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Perceived Gains and Losses from Industrialization:  
Case of the PHIVIDEC Industrial Estate

From College to Work: A Study of Mismatch  
in Education and Occupation

Power Relations in Filipino Households:  
The Case of Southern Philippines

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Health Awareness: A Baseline Study

The Effects of Training on the Traditional Birth  
Attendants as Auxiliary Workers in Reproductive  
Health Care: A Philippine Case

Publication Notes

A Tribute to Fr. Francis C. Madigan, S.J.

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## Contents

<b>Editorial</b>	4
<b>Main Articles</b>	
Perceived Gains and Losses from Industrialization: The Case of the PHIVIDEC Industrial Estate <i>Magdalena C. Cabaraban</i>	6
From College to Work: A Study of Mismatch in Education and Occupation  <i>Imelda G. Pagtolun-an</i>	14  29
Power Relations in Filipino Households: The Case of Southern Philippines <i>Beethoven C. Morales</i>	40
<b>RIMCU Pictorial Section</b>	44
Male Participation through Reproductive Health Awareness: A Baseline Study <i>Lita Palma-Sealza</i>	54
The Effects of Training on the Traditional Birth Attendants as Auxiliary Workers in Reproductive Health Care: A Philippine Case <i>Erlinda Montillo-Burton</i>	61
<b>Publication Notes</b>	
Changing Views, Changing Roles, Changing Lives: The PHILDHRRRA-Mindanao GAD Mainstreaming Experience <i>Chona R. Echavez and Ma. Luisa Tumang</i>	63
Growing Up in Difficult Circumstances: Portraits of Children's Health <i>Magdalena C. Cabaraban</i>	65 67
<b>A Tribute to a Priest</b>	
<b>RIMCU News</b>	

## Editorial

MINDANAO, the second largest island in the country, was considered to be the last frontier because of its broad expanse of unexplored lands and rich natural resources. These factors beckoned poor migrants and industrial and commercial entrepreneurs to exploit and settle in the region. While the new settlers adapted to their new home, nonetheless, there were others who feared Mindanao—the perceived land of the brave Moros.

In those past decades that Mindanao was receiving migrants, the region remained poor and underdeveloped. The deplorable state of the island, however, challenged some private institutions such as Xavier University at Cagayan de Oro City with a mission to “develop men and women for others” and make attempts to respond to some of the Mindanao problems and concerns. One of these moves was to create a research center in the University that would delve into these issues in order to find solutions.

Therefore, the Research Institute for Mindanao Culture, popularly known as RIMCU, was founded in 1957 by the late Rev. Fr. Francis C. Madigan, S.J. Its objective is primarily to focus research on social science questions and issues while its mandate is the pursuit of high quality social science to advance the development of Mindanao. A developed and dynamic Mindanao is envisioned to be a region for a better life and richer culture for its people—the small farmers and fisherfolk, the Lumads and Muslims, and the urban poor. Through the professional guidance of the late Fr. Madigan and the strong and unwavering commitment of the research associates who come from different social science disciplines (sociology, demography, economics, anthropology, and political science), RIMCU has become a leading center of social science in the southern Philippines.

Moreover, RIMCU is a research arm of Xavier University, and together with the Department of Sociology and Anthropology serves as a resource training center for individuals, groups and institutions concerned with social topics and issues.

In this present issue of the *PSSC Social Science Information*, the articles written and contributed by the research associates are reflective of the social issues and concerns in Mindanao and elsewhere in the country. As rapid industrialization set in the region, it was expected to bring forth changes and better opportunities for the populace. The article of Magdalena C. Cabaraban, based on her study on the impact of industrialization, elicits whether there were gains or losses. Using the case of the PHIVEDEC Industrial Estate located in Misamis Oriental, northern Mindanao, the data show that there were social gains, but these were unintended effects to win community acceptance. Moreover, urbanization and industrialization have created demands for a labor market. Imelda G. Pagtolun-an's article reveals that there is incongruity between the demands of the labor market and educational training which consequently has affected manpower development in the Philippines. This mismatch in education and occupation, according to the study, is indicative of the failure of educational institutions to meet the demands of the labor market.

