as similar levels of premarital sex experience are seen regardless of one's religiosity.

Among all the religious orientation variables examined above, only one—the importance given to religiosity in life is significantly associated to premarital sex experience. The direction of the association, however, indicates that premarital sex experience is higher among those who consider being religious important in their lives, compared to those who said otherwise.

2.4. Premarital sex and mass media exposure

Print and electronic media exposure. Given the wide range of information—positive and negative—provided in the print and electronic media, it is interesting to examine how they influence youth premarital sex experience. Table 4 shows that the Filipino youth are highly exposed to the radio and TV, with 77% and 62% tuned-in to them almost daily. Compared to radio and TV, daily reading of the print media is not as high among the youth, with 35% who read books, magazines or newspapers almost daily. As to watching movies, 44% of the youth do so at least once or twice a month.

Table 4. Experience of Premarital Sex by Mass Media Exposure and Influence
Philippine Youth, November 1997 SWS Survey

	Never experienced	Ever experienced	Gamma coefficient
Total Philippines (100%)	83%	17%	'
Frequency of Watching TV			-0.27***
Almost daily (62%)	80	20	
Less often (38%)	88	12	
Frequency of Going to Movies			-0.09, ns
Twice a month or more often (44%)	82	18	
Less often (56%)	84	16	
Frequency of Listening to the Radio			0.06, ns
Almost daily (77%)	83	17	
Less often (23%)	82	18	
Frequency of Reading Books, Magazines or Newspapers			0.19*
Almost daily (35%)	86	14	
Less often (65%)	81	19	
Mass Media Influence on the Youth			-0.20, ns
Influential (93%)	83	17	
Not influential (7%)	88	12	

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Of the major types of mass media, two—watching TV and reading books, magazines or newspapers—are significantly associated to premarital sex experience. The direction of the relationship, however, is different for both. On the one hand, those who watched TV more regularly report higher rates of premarital sex experience compared to those who watch TV less often (G=-.27, p<.001).

On the other hand, those who read books, magazines or newspapers more regularly report lower levels of premarital experience compared to those who do so less regularly (G=.19, p<.05). Premarital experience does not show significant variations in terms of regularity of listening to the radio and watching movies.

Perceived influence of mass media on youth morality. The last item under the mass media section pertains to the perceived influence of mass media on the moral values of the youth. Nearly all, 93%, considered mass media very or somewhat influential in shaping the

youth's moral values.

While the Gamma coefficient obtained for premarital experience and mass media influence is -.20, indicating that those who consider mass media influential have higher premarital sex rates than those who think otherwise (17% vs. 12%, respectively), this difference, however, is not statistically significant.

2.5. Premarital sex and satisfaction with certain aspects in life

This section contains Filipino youth's satisfaction with their neighbor, personal safety, parents, and with themselves. The original five-point scale was collapsed to a three-point scale, having two extreme or opposite responses and a middle category: Satisfied, Undecided, and Dissatisfied.

In general, Table 5 reveals that a large majority of Filipino youth, 86-96%, are satisfied with the above-mentioned items. Satisfaction or dissatisfaction with certain aspects in life is not significantly associated with premarital sex experience, except for satisfaction with neighbor. This indicates that those dissatisfied with their neighbors report higher rates of premarital experience compared to those who are satisfied (36% vs. 16%; G=.32, p<.01).

Table 5. Experience of Premarital Sex by Satisfaction with Certain Aspects in Life
Philippine Youth, November 1997 SWS Survey

	Never experienced	Ever experienced	Gamma coefficient
Total Philippines (100%)	83%	17%	
Satisfaction with Neighbor			0.32**
Satisfied (86%)	84	16	
Undecided (7%)	85	15	
Dissatisfied (8%)	64	36	
Satisfaction with Personal Safety			0.17, ns
Satisfied (87%)	84	16	
Undecided (8%)	79	21	
Dissatisfied (6%)	77	23	
Satisfaction with Parents			0.22, ns
Satisfied (96%)	83	17	
Undecided (2%)	76	24	
Dissatisfied (2%)	76	24	
Satisfaction with Self			0.17, ns
Satisfied (94%)	83	17	
Undecided (3%)	81	19	
Dissatisfied (3%)	75	25	

$p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

3. Summary and recommendation

The SWS-NYC surveys of the youth aged 15-30 done in 1996 and 1997 utilized the sealed-envelope method to inquire on sensitive issues like premarital sex experience. The first SWS-NYC youth survey in 1996 obtained 13 percent (estimated 2.7 million) of Filipino youth with this experience. This increased to 17 percent (estimated 3.6 million) in the second youth survey conducted 1997.

Aside from time-series information on prevalence rates, the survey also provided patterns of premarital sex experience. Looking at socio-demographic variables, higher levels of premarital experience are seen among those living in urban than rural areas, those residing in nation's capital than elsewhere, males than females, older than younger people, married than single youth, and among those with higher education than less.

In terms of economic indicators, only gaining compared to a year ago showed some correlation, where premarital sex experience tends to be lower among those who assessed themselves as gainers than losers or whether there was no change in their status.

Among the religious orientation variables examined, only importance attached to religiosity is associated with premarital sex experience. The direction of the association, however, indicates that premarital sex experience is higher among those who consider being religious important in their lives compared to those who said otherwise.

On the influence of mass media, watching TV and reading books, magazines or newspapers correlate significantly to premarital sex experience, with direction of relationship being different for both. Those who watch TV more regularly report <u>higher</u> rates of premarital sex experience compared to those who do not; those who read books, magazines or newspapers more regularly report <u>lower</u> levels of premarital sex experience than those who do so less regularly.

Satisfaction or dissatisfaction with certain aspects in life is not associated premarital sex experience, except for satisfaction with neighbor. This indicates that those dissatisfied with their neighbors report higher rates of premarital sex experience compared to those who are satisfied.

While the above findings show patterns as regards premarital sex experience, further data analysis needs to be conducted. For instance, asking whether older married males living in urban areas are more likely to report higher premarital sex experience compared to younger single females in rural areas would certainly require more complex statistical procedures than the ones utilized earlier. Statistical procedures that handle multiple variables at a time could help identify the combination of independent variables more related to premarital sex experience.

Notes

*SWS Fellow. The author thanks Dr. Ricardo G. Abad for his comments on an earlier draft of this report.

[1] For instance, the Department of Social Welfare and Development defines youth to be those 7-18 years old; the Department of Health from 10-24; and the Department of Interior and Local Government as those who are 15-21 years old.

[2] Figures for the total 15-30 years old are computed from the official National Statistics Office (NSO) 1997 projections by 5-year age group by region, based on the 1995 census. Figures for the 15-29 age groups are obtained from the 5-year age groups; age 30 was computed as 1/5 of the 30-34 population.

[3] The Young Adult Fertility and Sexuality Study (YAFS II) is a nationwide survey of 10,879 adolescent youth aged 15-24 from 14 regions in the Philippines. An update to the YAFS I survey of 1982, YAFS II measured knowledge, attitudes and practices of adolescents relating to sexuality and reproduction. YAFS II is a project of the University of the Philippines Population Institute (UPPI) sponsored by the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA).

[4] Gamma coefficients range from −1.00 to +1.00, with values +1.00 and −1.00 expressing perfect positive and negative association between two variables. Coefficients of 0.00, in turn, indicate the absence of association (Loether and MacTavish 1980).

[5] In the Philippines, the social indicators movement dates from the Social Indicators Project of the Development Academy of the Philippines, which drew up a set of indicators for representing national well-being, including not only some existing indicators but also some experimental ones which it tested in a provincial

pilot survey (Mangahas 1976 and 1977). The DAP is a state institution mainly concerned with training the upper ranks of the bureaucracy.

[6]The other items included were: having a good education; having a stable job; having good marriage and family life; having own business; having strong friendships; making a contribution to society; having lots of money; having plenty of time for recreation and hobbies; and being politically involved. Except for the last three items, at least 90% of the youth considered the above as very or rather important in their lives (SWS 1999).

[7]The other organizations mentioned were: sports or recreational organizations; youth organizations; art, music or educational organizations; charitable organizations; labor unions; professional associations; and political parties. Active membership in religious organizations obtained the highest percentage at 15%. For the others, however, active participation was below 14% (SWS 1999).

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Annex A: Methodology of SWS-NYC Second National Youth Survey

, The Second SWS-NYC National Youth Survey consisted of 1,200 youth respondents drawn from the 15-30 years old population, for an error margin of ±3% at a 95% confidence level. Fieldwork dates were from November 6-20, 1997.

The entire Philippines had 4 major study areas: the National Capital Region (NCR), Balance Luzon (areas outside of NCR but within Luzon), Visayas, and Mindanao. Except for the NCR which is totally urban, the 3 major study areas were further subdivided into urban and rural areas. Each major area had 300 respondents. Except for NCR, each major area had 150 urban respondents and 150 rural respondents.

The study utilized multi-stage probability sampling in selecting respondents. NCR had 3 stages, while the other areas had 5 stages. For the NCR's first stage, using the latest list of electoral precincts as sampling frame, 60 precincts were allocated to the 17 cities/municipalities in proportion to their population size. The precincts were selected randomly within each city/municipality. For the second stage, 5 households were chosen from each of the sample precinct, using a random start and a fixed interval. In each household, a youth respondent was randomly chosen among the 15-

30 years old household members, using a random selection table.

For the rest of the country, the provinces served as the common first stage unit. With probability being proportional to size, 10 provinces in Balance Luzon, and 5 each in Visayas and Mindanao were selected. For the urban areas within each selected province, for the second stage, 3 municipalities/cities were drawn with probability proportional to size. For the third stage, 1 (for Balance Luzon) to 2 (each for Visayas and Mindanao) precincts were selected with equal probabilities in each municipality/city. For the fourth stage, in each precinct, following a random start, interval sampling was used to select 5 households. Finally and for the fifth stage, a youth respondent was chosen in each household using a random selection table.

For the rural areas, within each selected province, the second stage took the same municipality of the urban sample if it is not entirely urban. Otherwise, another municipality with rural *barangays* was drawn with probability proportional to population size. For the third stage, 1 to 2 *barangays* were selected in each sample municipality by simple random sampling. For

the fourth stage, a modified interval sampling scheme was used, considering the relatively sparse distribution of households in a *barangay*. This involved a random start (between 1-5) from a fixed starting point (either a *barangay* hall, public elementary school, church or *barangay* captain's house) and an interval sampling to select 5 households. Finally and for the fifth stage, a youth respondent was chosen in each household using a random selection table.

The questionnaire had two parts, the face-to-face interview and the sealed envelope interview (refer to Annex B), both answered by the youth respondent. The definitive language-version of the questionnaire was Tagalog. When implemented in various areas in the Philippines, the questionnaire was translated into Ilocano, Bicol, Cebuano, Ilonggo or the language spoken depending on the area of interview, with English translation provided.

Population figures from the 1997 projections based on the 1995 Census were used in weighting the sample. In order to use significance levels, however, this report weighted the sample size according to the percentage distribution of the 1997 projections, while at the same time, retaining the aggregate sample size of 1,200. Detailed below are the weights used for this paper:

NCR	10.81799867 / 21138 * 1200
Luzon	
Urban	27.13536666 / 21138 * 1200
Rural	31.14506001 / 21138 * 1200
Visayas	
Urban	10.69217765 / 21138 * 1200
Rural	16.78001569 / 21138 * 1200
Mindanao	
Urban	13.11871361 / 21138 * 1200
Rural	20.41583039 / 21138 * 1200

Annex B: The Sealed-Envelope Technique

SWS utilized the sealed envelope technique to gather information on sensitive issues, such as youth experience of stealing, selling and use of illegal drugs, sexual activities, and other illegal and socially undesirable activities.

The sealed-envelope technique (hereafter SE) is a means of allowing a field interviewer to record down coded responses from a respondent without the recorder being aware of the substance of either the questions or the answers. The SE is implemented in two stages: reading of the introduction before interview, and the actual interview (for application, see also Santos 1993, Makkai and McAllister 1992, Mangahas and Sandoval 1994).

In the first stage, the interviewer (henceforth called the recorder) reads an introduction of the survey to the respondent. The introduction contains the purpose of the study; an explanation of how the SE works; an indication of the need for honest answers; assurances that the respondent's identity is confidential and that the recorder does not know the subject matter of the interview; and finally, a request for the respondent

to check afterwards if all questions have been answered.

In the interview stage, the recorder hands over a sealed envelope containing the questionnaire for the respondent to open and read privately. The recorder possesses only an answer grid with question numbers and a set of codes for the answers to the questions. Each response has a different code per question and the responses themselves have no particular order.

For every question, the respondent states the question number and corresponding code for his or her response. The recorder in turn encircles the code-answer for each question in the answer grid that she holds (all SWS interviewers are female). While the recorder does not know the subject matter of either the questions or the answers, she knows the sequence of the questions as well as the existence of skipping rules in the questionnaire, if there are any.

After the interview, the respondent may either keep or destroy the questionnaire. The recorder is instructed not to get the questionnaire back.

Filipino Attitudes Toward Unorthodox Sexual Relations: 1991 and 1998

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Many would argue that nowadays sex is no longer a taboo issue. In the US, where a third would consider themselves traditional, a plurality refer to sex as relational and a fourth consider it recreational (Michael et al 1994). Studies also reveal that more teenagers are having sex with increasing frequency and are starting at younger ages (Besharov and Gardiner 1993). Homosexual marriages, which used to be impossible, have turned into a reality in other countries (Arkes 1995). Cross-country research has shown that a permissive attitude towards premarital sex prevails while restrictive attitudes pervade for extramarital and homosexual relationships (ISSP surveys 1991).

Previous SWS publications have looked into public opinion on unorthodox sexual relationships such as premarital, extramarital and homosexual. In a Social Weather Bulletin entitled "Filipino Attitudes towards Sexual Relations: Results from a National Survey" (Sandoval, 1992) the tendency of Filipinos to hold conservative views had been revealed.