RIMCU's continued interest in Family Planning has produced several studies such as the one done by Beethoven C. Morales on the power relations in Filipino households in southern Philippines, which suggests that much of the power relations in the households can be explained by a gender perspective. Moreover, reproductive health studies have been done in the light of male involvement in reproductive health as shown in the baseline study of Lita P. Sealza. Her report presents the results of an operations research undertaken to determine the reproductive health awareness (RHA) of member beneficiaries of a non-government organization (NGO), the KANIB Foundation Inc. (KFI) in three municipalities in Bukidnon province. On the other hand, the role of traditional birth attendants (*hilot*) in reproductive health is discussed by Erlinda M. Burton. She writes in her article that *hilots* who are trained by the Department of Health (DOH) in modern obstetrics could be utilized as auxiliary workers by the DOH in maternal health care including the recognition of sexually transmitted disease (STD) symptoms and prevention and care.

And finally, the article of Chona Echavez and Ma. Luisa Tumang based on their monograph describes 13 case studies that reflect how individuals, peoples organizations, and NGOs responded to women's and men's needs in their respective communities, and how the new relationship of men and women has transformed not only their lives but also those of their families and members of the community.

In retrospect, as one looks back, it is indeed remarkable that RIMCU has been able to continually exist for more than four decades. In prospect, as RIMCU enters into the next millennium, it expects to meet new challenges in the research arena; it will continue to strive for excellence in research and will look forward to a fruitful participation in social science discourse.

ERLINDA MONTILLO-BURTON, PH.D.

## Perceived Gains and Losses from Industrialization: The Case of the PHIVIDEC Industrial Estate

MAGDALENA C. CABARABAN\*

THE Philippine Veteran Development Corporation (PHIVIDEC) Industrial Estate in Misamis Oriental (hereafter referred to as PIEMO) is managed by the Philippine Industrial Authority (PIA), a corporation owned and controlled by the Philippine government. The PIA was created in August 1974 through Presidential Decree No. 538, later amended by Presidential Decree No. 1491.

Given the initial capitalization of 200 million pesos, the major mandate of the PIA is to develop well-planned and infrastructure-equipped sites that could attract domestic and foreign investments. Other tasks inherent to the realization of the PIA mandate include: assessment and collection of real property taxes and port fees; collection of lease rentals; issuance of permits and licenses; and the establishment of related revenue-generating businesses such as subsidiaries and joint ventures (PIA brochures, no date). Moreover, PIA has the social responsibility to improve the socio-economic condition of war veterans, military retirees, and their children by harnessing their work potential.

The industrial estate covers 3000 hectares of contiguous land area from both the municipalities of Tagoloan and Villanueva, Misamis Oriental. The bigger chunk (1,790 hectares) belongs to the latter municipality; only one-third is a part of Tagoloan. The entire estate is bounded by the Macajalar Bay on the west, a creek of Taganga on the north, plateaus of Kiamo and Kirahon on the east and Tagoloan river on the south. The area is categorized as follows:

	Percent of Area According to Form	Number of Hectares
Plains	73.0	2,190
Plateaus	8.4	252
Rivers/Creeks	3.6	108
Rugged hillside	15.0	450
Total area	100.0	3,000

The hectare size by topographical categories underwent changes during the past years. The PIA administration deplored the loss of about 400 hectares due to the erosion caused by the Tagoloan river and the numerous creeks (estimated to be 80) in the area.

Notwithstanding the area loss, the industrial estate holds natural and geographical advantages which are selling points to potential investors. These include among others: a favorable climate throughout the year, a wide shoreline which can accommodate big-size vessels, strategic river network, flatland for firms with large area requirements, abundance of inexpensive water for domestic and industrial use, and stable peace and order conditions. However, in spite of these advantages industrialization has not made a dramatic takeoff. Over the years, large-scale industries have been slow in coming.

The PIA administration, in the desire to attract investors, offers benefits in the form of exemptions from tariff, customs duties, and internal revenues taxes for raw materials, supplies, equipment, machineries, spare parts and other items otherwise not provided by law; exemption from local taxes and licenses (although real property taxes are collected by PIA); availment of lowest land lease rates; availment of inexpensive electrical power rates; employment of foreign nationals on technical and management levels; and availment of highly-skilled literate local labor force.