There are other SWS occasional papers (see Mangahas and Guerrero 1992, Acuna 1991) which mention public opinion towards these unorthodox sexual relationships and in all these publications, Filipinos' disapproval of such sexual relations has been reiterated. Over time, it would be interesting to see if Filipino attitudes have changed.

Do such unorthodox types of sexual relations still shock the ordinary Filipino adult? Are Filipinos living in a predominantly Catholic country still conservative when it comes to their attitudes toward premarital, extramarital and homosexual relations? Are these conservative attitudes more likely to be observed among certain groups in society? Could it be that over the years, Filipinos have become more liberal with their views? In what particular sectors have there been shifts in opinion? Answering these questions will be the focal point of this article.

Background of the survey

Data were drawn from SWS surveys, specifically from a special module included in the Social Weather Stations (SWS) November 1998 National Survey. This module was designed by members of the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP), a programme where Social Weather Stations is a member representing the Philippines. Each year, ISSP members decide on a special topic and agree to incorporate common questions on the said topic in their respective local surveys**. In November 1998, the agreed topic was on Religion. These surveys are primarily done to achieve cross-country comparisons.

SWS ran the ISSP Religion module as part of its nationwide survey from October 28 to November 14, 1998. This survey had a sample size of 1,200 adult respondents (18 years and above), with sampling quotas of 300 for the major areas, National Capital Region (NCR), Balance Luzon (areas within Luzon but outside NCR), Visayas and Mindanao. The sampling error was +/-3% at the national level. This survey was a face-to face oral interview guided by a structured questionnaire.

Methodological notes

In order to facilitate the analysis of the survey data and comparison with past data, response categories to premarital, extramarital and homosexual relations have been transformed from a Likert scale to a dichotomy. The original 4-scale response category (Always wrong, Almost always wrong, Wrong only sometimes, Not wrong at all) has been changed into a dichotomous response category (Wrong and Not Wrong). The dichotomous response category for attitudes toward unorthodox sexual relations was examined in terms of socio-demographic and religiosity variables.

The gamma statistic is used as a measure of association between attitudes toward premarital, extramarital and homosexual relations and the socio-demographic data as well as variables on religiosity since these were treated as ordinal in nature.

To assist in further analysis, a sex attitude index was created and used as the dependent variable. Also, sixteen (16) other items in the module were chosen as likely correlates and were grouped into seven (7) indices namely: relationship with god, religious practices, divine providence, religious leadership, attitudes toward abortion, cohabitation and family roles. In constructing the indices, the scores to the question items under each index were summed. Items for each index were subjected to a scale reliability analysis to test for internal consistency. Most of the Spearman Brown reliability coefficients for the indices are respectable. This indicates an acceptable level of confidence for internal consistency among the items that comprise each index. For the index of religious practice, discretion will have to be used because of a reliability coefficient below 0.50. However, questionnaire length and diversity of the sample make this index quite decent.

The eta statistic is used as a measure of association between the sex attitude index (interval scale) and the socio-demographic data (nominal scale). The Pearson's R is used as a measure of association between the sex attitude index and the other indices.

Socio-demographic data and sexual attitudes

Based on the most recent SWS survey findings, a good majority nationwide disapproves of premarital (80%), extramarital (96%) and homosexual (95%) relations. This pattern is observed across all areas, socio-economic classes, age groups and gender. Also, data when disaggregated by educational attainment and work status reveal the same results.

Let us now look more closely at the differences among subgroups. For attitudes towards premarital sex, the age group one belongs to (g=.25), the level of education one has attained (g=-.22) as well as gender (g=.20) and marital status (g=.27) matter. These show that the youth, the educated, the males and singles tend to be more permissive of sex before marriage (Table 1). Now, what about the current attitudes toward extramarital affairs? Gender (g=.31), age (g=.28) and marital status (g=.24) emerge as factors affecting

attitude towards sexual relations outside of marriage (Table 2). On homosexual relations, it is only among age groups (g=.26) and among the married and unmarried (g=.37) where the differences are significant (Table 3). As has been pointed out in a previous *Social Weather Bulletin* (Sandoval 1992), it is only among the single and the ever married where consistent differences in opinion towards whichever type of unorthodox sexual relations prevail.

The only new socio-demographic item included in the 1998 survey round is the cohabitation status. This pertains to the act of couples living together under one roof even if they are not married. When tabulated against the attitudes toward unorthodox sexual behaviors, high gamma values are generated indicating differences in opinion between those with live-in partners and those not in a live-in relationship. However, the gamma values turn out to be statistically insignificant possibly due to the small sample of people saying they are currently living together with a partner.

Over two survey periods, Filipinos have remained very conservative with their views. Slight increases and decreases can be observed but they do not prove to be statistically significant. (Table 1). It is worth mentioning though that for opinion on premarital sex, differences across economic classes have blurred. In 1991, as you go up the social ladder, views become more liberal. In 1998, conservative views on premarital sex across economic classes have become predominant.

Religiosity and attitudes toward sexual relations

Does religion influence one's views on premarital, extramarital and homosexual relations? Do those who feel they are religious differ in opinion from those who say they are not religious? Are regular churchgoers conservative in their views? Does frequency of prayer have anything to do with how they perceive unorthodox sexual relations? Is there a tendency for those who consistently take part in church activities to hold traditional views?

Tabulations show widespread conservatism among Filipinos in their attitudes toward sexual relations regardless of the various aspects of religiosity (Table 4). Slight variations in opinions, however can be observed for each type of sexual relation. On premarital sex, the liberal notion is held by about a fourth

among Catholics (g=.27), the non-religious (g=.21) and those who do not actively participate in church activities (g=.22). On extramarital sex and homosexual relations, only those who do not frequently pray are less inclined to object to these types of sexual relations. It therefore appears that as far as religiosity is concerned, Filipinos are more conservative in their attitudes toward extramarital and homosexual relations, and relatively fewer hold restrictive views towards premarital relations.

Correlates of attitudes toward unorthodox sexual relations

As mentioned in the methodological notes, an index of attitudes toward unorthodox sexual relations was created. Low scores in the index indicate very restrictive attitudes while high scores stand for very permissive attitudes (scores can range from 3 to 12). In conjunction with the sex attitude index, other indices were also created and analyzed to discover what can

Table 1. Attitude towards Premarital Sex by Demographic and Socio-economic Data
SWS July 1991 and November 1998 National Surveys
(Row percentages)

	PREMARITAL SEX					
	July 1991			November 1998		
	Not Wrong	Wrong	Gamma	Not Wrong	Wrong	Gamma
Total Philippines	22	78		20	80	
Locale			0.04***			0.10ns
Urban	23	77		22	78	
Rural	22	78		18	82	
Area			0.18***			0.18***
NCR	25	75		28	72	
Balance Luzon	25	75		17	83	
Visayas	25	75		21	79	
Mindanao	13	87		15	85	
Gender			0.24***			0.20**
Male	27	73		24	76	
Female	18	82		17	83	
Age Group			0.21***			0.25***
18-24	29	71		31	69	
25-34	25	75		24	76	
35-44	23	77		16	84	
45 and above	15	85		15	85	
Civil Status			0.25***			0.27**
Single	30	70		28	72	
Ever married	21	79		19	81	
Socio-Economic Class			0.21***			0.02ns
ABC	31	69		27	73	
D	23	77		18	82	
E	17	83		25	75	
Educational Attainment			-0.21***			-0.22***
Primary	17	83		13	87	
Secondary	24	76		25	75	
Tertiary	28	72		22	78	
Work Status			-0.06***			-0.08ns
Working	22	79		22	78	
Not working	24	76		19	81	
Cohabitation Status						-0.40ns
With live-in partner	-	-	-	37	63	
W/o live-in partner	-	-		20	80	

***p < .0001 **p < .001 *p < .05 ns not significant

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possibly be correlated with the opinion on unorthodox sexual relations (Table 5).

Among the socio-demographic data, age and civil status come out as factors that are weakly but significantly associated with attitudes toward unorthodox sexual relations (Table 6). This reiterates past findings about the young and single being more liberal in their views compared to the older and married ones.

Data from other countries show similar patterns. In the 1986 annual report of the British Social Attitudes Survey, age is the most significant discriminator. Survey results show that the older people of the British population are more conservative than the younger ones. Only 7% among the youngest age group (18-34 years old) say that sex before marriage is always or mostly wrong while 19% having the same opinion are from the 35-54 age group and 45% from the 55 and up age group (Table 7).

Table 2. Attitude towards Extramarital Sex by Demographic and Socio-economic Data
SWS July 1991 and November 1998 National Surveys
(Row percentages)

	EXTRAMARITAL SEX					
	July 1991			November 1998		
	Not Wrong	Wrong	Gamma	Not Wrong	Wrong	Gamma
Total Philippines	4	96		4	96	
Locale			0.09***			-0.40**
Urban	5	95		3	97	
Rural	4	96		7	93	
Area			0.01***			-0.30**
NCR	3	97		4	96	
Balance Luzon	6	94		2	98	
Visayas	2	98		4	96	
Mindanao	5	95		8	92	
Gender			0.15***			0.31**
Male	5	95		6	94	
Female	4	96		3	97	
Age Group			0.18***			0.28*
18-24	8	92		7	93	
25-34	4	96		4	96	
35-44	3	97		6	94	
45 and above	4	96		3	97	
Civil Status			0.27***			0.24ns
Single	7	93		6	94	
Ever married	4	96		4	96	
Socio-Economic Class			-0.12***			-0.01ns
ABC	3	98		5	95	
D	4	96		4	96	
E	5	95		5	95	
Educational Attainment			-0.03***			0.16ns
Primary	4	96		5	95	
Secondary	4	96		4	96	
Tertiary	5	95		3	97	
Work Status			-0.06***			0.15ns
Working	4	96		5	95	
Not working	5	95		4	96	
Cohabitation Status						0.41ns
With live-in partner	-	-	-	4	96	
W/o live-in partner	-	-		10	90	

***p < .0001 **p < .001 *p < .05 ns not significant

Although economic class and cohabitation status are also significantly associated with attitudes towards premarital, extramarital and homosexual relations, the eta values are too low thus rendering it inconclusive (Table 6).

Since the socio-demographic data do not strongly exhibit support for restrictive –permissive attitudes on unorthodox sexual relations, other variables were investigated as probable correlates. Religion and religiosity have always been mentioned as a factor in countries like the United States (Michael, et.al. 1995) and Great Britain (Barnett and Thomson 1994). The interplay between religion and morality among different nations has also been studied (Heath, et.al 1993). In order to examine this more closely, four indices were created to depict aspects of Filipino religiosity. Among these four indices, only the index

Table 3.
Attitude towards Homosexual Relations by Demographic and Socio-economic Data
SWS July 1991 and November 1998 National Surveys
(Row percentages)

	HOMOSEXUAL RELATIONS					
	July 1991			November 98		
	Not Wrong	Wrong	Gamma	Not Wrong	Wrong	Gamma
Total Philippines	8	92		5	95	
Locale			-0.19^{***}			-0.07^{ns}
Urban	6	94		5	95	
Rural	9	91		6	94	
Area			0.27^{***}			0.05^{ns}
NCR	6	94		6	94	
Balance Luzon	12	88		5	95	
Visayas	5	95		4	96	
Mindanao	4	97		6	94	
Gender			0.14^{***}			0.16^{ns}
Male	9	91		6	94	
Female	7	93		4	96	
Age Group			0.22^{***}			0.26^{**}
18-24	10	90		8	92	
25-34	10	90		6	94	
35-44	8	92		6	94	
45 and above	4	96		2	98	
Civil Status			0.22^{***}			0.37^{*}
Single	11	89		9	91	
Ever married	7	93		4	96	
Socio-Economic Class			-0.08^{***}			-0.06^{ns}
ABC	6	94		5	95	
D	8	92		5	95	
E	8	92		6	94	
Educational Attainment			0.07^{***}			-0.20^{ns}
Primary	9	91		3	97	
Secondary	7	93		6	94	
Tertiary	7	93		6	94	
Work Status			-0.16^{***}			-0.09^{ns}
Working	7	93		6	94	
Not working	9	91		5	95	
Cohabitation Status						0.66^{ns}
With live-in partner	-	-	-	20	80	
W/o live-in partner	-	-		5	95	

***p < .0001 **p < .001 *p < .05 ns not significant

Table 4. Attitude towards Unorthodox Sexual Relations by Religiosity
SWS November 1998 National Survey
(Row percentages)

	Premarital			Extramarital			Homosexual		
	Not Wrong	Wrong	Gamma	Not Wrong	Wrong	Gamma	Not Wrong	Wrong	Gamma
Religion			0.27^{**}			0.26^{ns}			0.33^{ns}
Catholic	22	78		5	95		6	95	
Non-Catholic	14	86		3	97		3	97	
Self-assessed Religiosity			0.21^{**}			0.28^{ns}			0.16^{ns}
Less religious	27	73		5	95		6	94	
More religious	19	81		3	97		5	95	
Frequency of prayer			0.12^{ns}			0.46^{**}			0.33^{*}
Less than daily	24	76		9	91		8	92	
Daily or more	20	80		4	96		4	96	
Frequency of church Attendance			0.15^{*}			0.07^{ns}			0.14^{ns}
Less than weekly	23	77		5	95		6	94	
Weekly or more	18	82		4	96		4	96	
Frequency of taking part in church activities			0.22^{**}			-0.09^{ns}			0.09^{ns}
Less than monthly	23	77		4	96		6	94	
Monthly or more	16	84		5	95		5	95	

$^{***}p < .0001$ $^{**}p < .001$ $^{*}p < .05$ ^{ns}not significant

Table 5. Indices, Range of Scores and Reliability Coefficients
SWS November 1998 National Survey