In recent years, more efforts to drum up investors' interest include the introduction of alternative strategies and innovative packaging. Somehow, these efforts paid off, albeit the pace of industrial development is still not at par with other industrial zones, notably the CALABARZON.

The slow pace of industrialization especially in the first five years of PIA did not make substantial improvement in the Villanueva municipality. A reference to a study of Costello (1989) who utilized the 1980 census data, showed the disadvantaged position of the municipality in comparison to other

municipalities of Region 10. Community level living index generated by the study placed Cagayan de Oro City at the top with a score of 12.05; Villanueva scored 0.27 and is considered among the ten lowest in level of living index for the province of Misamis Oriental.

In 1994, the Philippine government designated the PIE-MO as the hub and showcase of its flagship program for industrialization in Northern Mindanao, the Cagayan-Iligan Corridor Special Development Project (PIA brochure, n.d.). Moreover, it has been expected that the economic and political alliances (e.g. EAGA-BIMP, APEC) could provide not only some leverage but a much needed infusion of life-blood into the lethargic industrialization pace.

### **Objectives of the study**

Communities vary in their economic and social conditions as well as the level of community acceptance of industrialization. These factors inevitably yield gains and losses in the process.

Given the 23 years of PIE-MOs existence, it can be surmised that people have arrived at a realistic view with regard to the effects of the industrial estate development. It is possible that some biases may have anchored on people's minds as a result of certain unpalatable incidents especially in connection to land acquisition. The PIE-MO has produced clear indications and manifestations of impingement on the lives of the residents.

The primary aim of this study is to elicit perceptions of people from different sectors as to the positive and negative effects of the industrial estate. The specific objective is two-fold, namely:

- To determine the perceived economic and social effects of the industrial estate specifically in the areas of employment, income, and health from both the community and household levels; and
- To gain insights into the perceived negative effects specifically on environmental risks to residents and displacement of people affected by the estate.

### **Sources of data**

Using the key informant approach, the data were gathered from in-depth interviews of selected informants purposively chosen. In the desire to obtain a balanced view, representatives from different sectors

were selected on the basis of pre-established criteria enumerated below:

- long years of residency or being a native of the area;
- knowledge about the industrial estate and the current development; and
- being a "significant" person in the sector or group.

The informants were a parish priest, a local official, an officer of an NGO/PO, an officer of a women's group, a businessman, an officer of Sangguniang Kabataan, and a PIA administrator.

The in-depth interviews were conducted in a relaxed and comfortable manner. This was achieved by ensuring utmost privacy. Most interviews were carried out in a place/site where only the investigators and respondents were present. Oral consent was sought prior to the interview proper and permission to use the tape recorder was obtained. The objectives of the study were explained in detail and assurance of confidentiality was stressed.

### **The findings of the study**

*Economic and social effects.* The economic indicators which this study focused on included employment, income, and revenues derived by the local units. Majority of informants were in agreement as to the overall effects of the economic growth of the community. They discerned a change in the standard of living by comparing conditions before and 20 years after the establishment of the industrial estate. An increase in the number of middle-class households was noted, coupled with a change in lifestyles between generations, an observation confirmed by both young and mature informants. A few responses revealed sentiments and views including dissenting opinions, as the following:

"Before, we felt we were behind in development, socially and economically."

"The coming of industries paved the way for Villanueva's economic boom."

"PHIVIDEC is a disappointment; it has not contributed to the growth of Villanueva."

Economic improvement is made evident in a shift in the means of livelihood. There is a consensus among the informants regarding the people's diminishing reliance on subsistence fishing and farming, albeit, a

1993 survey by the Department of Trade and Industry, Region 10, indicated that in Villanueva alone, 45 percent of total employed persons were still engaged in farming and fishing (DTI 1996). The same survey reported that nearly one-third of employed persons were professionals and technical individuals who have found employment in various firms and industries.

The DTI survey finding on Villanueva's employment profile disclosed that over three-fourths (78 percent) of those in the labor force were employed; the remaining 22 percent were unemployed. This information was validated by informants' observation (all were in accord with the gains in employment and job opportunities).