Index item	Range of Scores	Spearman Brown reliability coefficient	Index item	Range of Scores	Spearman Brown reliability coefficient
Unorthodox Sexual Relations Premarital Extramarital Homosexual	*1-4*	*0.57*	*Religious Practices* Self-assessed religiosity Frequency of church attendance Frequency of taking part in church activities	*1-2*	*0.42*
Religious Leadership Religious leaders should not influence the vote Religious leaders should not influence gov't decisions	*1-5*	*0.83*	*On Abortion* Alright when strong chance of serious defects in the baby Alright when family has low income; can't afford more children	*1-5*	*0.68*
Relationship with God Describing what one believes about God Description of beliefs about God	*1-7*	*0.62*	*On Cohabitation* Alright to live together without intending to marry Good idea to live together before getting married	*1-5*	*0.68*
Divine Providence There is a personal God concerned with humans People can do little to change course of life Life is meaningful because God exists	*1-5*	*0.49*	*On Family Roles* Husband earns money; wife looks after the home Family life suffers when woman has full-time job	*1-5*	*0.51*

for religious practice yields a correlation coefficient that suggests marginal association with attitudes on unorthodox sexual relations (Table 8).

Table 6. Strength of association between
Index of Attitudes towards Unorthodox Sexual Relations
and Socio-demographic Data
SWS November 1998 National Survey
(Row percentages)

	Eta	Mean Score	Base
RP		4.04	1171
Locale	0.004[ns]		
Area	0.11[ns]		
Gender	0.08[ns]		
Age Group	0.17***		
18-24		4.48	197
25-34		4.10	310
35-44		4.06	287
45 and above		3.74	377
Civil Status	0.13***		
Single		4.46	198
Ever Married		3.95	973
Cohabitation Status	0.08**		
Not in a live-in relationship		4.02	1151
In a live-in relationship		4.76	20
Socio-economic Class	0.08**		
ABC		4.28	149
D		3.98	816
E		4.08	206
Educational Attainment	0.12[ns]		
Work Status	0.02[ns]		
Religion	0.08[ns]		

***$p < .0001$ **$p < .001$ *$p < .05$ [ns]not significant

Studies in Britain have showed that attitudinal predilection towards morality and family roles have an impact on outlook towards sex (Barnett and Thomson 1996). Other attitudinal indices were therefore explored as possible correlates of restrictive-permissive attitudes toward unorthodox sexual relations. In the 1998 ISSP module, there were items on attitudes towards abortion, cohabitation, and traditional family roles. Of these three other attitudinal indices, attitude towards cohabitation manifests respectable coefficients making it moderately associated with dispositions toward unorthodox sexual relations. In fact, among all the variables and indices tested for,

Table 7. Restrictive Attitude towards Sexual Relations by
Age Group in Britain, British Social Attitudes Survey,
1986

	AGE GROUP		
	18-34	35-54	55 & up
Premarital/ Extramarital/ Homosexual is ALWAYS OR MOSTLY WRONG			
Premarital	7%	19%	45%
Extramarital	59	65	85
Homosexual	82	75	86

Table 8. Strength of association between Index of
Attitudes towards Unorthodox Sexual Relations and
Religiosity Indices
SWS November 1998 National Survey
(Row percentages)

	Pearson's R	Mean Score	Base (n)
Religious Practices	-0.12***		
Religious		3.93	628
Not religious		4.15	532
Relationship with God	-0.04[ns]		
Divine Providence	0.06[ns]		
Religious Leadership	-0.07*		
Pro-religious leaders		4.03	931
Anti-religious leaders		4.05	230

only views on cohabitation come out as relatively important.

Conclusion

Over two time periods (1991 and 1998), Filipino adults continue to be conservative in their views toward premarital, extramarital and homosexual relations. This disapproval is extensive enough and cuts across socio-demographic data such as location, age, socio-economic class and marital status. Among the socio-demographic data, age and marital status are seen as having slight effects. Religion and religiosity, as portrayed by religious practice show superficial association with restrictive-permissive dispositions to unorthodox sexual relationships. The moderate association of attitudes towards cohabitation with views on unorthodox sexual relations reveals the significance of attitudes on sexual morality.

Table 9. Strength of association between Index of
Attitudes towards Unorthodox Sexual Relations and
Indices on Attitudes toward Abortion, Cohabitation and
Traditional Family Roles
SWS November 1998 National Survey
(Row percentages)

	Pearson's R	Mean Score	Base (n)
On Abortion	0.09**		
Restrictive		3.98	946
Permissive		4.19	199
On Cohabitation	0.25***		
Restrictive		3.75	685
Permissive		4.43	483
Traditional Family Roles	0.07*		
Restrictive		3.99	832
Permissive		4.15	337

***p < .0001 **p < .001 *p < .05

The coefficients generated for those items included in this paper, which are statistically significant, are not high enough to conclude that they can help explain variance in attitude towards unorthodox sexual relations. In future study endeavors, it would be important to test for other variables such as media exposure, actual sexual behavior, libertarian-authoritarian dimension, parental responsibility and number of children. Research in other countries such as in Britain have proven that these factors account for much of the variance in attitudes to sexual relations (Barnett and Thomson, 1996). Combining all these factors with age, marital status and views on premarital, extra-marital and homosexual sex in a regression model may greatly contribute to a better understanding of Filipino attitudes toward unorthodox sexual relations.

Notes

** To date, ISSP has 29 member countries namely Australia, Austria, Bangladesh, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Cyprus, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, USA. (Note: the Philippines was the first Third World country to join the ISSP)

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SEARCH SWS: The Easy Way to Research

RUMELIA CE MAÑGALINDAN

Are you in need of survey results or questionnaire items on a particular topic of interest? If SWS has included that topic in any one of its surveys, you may now retrieve such information electronically through its *SEARCH SWS* facility.

SEARCH SWS stands for *System for Easy Access to the Archives of Social Weather Stations*. It is a research facility which archives the surveys conducted by SWS since its establishment in 1985, including over a hundred data sets of foreign surveys conducted by institutions/associations which SWS has networked with. Instituted in April 1997, *SEARCH SWS* is the first collection of social survey data in the Philippines that is open for public access.

Two databases

- *Database of marginals*
- SWS questionnaires database

have been installed to allow users to electronically access question items and results of the SWS omnibus quarterly surveys. The **Database of Marginals**, which contains the results by location and socio-economic class of Social Weather Report Surveys, now has 71 datasets. The **SWS Questionnaires Database** contains question items asked in SWS surveys from 167 datasets. Printouts of survey results and question items can be generated for a fee.

Aside from the computerized retrieval of survey results and questionnaire items, *SEARCH SWS* also provides access to SWS publications like the Social Weather Bulletin, SWS Occasional Paper, and SWS books and monographs. Project reports, list of primary data tables, raw data and codebooks for each SWS survey round can be requested as well.

Foreign survey data and materials from institutions SWS has networked with are also available in *SEARCH SWS*. Codebooks and raw data from the **International Social Survey Programme (ISSP)** -- an international partnership of national survey organizations, who survey on a common topic each year for cross-country comparison -- are also available. ISSP topics include Role of Government, Social Inequality,

Work Orientation, Religion, Environment, Women, Work and Family, and National Identity. Codebooks alone contain overall results per country.

Codebook and raw data from the **World Values Survey (WVS)** are also accessible in *SEARCH SWS*. The WVS is a cooperative academic enterprise for cross-country research on values. The first round was carried out in 1981-1984 by 24 countries; second round by 45 countries in 1990-1993. The third round, done in 1995-1996, was carried out in about 40 countries with the Philippines, participating for the first time, represented by SWS. SWS's participation enables international comparison of the Philippine data with the rest of the world once datasets from other countries are available.

The *Guide to Resources and Services*, the official catalog of data holdings of the **Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR)**, is also available in *SEARCH SWS*. It contains descriptions of the data collections or studies that are archived at the ICPSR. SWS became an institutional member of ICPSR in January 1994, and is as yet the sole Philippine institution with access to the world's largest social science survey data archive.

Also available in *SEARCH SWS* are questionnaires (in Spanish) of the **Centro de Investigacciones sobre la Realidad Social (Center for Research on Social Reality)**, a non-profit organization based in Spain that conducts monthly surveys on many socially relevant topics.

So, if you need survey results or questionnaire items on a particular topic of interest, do visit our *SEARCH SWS*. If we have included that topic in our surveys, then the information can be made easily available via the computerized retrieval of time-series data and survey questions. Should it be unavailable from our surveys, it may be present in the archived foreign surveys.

Minimal fees for access and printing are charged to researchers. Discounted rates apply to faculty members and students.

SEARCH SWS is located at the Frank X. Lynch Library, 2nd floor PSSC Bldg., Commonwealth Avenue, Diliman, Quezon City It is open from 9:00 a.m.-12:00 noon; 1:00 p.m. - 4:30 p.m., Monday to Friday.

	Data Sets*	Respondents	Items**
1984	1	2,000	19
1985	2	10,163	146
1986	2	3,200	260
1987	4	4,100	371
1988	3	1,800	367
1989	4	3,200	656
1990	11	11,946	1,209
1991	11	14,235	1,868
1992	17	18,397	1,594
1993	16	10,898	2,245
1994	10	9,420	1,639
1995	19	16,051	2,100
1996	23	19,866	3,011
1997	19	20,750	2,810
1998	26	33,541	3,006
1999	1	1,200	217
TOTAL	169	180,767	21,518

Table 1: SWS DATA BANK OF PHILIPPINE SURVEYS (as of May 1999)

*National Surveys (100 datasets)
 Special Area Surveys (69 datasets)
**excludes standard background variables

SOCIAL WEATHER STATIONS

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SWS DATA BANK OF FOREIGN SURVEYS
(as of 10 May 1999)

International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) Surveys (cross-country, 1985-1997)
1985 - Role of Government I
1986 - Social Networks and Support Systems
1987 - Social Inequality I
1988 - Family and Changing Gender Roles I
1989 - Work Orientation I
1990 - Role of Government II
1991 - Religion
1992 - Social Inequality II
1993 - Environment
1994 - Women, Work & the Family
1995 - National Identity
1996 - Role of Government III
1997 - Work Orientations II

World Values Surveys
First Round, 1981-84
Second Round, 1990-93
Third Round, 1995-97 (in CD-ROM); includes the Philippines(survey done by SWS)

Surveys of the Centro de Investigaciones Sobre La Realidad Social (Spain, 1990-96)

Surveys from the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (in CD-ROMs):
American National Election Surveys (USA, 1948-92 and 1948-97)
Crime Victimization Data (USA, 1973-91)
Crime and Justice Data (USA, 1992)
Civil Justice Survey of State Courts (USA, 1992)
Health and Well-Being of Older Adults (USA)
National Medical Expenditure Survey: Household Survey Data (USA, 1987)
Panel Study of Income Dynamics, 1968-92, Waves I-XXV (USA)
Violence Research Data (USA, 1994)
Health and Well-Being of Older Adults (USA)
Violence Research Data, 2nd edition (USA)
Toward a Healthy America
Schools and Staffing Survey: 1993-94 (USA)
National Corrections Reporting Program (USA, 1983-86, 1987-88, 1989-90, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, and 1995)

Polling the Nations, 1986-1995
(includes the SWS 1995 Social Weather Report surveys)

NORC - GSS Cumulative Data File, 1972-1976
(The Roper Center)

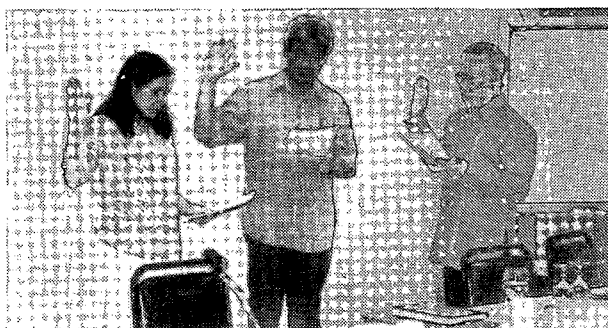**Post Electoral Survey** [General Elections, Spain, 1996] (ASEP)

Attitudes on Immigrants Data of Spain, 1991-1997 [in Spanish] (ASEP and JDS)

News in Brief

New Trustees and Officers of PSSC

The PSSC General Assembly Annual Meeting held on 20 February 1999 ushered in a new set of Trustees in the Board. Eight new Trustees from eight social science disciplines and one from the associate members were confirmed. They are the following:

Communication	*Gerardo P. Josue II*
Demography	*Marilou Palabrica-Costello*
Alternate	*Eliseo P. de Guzman*
Geography	*Darline J. Gutierrez*
Alternate	*Joseph E. Palis*
History	*Pablo S. Trillana III*
Alternate	*Gloria M. Santos*
Linguistics	*Maria Clara V. Ravina*
Psychology	*Imelda V.G. Villar*
Alternate	*Floranie P. Jacob*
Public Administration	*Alex B. Brillantes, Jr.*
Alternate	*Agustin L. Kintanar, Jr.*
Associate Members	*Elvira S. Verano*
Alternate	*Shirley C. Advincula*

Dr. Pilar (left) administers oath to (L-R) Prof. de Guzman, Atty. Trillana, Atty. Jacob, Prof. Gutierrez, Prof. Advincula, Mr. Josue and Dr. Ravina.

Besides the eight new Trustees on the Board, there are seven continuing Trustees—Angelo G. Bernardo (anthropology), Asuncion S. Cueto (social work), Stella P. Go (sociology), Cayetano W. Paderanga, Jr. (economics), Ellen H. Palanca (associate members), Malaya C. Ronas (political science), and Ana Maria L. Tabunda (statistics). Nestor N. Pilar as chair of last year's BOT is an ex-officio Trustee.

A month later, the following were elected as officers of the Board of Trustees:

Cayetano W. Paderanga, Jr.	Chair
Ana Maria L. Tabunda	Vice-Chair
Alex B. Brillantes, Jr.	Treasurer

PSSC Executive Secretary *Virginia A. Miralao* serves as the BOT Secretary.