The employment gain was, however, viewed with a tinge of disappointment. Job opportunities were more suited to the better-skilled, better-educated persons which placed the native residents at a disadvantage in comparison with the migrants. Furthermore, informants deplored the hiring process; recruitment and screening in some instances were done at the central office of companies that were either in Manila or other big cities. Disappointment was evident in the following quips:

"In-migrants were the ones who were hired, not Villanueva natives."

"The PHIVIDEC provides jobs for new people who are mostly migrants."

"Hiring of local manpower is only done during construction stage; no skills training to make local residents competitive."

Employment requirements were gender blind. Informants were likewise gender insensitive, they endorsed the hiring preferences of industries.

Incomewise, informants felt that there existed greater disparity in income level. Only those who were employed by industries had income gains. To obtain validity on this pronouncement, a reference was made to data from the 1993 survey of DTI. The result indicated that the average monthly income of employed persons in Villanueva was 2,500.00 pesos (DTI 1996). Given the mean household size of 5.5, the estimated per capita annual income was 5,455 pesos. This translated to a per capita monthly income of 454 pesos or roughly 15 pesos per day per person if we assume that only one person was employed in the household.

It would appear from these income figures that the average family in Villanueva existed in poverty. Data for Region 10 and Misamis Oriental pegged the annual per capita poverty threshold to be 7,760 and 7,205 pesos, respectively (NEDA-RDC 1996) which demonstrated not only income disparity but prevalence of much poorer households in Villanueva.

This stark reality may be exacerbated if the following figures are taken into account: 22 percent were unemployed and the dependency ratio was 86 dependents for every 100 employed persons.

In terms of government revenues, not all informants were knowledgeable about the revenue sharing arrangement between PIE-MO and local government. However, all were aware of the dissatisfaction aired by local officials. Efforts to claim for equitable sharing were not found wanting.

Two versions of revenue sharing emerged: majority of informants knew that the local government receives 25 percent of the revenue derived from taxes. Informants from the PIA administration averred that 50 percent of the revenue was given to local government and another 25 percent is utilized for specific projects submitted to PIA. The following statements were responses to the question, "How much revenue is given to local government from the revenues derived from industries?":

"From our real estate taxes mandated by the charter - 50% to local government and another 25% given upon submission of specific projects in that municipality. What is left to PIA is 25%."

"PHIVIDEC gives 20% for local government fund....it is very insignificant."

"The municipality gets only 25% of the tax instead of the 75% it is supposed to get. It is not even the whole of the 25%, more or less one-half of the 25%; the other one-half goes to the national government. PHIVIDEC is the one benefiting in tax revenues."

"PHIVIDEC is like a broker."

Informants reported the economic effects more than the social gains. In fact, responses to the latter referred more to what they aspired to gain rather than what they observed as social benefits. For instance, they were in accord that PIA had to focus on providing for more skill training to make local manpower competitive with

migrant labor. They advocated a training system which will prepare local people while a particular industry is still on its construction stage. Philippine Sinter was cited to have hired local manpower during the construction which lasted for four years. Such a period was long enough to provide particular technical skills that fitted the requirement of companies. No such effort was expended, and after the construction, migrant workers were taken in because they had better technical know-how than the natives.

The social concern for the maintenance of peace and order was mentioned by informants. They believed that since "PHIVIDEDEC is a state within a state," it had to maintain peace and order in their area of responsibility. PIA failed to do this, according to the perception of informants. Crime and prostitution are believed to have increased.

Schools established on relocation sites were mentioned as benefits, but it seems that the informants were expecting more, e.g. scholarship funds from the PIA. They wanted adequate information dissemination on the incoming industries so people will know. The lack of information caused apprehension among the residents especially the low-educated and other vulnerable groups. PIA support for NGOs and POs who were doing information dissemination and training was not just an expectation but a desirable which can contribute and enhance community relations.

One informant considered the flow of migrants to their area as a gain in the sense that it afforded an opportunity to learn about other cultures and values.

One striking information shared by respondents was the willingness and readiness of PIA and the industry management to cooperate in whatever community projects were undertaken. In times of calamity, they could be relied upon to give assistance. Projects on sanitation and health-related activities oftentimes became a cooperative venture. It seemed that industries were doing their share of social responsibility.

*Displacement of families.* The most important negative effect unanimously and strongly pinpointed by informants was the displacement of families. Concomitant with this were the twin-problems of land acquisition and ownership disputes.

The manner of land acquisition proved to be controversial and problematic. To date, informants label land acquisition as "land grabbing," "land

stealing" and other derogatory names. On the other hand, land disputes among heirs and between land owners/claimants resulted to delay in land acquisition which subsequently affected the improvement of the place. Informants said:

"Owners are not satisfied with the manner of land acquisition. Price per square meter is very low."

"Land owners are selling their land/lot for 150 pesos per square meter but PHIVIDEDEC refused and wanted to buy at 75 pesos per square meter."

It was estimated that 80 percent of the displaced families were non-owners of the land/lot they occupied or farmed. There were instances when PIA administrators had to deal with both the non-occupying owner who was willing to sell his land and the displaced settler who demanded to be compensated for tilling the land.

Aside from settling problems between owners and settlers, the land pricing was open to abuse and corruption as land appraisers, according to informants, also asked commissions from the sale of land.

To date, an estimated 4,000 people are displaced and relocated in different sites, while others migrated to neighboring provinces. The first batch of displaced families were accommodated in Andam-Mouswag, Kalingagan, a site for the joint project of the National Housing Authority (NHA), the local government, and PIA. Each family was supposedly allocated with a three-hectare land. Seed money to start a cooperative was given to displaced groups. The recent relocated families in Dayawan, Villanueva were each allocated with only a 50-square meter lot, which according to informants, is too small and too crowded for a family of five or six members.

Admittedly, the families affected were promised that one of its member would be given a job or a priority for a work position. The informant from the PIA administration estimated that 60 percent of these displaced families were given jobs. However, to most informants, this promise was unfulfilled either because of individual deficiency in the job requirement or the short-term duration of the job.

Unfavorable views about Andam Mouswag abounded: informants replaced the word "mouswag" (progressive) to "ma-os-os" (retrogressive) which they believed was reflective of the condition of settlers:

"People relocated in Andam-Mouswag had experienced difficulties."

Other informants looked upon displacement as a necessary offshoot of industrialization; hence, it is unavoidable:

"Displacement is a part of the process of being progressive; it cannot be helped."

"Industrialization and displacement of people go hand in hand; however, displacement should be done in a more humane way."

"Displacement should be people-centered."

"Fishermen were relocated to mountains; their efforts in farming cannot support the basic needs of their families."

"*Ang mangingisda gibutang sa bukid, nan, unsa man ang ilang buhaton didto? Alangan man mangisda sa bukid?* (Fisherfolk were relocated to farmland. What will they do there? How are they to fish on land?)"

*Effect on the environment.* Awareness of environmental risk as a result of industrialization was not foreign to informants. They reported that people of Villanueva were sensitive to this particular concern and have kept a vigilant stance. Hazards to environment due to pollution have been recognized; however, they were in accord that pollution is not yet a grave problem. From observation, they reported that the shorelines were still clean and foreign vessels were careful about waste disposal.

Moreover, waste management by industries and other air pollutants were monitored by residents. Yet, they too recognized their inability to make good monitoring since they admitted their lack of expertise and technology. Their vigilance somehow paid off as succinctly summarized by informants.

"The companies and factories know we are vigilant. They are careful and abide by the rules and regulations on environmental protection."

"*Ga-claim man ang Philippine Sinter nga aduna silay best anti-pollutant device. Dili man sab ta kahibalo kung tinu-od* (Philippine Sinter claims to have the best anti-pollutant device. We do not know whether or not they really have.)"

Respondents believe that the program for environmental protection is being handled by the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) because industries have to obtain the Environmental Clearance Certificate before starting any industrial activity. People are also aware of frequent inspections carried out by both local government officials and DENR personnel to check possible violations that would redound to environmental harm.

The effect of pollution and industrial waste disposal to marine life was not ascertained as no discernible changes were manifested yet. But it was different in the case of farm production. All were in agreement that the presence of the industrial estate caused a decline in agricultural production. It was not determined whether the reduction of production was due to reduction in yield or to shrinkage of land for agriculture inasmuch as there was massive land conversion.