Dr. N. Pilar (1998 Chair) administers oath to Dr. Paderanga and Dr. Tabunda.

Review of the Philippine Social Science Council By-Laws

An on-going review of the PSSC By-Laws is being undertaken by the By-Laws Amendments Committee. The review centers on the powers of policy formulation and policy execution in the Council and seeks to harmonize these with the Corporation Code of the Philippines.

Members of the By-Laws Amendments Committee are the following: Cayetano W. Paderanga, Jr. (Chair), Carmencita T. Aguilar, Arnell B. Bautista, Angelo G. Bernardo, Alex B. Brillantes, Jr., Sylvia H. Guerrero,

Eliseo A. de Guzman, Felipe B. Miranda, Malaya C. Ronas, Domingo C. Salita, Gloria M. Santos, Loretta Makasiar Sicat, Ana Maria L. Tabunda, and Pablo S. Trillana III.

The Committee constituted from among themselves a By-Laws Drafting Committee with Atty. Joseph Sedfrey S. Santiago of the UP Law Center-Institute of International Legal Studies as consultant in the drafting process.

Associate Members:

Profiles

College of Mass Communication
University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City

Plaridel Hall, College of Mass Communication, UP Diliman

The UP College of Mass Communication started as an institute housed in the College of Arts and Sciences. It occupied the fourth floor of the Palma Hall in UP Diliman. It was established with Dr. Gloria Feliciano as dean on June 19, 1965. The Board of Regents granted IMC its college status on September 9, 1988.

Today, the College offers different programs for its students. Its undergraduate programs include BA Broadcast Communication, BA Journalism, BA Communication Research and BA Film and Audio-Visual Communication. In April 1999, 450 students graduated from the College. UP-CMC aims to "professionalize the media industry in order for the media to more ably assist democratization and progress".

In order to fulfill the said aim, UP-CMC conducts research. Some of the most recent works undertaken by the faculty are the following: the HIV Behavioral Study for Manila; the Rotary Club of Manila Journalism Awards Shortlisting Process and the Metro Manila Household Survey for Census 2000.

Project of the College of Mass Communication, UP Diliman.

The College also offers training seminars and workshops. Among these is the annual Graciano Lopez-Jaena National Community Journalism Workshop. The 11th Workshop was held in Baguio City on October 19-25, 1998. A similar project is the Skill Enhancement Program: A Crash Course in Journalism and Correspondents. Delegates from Thailand participated in the latter workshop.

UP-CMC disseminates the research outputs of the faculty through publications. Some of these are: *Mass Media Laws and Regulations in the Philippines* (1998), written by Prof. Luis Teodoro Jr. and Atty. Rosalinda Kabahay; *Wages of Cinema: Film in Philippine Perspective* (1998) by Jose Hernani David; and *Philippine Mass Media Towards the Close of the 20th Century* (1998), which was written by Elizabeth Enriquez. The current dean of the UP-CMC is Prof. Luis Teodoro Jr. while Prof. Paz Diaz serves as the College Secretary. The College of Mass Communication is located at the Plaridel Hall in UP Diliman and may be reached through telephone numbers 9206864; 9283188; and 9263465 (fax).
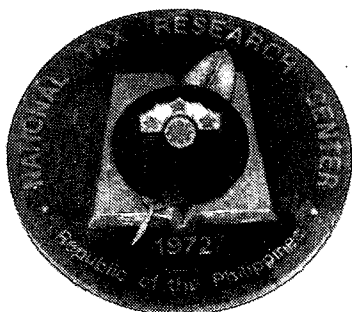
National Tax Research Center

Harbor Centre II, Chicago St., Port Area, Manila

The **National Tax Research Center** (NTRC) started out as the Technical Staff of the Joint Legislative-Executive Tax Commission or JLETC which was created in 1960 pursuant to Republic Act No. 2211. This Staff, which provided technical assistance to tax legislation, was converted to NTRC by virtue of Presidential Decree No. 74 on December 6, 1972. From a legislative body to a purely executive single-headed agency, the Center evolved into an organization, which has come to play a vital role in tax policy formation.

NTRC is mandated "to restructure the tax system and raise the level of tax consciousness among our people, to achieve faster economic growth and to bring about a more equitable distribution of wealth and income".

In order to achieve these goals, the Center is committed to conduct continuing research in taxation for the purpose of improving the tax system and tax policy. It also examines the existing tax system and policy structure. The review of the ineffectiveness of the tax treatment of special economic zones; studies on the taxation of financial services; the taxation of motor vehicles; and studies on local finance were among the numerous research activities undertaken by the Center in 1998.

NTRC is also engaged in a comprehensive study on the need for additional revenue to accelerate national development. Last year, for example, the Center studied the viability of the socialized housing tax as a source of funds for local government's infrastructure.

The Center's other functions are to help pass upon all tax measures and revenue proposals and to recommend reforms and revisions necessary for the development of sound tax policy.

Aside from these, NTRC provides technical assistance as resource persons or discussants in seminars concerning local finance revenue generation and resource administration

NTRC was the lead agency of the Task Force to Study Laws on Earmarked Revenues composed of agencies like the Department of Finance and the Department of Budget and Management.

In 1998, the Center published the *Short Guide to Philippine Taxes* and the *Guide to Income Taxation for Resident Individuals* in line with its Tax Information Awareness Program.

The Center also publishes the *NTRC Tax Research Journal*, a bi-monthly journal on significant tax issues and information. It also publishes an annual report of all activities and projects of NTRC. NTRC is currently based in Harbor Centre II of the Port Area and operates with the following officers to guide its operations:

Executive Director	*Vicente D. Quintos*
Deputy Directors	*Lina D. Isorena*
	Dante V. Sy
Acting Chief, Direct Taxes Branch	*Senen Quizon*
Chief, Tax Statistics Branch	*Merle A. Benjamin*
Chief, Local Finance Branch	*Alberto R. Bermudez*
Chief, Indirect Taxes Branch	*Salvador R. Real*
Chief, Economics Branch	*Aurora C. Seraspi*
Chief, Special Research & Technical Services Branch	*Cecilia R. Quidayan*
Chief, Planning & Coordinating Branch	*Evangeline D. Valmores*
Chief, Fiscal Incentives Branch	*Debbi A. Sy*
Chief, Administrative & Financial Branch	*Clarita P. Punzalan*

Philippine-China Development Resource Center

23 Madison St., New Manila, Quezon City

The Philippine-China Development Resource Center (PDRC) was founded by Dr. Theresa Cariño in 1990 as a non-governmental organization to promote development, closer ties and mutual understanding between the Philippines and China. The Center envisions these two countries as peaceful and prosperous societies of Asia.

To this end, it works with development-oriented organizations in the Philippines and China, especially those at the "grassroots" level. Although a working relationship already existed between the Filipinos and the Chinese, these ties usually affected businessmen, academicians, government officials and such. The grassroots group of development workers, farmers, fishermen, healthworkers, etc. of the two nations were given little chance to learn from each other. The idea of organizing PDRC was conceived from this observation.