The manifestations or effects of pollution on health were ambiguous to informants. Cases of illness especially tuberculosis and lung cancer were reported to have been allegedly caused by industrial chemicals. Yet respondents were quick to point out that there was no basis to conclude that industry was responsible for such type of illnesses. The residents though, gave their reactions regarding instances of companies emitting foul odor, resulting to increased incidence of illness among children. Prompt and concerted efforts from government, media, religious groups, and other NGOs usually diffused untoward negative confrontations; industries were on the lookout to keep the emission of gases and foul odor to a tolerable level.

*Views and expectations for CIC.* The Cagayan-Iligan-Corridor (CIC) Special Project was unanimously acceptable to informants. Viewed as beneficial to all, it was considered a vehicle to progress. The economy is expected not only to flourish but to develop at a galloping pace.

In spite of their unity in approving CIC, respondents were aware of social costs and other negative effects. Expectations on the increase in prostitution and drug addiction were voiced out. These, they believed, lead to an increase in crime rates.

The acceptance of the CIC was not without reservation and high expectations. There was apprehension that only the better educated and the intellectuals will be

given preference. Informants expressed the hope that CIC will be environment-friendly, and industries will ensure their labor practices.

The common strand of expectations are the following: improvement in the standard of living, increase in the revenues of the municipality, respect for people's property rights, and better relocation schemes for displaced families.

The informants were united in giving support to the CIC, as stated by one of them:

"Industrialization should be welcome. It must be viewed not as something that will destroy what we consider important, like our values and environment. We should maintain a balance and should not think of economic benefits only."

### Summary

The study was conducted to investigate the residents' perceptions on the effects of the industrial estate. To get a balanced picture, both positive and negative effects were elicited from in-depth interviews.

Specific objectives were enunciated at the earlier part of the project. The over-all objective though was to draw out from people the perceived economic and social gains as well as losses of a community from an industrial estate. The foci of the investigation also included environmental risks and the displacement of residents.

Using the key informant approach, respondents were identified on the basis of pre-established criteria. The interviews were recorded on tape, and subsequently transcribed and analyzed.

The findings highlight the following:

1. On perceived economic and social effects in the community:
  - a. Increase in the number of middle-class households;
  - b. Change in the standard of living;
  - c. A generational change in lifestyles;
  - d. A shift in the means of livelihood. Decline in the number of those engaged in fishing and farming;

- e. Increased employment and better job opportunities. However, industries are biased to migrant labor. The manpower demand of industries places local labor at a disadvantage because of industrial preference for better-skilled, better-educated migrants. Moreover, manpower demand is biased against women on the justification that the requirement is suited to men rather than women;
  - f. Perceived higher income disparity. Those who are employed by industries enjoy high-income level; displaced families exist in poverty;
  - g. Two different versions of revenue sharing were given. One version coming from the majority of informants indicated the advantage of PIA administration with their 75 percent share; the other version coming from a minority stating that the share of local units is 50 percent share plus the allocated 25 percent for special projects;
  - h. Social gains are elusive and remain as desirables particularly the maintenance of peace and order. Crimes and prostitution are perceived to have increased; and
  - i. Increased educational opportunities, more skills trainings and more information dissemination are the enunciated needs that should be the foci of social development.
2. Displacement of families as a negative consequence of industrialization.

The displacement of residents breeds subsequent social problems, foremost of which are the following:

- a. Land acquisition. The manner of acquiring land by the PIA is viewed by informants in an unfavorable light because of the low buying price per square meter;
- b. Disputes over land ownership between claimants delay the improvement of the entire estate;
- c. Settlements between non-occupant owners and tenants delay the purchase of land;
- d. The land pricing is open to abuse and corruption as power/process brokers demand cuts in the land sale;

- e. The promise of job placement to at least one of the family members is not satisfactory fulfilled; and
- f. The allocated lot in the recent site is dismally small (50 sq. m. per family).

3. Effects on environment include:

- a. The hazards to environment due to pollution have been recognized but informants are all in accord that pollution is not a grave problem yet;
- b. The high level of awareness of the possible effects of industrialization on the environment is translated into action by the voluntary monitoring of residents, albeit they recognize their lack of expertise and technology to do this; and
- c. The presence of the industrial estate and the conversion of agricultural land to industrial sites are perceived by the people to have reduced agricultural production.

4. Expectations for CIC:

- a. CIC is highly acceptable and viewed as beneficial to the people;
- b. The economy is expected to proceed in a galloping pace but apprehensions were articulated in the areas of fair labor practice and the maintenance of an environment-friendly atmosphere. Economic-wise, CIC is expected to bring about improvement in the standard of living and increased revenues for local government units;
- c. The negative social cost was enumerated too, such as increase in prostitution and drug addiction; and
- d. A better relocation scheme is envisioned to be designed and to be made operational.

**Implication and conclusion**

The findings of the study highlight the perceived positive economic gains which outweigh negative economic consequences. The people recognize the improvement in the overall economic life albeit the economic advantage is not felt by the marginalized groups such as the poor displaced families, the women, and the low-skilled, low-educated sector of the labor force.

The economic gain does not cut across social classes. Higher income diversity validated by external sources may have pushed a number of households to exist in marginal poverty, but on the whole they are much better off now than their counterparts two decades ago. The rural poor in the industrialized areas now live with improved water system, electricity, better sanitation, and better health facilities.

It is not clear whether or not local government units gained from the derived revenues. The revenue-sharing arrangement confounds the people because of divergent claims from the local government units and the PIA administration. For a better informed community, it may be desirable for both parties to come up with an arrangement process conducted under an atmosphere of openness and transparency.

While economic gains are obviously observable and clearly manifested, the positive social consequences are difficult to capture from the report of informants. This implies that in planning the purposive creation of growth poles, the social development component may have been overlooked or not given focus. Whatever manifestations of social gain are seen or observed seem to be an unintended effect to gain community acceptance rather than a planned social intervention.

The manner of land acquisition is another vulnerable aspect of the industrial estate. It spawns additional problems and breeds chaos. For one, owners are dissatisfied with the buying rate per square meter. Disputes abound over land ownership between different claimants. Land brokers exacerbate the problematic condition by demanding cuts from land sale. This band of problems contributed to the delay in land improvement that led to the slow pace of industrialization. Needless to say, the creation of growth poles has its attendant administrative headaches because the very act itself creates economic and social expectations from all sectors. Such expectations are translated to the questions of what and how much gains one can get, hence the scramble to obtain the most out of any transaction, be it in land pricing or in job opportunities.

People lament the manner and process of the residents' displacement. Resettled families are thought to be in a worse condition; their displacement does not only imply a shift from abode and severance of community ties but also a shift in livelihood. The latter has a greater impact especially on those who have spent their lifetime exercising a particular occupation. The

occupational transition seems to be a drastic move (e.g. from fishing to farming) and low-educated household heads are ill-prepared for an occupation totally alien to their nature and knowledge.

While informants recognized the fact that displaced families were indeed given job priority and at least one member of the family was accommodated in an industrial position, these jobs were of short duration. The low-level of education and the lack of technical skills were the most common explanations for the short-term employment.

What all of these imply is absence of integration of the human development component into the overall scheme of creating an industrialized zone, a human development component design to empower the disadvantaged population. Even the assumption that any resulting economic improvement could be a vehicle of empowerment is not a guarantee that such empowerment will provide dignity of person or of labor.

Although residents are highly aware of the effects of industrialization on the environment, and have initiated environment-watch, they may have underestimated the consequence of industrial waste to the environment. For instance, pollution is believed to be non-threatening to date, and heavy reliance is placed on the DENR to enforce strict compliance of environment safety guidelines. The local government units are reported to be doing the inspection of industries together with the DENR, but again the monitoring is without transparency and without the involvement of people's organizations.

The Cagayan-Iligan Corridor Special Project is viewed favorably, and people's expectations are high. The lessons learned from the PHIVIDEDEC experience were applied when informants articulated their fears, apprehensions, and misgivings, notwithstanding their wholehearted endorsement of the project. It may be wise to have a thorough and detailed assessment and review of the social component in the master plan of the CIC.

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# From College to Work: A Study of Mismatch in Education and Occupation

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IN a country of high unemployment and underemployment, the transition from school to the job market is a horrendous experience. In this setting, the gap between the needed manpower and the supply of labor is extremely wide, resulting in a large stock of potential workers willing to take on any job available. This situation is dangerous inasmuch as recruitment and hiring practices may artificially change to the detriment of both labor and industry. On the one hand, hiring standards may go up resulting in more graduates being hired for positions and salaries way beneath their qualifications, and on the other, hiring may totally be out of synch because of the proliferation of corrupt practices such as nepotism, sponsorship, patronage, sexual and other forms of harassment, pay-offs, and the widespread violation or non-implementation of labor laws.