The Center has five major programs that work towards the goal of peace and development. The first is the Exchange Visit Program. This program enables the people of both the Philippines and China to learn from each other's experiences in the field of development. Every year, the Center sends two delegations to China and receives two delegations in return. In 1998, the first group was sent to China in May. It stayed there from the 1st to the 29th and learned about traditional and holistic medicine as well as China's health care system. Three months after the first group, the second group was sent to observe the Chinese systems and technologies for agricultural productivity.

The first Chinese delegation for 1998 arrived in the Philippines in May to acquire information on rural health delivery systems. The second group came in November of the same year, to learn about the poverty alleviation efforts of the Philippine government and nongovernment organizations (NGOs).

The second program is the Technology Training Program, which started as an offshoot of the Exchange Visit Program. Here, the two nations exchange information as well as technologies that will be suitable to their needs in agriculture and food production as well as renewable energy such as biogas and microhydro.

The Acupuncture TCM Program is another program of the Center. Every year, professors or specialists in Acupuncture from the Nanjing University of Traditional Chinese Medicine are invited to the Philippines to practice and promote acupuncture in selected communities. This annual training program has two types of courses, the Basic and the Advanced. The program also offers lectures on Chinese massage and herbal medicine and acupuncture given by the specialists from Nanjing, China. Participants of the program, usually community-based health workers, are invited from various provinces. In 1998, the training program held in June and July had a total of 66 participants, 22 for the Basic Acupuncture Course and 44 for the Advanced. The lecturers for the program were the Associate Director of the Nanjing International Acupuncture Training Center, Dr. Gu Yuehua, and the Director of the Acupuncture Teaching Society of Traditional and Western Medicine, Dr. Shi Yanhua.

The PDRC also has a research program, which is generally about the Philippines and China. A major topic of research is Philippine-China relations. An example of such a research is Eric Baltazar's recently completed work entitled, *Institutional Barriers to the Philippine Trade with China*.

Other topics of research are the conditions of the ethnic Chinese in the Philippines, China and the ASEAN and China in a global context.

The Center arranges lectures, seminars and conferences about Philippine-China relations. With the help of the Philippine Social Science Council and the Philippine Association for Chinese Studies, PDRC held a forum on December 9, 1998 about the modernization of Chinese agriculture and its implications to the Philippines.
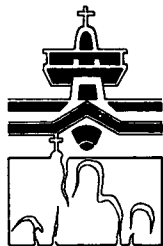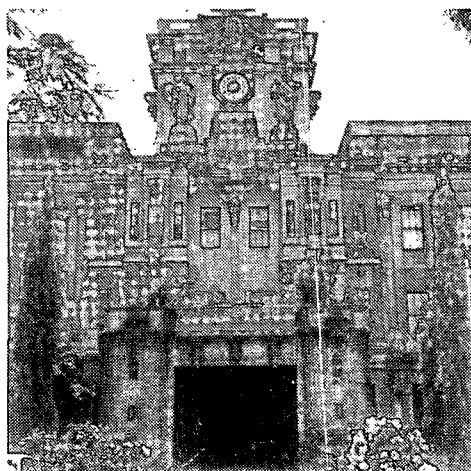
Social Research Center
University of Sto. Tomas
España, Manila

Founded in 1979 by then Rev. Fr. Leonardo Legaspi, now Archbishop of Nueva Caceres, the Social Research Center (SRC) is one of the research centers in the University of Sto. Tomas. SRC promotes research on a wide spectrum of contemporary social, economic, political and religious issues as they affect the development and well-being of Philippine society.

The Center aims to help raise the social consciousness and commitment of the academic community by publishing and disseminating research findings, relevant information and materials reflecting current and critical social concerns. Aside from its biannual journal, *SRC Research Update*, occasional papers and monographs are also published. Among its recent publications are *Promoting Justice, Love, Life* (1998) by former SRC Director Rev. Fr. Fausto Gomez, O.P. and *Hanapbuhay* (1998) by Dr. Janette Loanzon.

University of Santo Tomas base of Social Science Research Center

SRC engages in research specializing in several areas namely: elderly, women studies, the youth, the marginalized sectors and socio-religious topics. Among the recent projects undertaken are: the Socio-Cultural Factors Affecting Drug Abuse and Relapse among Rehabilitated Drug Dependents; Religion and Magic: a Study of Religious Syncretism in Sampaloc, Manila; and Empowering Older Persons' Participation in Community-based Programs.

The Center also offers training seminars and workshops on research. The training seminars are given regularly and are participated in by the social science faculty members, research management groups and community service coordinators of the different colleges, and faculty researchers of UST.

SRC is currently under the directorship of Prof. Armando De Jesus. The Social Research Center is located at the ground floor of the Main Building of the University of Sto. Tomas and may be reached at 731-3535.
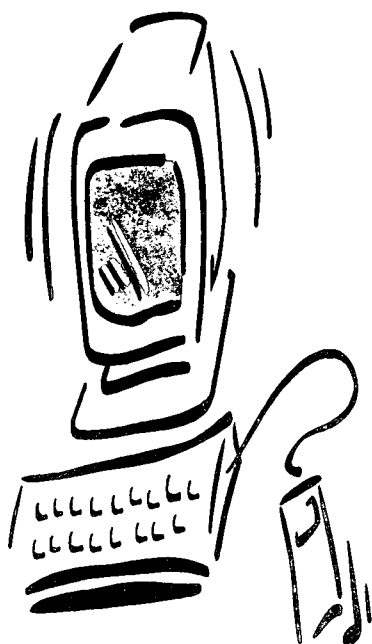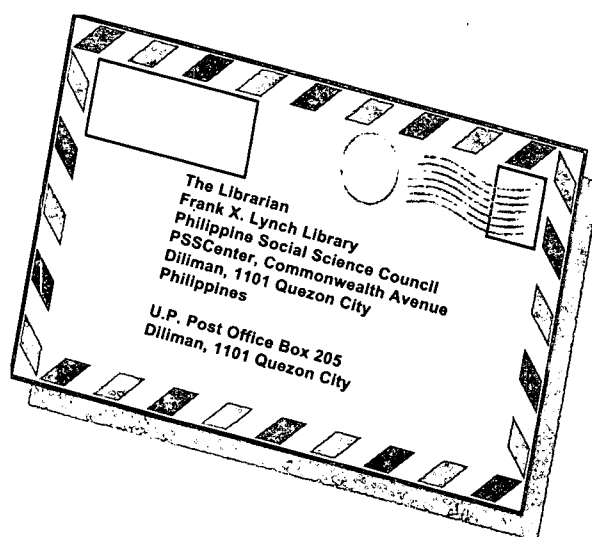

Lastly, the Center has a publications program and a data bank. Aside from its quarterly magazine, *Currents*, it also publishes books and conference proceedings, such as *China-ASEAN Relations, Regional Security and Cooperation* and *Theories in Advanced Acupuncture*.

Today, PDRC is headed by Executive Director Dr. Aileen Baviera. The other officers are:

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