The situation could become so intolerable that to many college graduates, the only "escape" is to get out of the country. Thus, brain drain is high and many are even willing to accept employment as dancers, entertainers, housemaids, and other forms of menial or manual work overseas. In fact, for many countries, the only logical way to contain the level of unemployment at a time of slower or negative economic growth is to motivate its citizens to emigrate.

At the outset, it appears that an oversupply of labor, especially of overqualified workers, is advantageous to industry. In the long run, however, the combination of corrupt hiring practices, low morale and dissatisfaction of workers eventually affects the industry. Furthermore, a college degree does not necessarily mean efficiency. It is more probable that a trained typist will turn out to be more efficient than a college graduate who knows how to type, the most obvious reason being that a trained typist does not expect more while the college graduate probably sees the job as a mere stepping stone for something better.

This study was designed to investigate the depth of underemployment problems in the Philippines by examining the magnitude of mismatch between

employee's educational qualification and the educational preparation demanded by his or her job. The analysis involved examining four different forms of mismatch, namely:

1. mismatch between the employee's educational preparation and the educational requirement demanded by the job;
2. mismatch in specialization and actual occupation;
3. mismatch in years of education and those required by the job and the estimated cost of these extra years of education; and
4. mismatch in the employee's expectations and perceptions and the actual job.

These four different forms of mismatch were assessed according to the type of business or industry, size of establishments, school graduated from, gender, age, tenure or length of employment in the company, job waiting period, and scholastic records. Likewise, mismatch was examined as to its impact on employee's job satisfaction, occupational status and income mobility.

The significance of the study lies not only in its ability to generate data that will allow an assessment of the magnitude of underemployment problems but also in its ability to focus attention on the superfluous years of education and the costs involved. Since many countries are evidently undergoing similar difficulties, this study has, in fact, a more extensive impact. It could make a real contribution in the reduction of mismatch between labor and education.

## Objectives of the study

Suppose that for decades, the educational institutions were oversupplying the labor market with college graduates. What will happen to these graduates when they get out of school? What kinds of job will they end up with? What will they have to go through to get these jobs? Are the jobs appropriate for what they are

prepared or trained for? How much of this training is not required by the jobs they are actually doing? How long did they wait to get these jobs?

This study tried to address these questions by focusing on educational preparation and actual occupation. It attempted to examine the factors that affect the movement of graduates from tertiary and technical/vocational education to the labor market. The analysis involved examining the relevance of education and training of the graduates to their jobs, whether mismatch in education and actual occupation occurred, the extent of this mismatch and the costs connected with it. The study also assessed the job waiting period and its impact on mismatch and occupational and/or income mobility.

## **Methodology**

### *Sources of data*

The study was conducted in two medium-sized cities in Southern Philippines, covering 200 employers and 1,000 employees from various types of business establishments employing at least five employees.

A stratified, two-stage proportionate (self-weighting) probability proportional to size (pps) sampling technique was adopted to select the samples from the two cities. These two cities, Cagayan de Oro and Iligan, were each equally represented with 500 sample employees and 100 sample employers. The sample was drawn from a total of 923 establishments with 24,635 employees in Cagayan de Oro, and a total of 490 establishments with 13,959 employees in Iligan.

The bases for the stratification of establishments were employment size (e.g. 5-9 workers, 10-49 workers, 50-199 workers, and 200 or more workers) and the main economic activity which was patterned after the 1991 Philippine Standard of Industrial Classification (e.g. agriculture, hunting, forestry, fishing, mining and quarrying, manufacturing, etc.). Business establishments with employment size lower than five were excluded from the population and therefore, not represented in this study.

In the first stage, a sample of 100 establishments in Cagayan de Oro and 100 in Iligan were drawn proportionately with replacement from each strata where each establishment was assigned a probability of selection proportional to its employment size. A business establishment drawn in the first stage of

sampling was the primary sampling unit and the employer representing this sample establishment, the respondent.

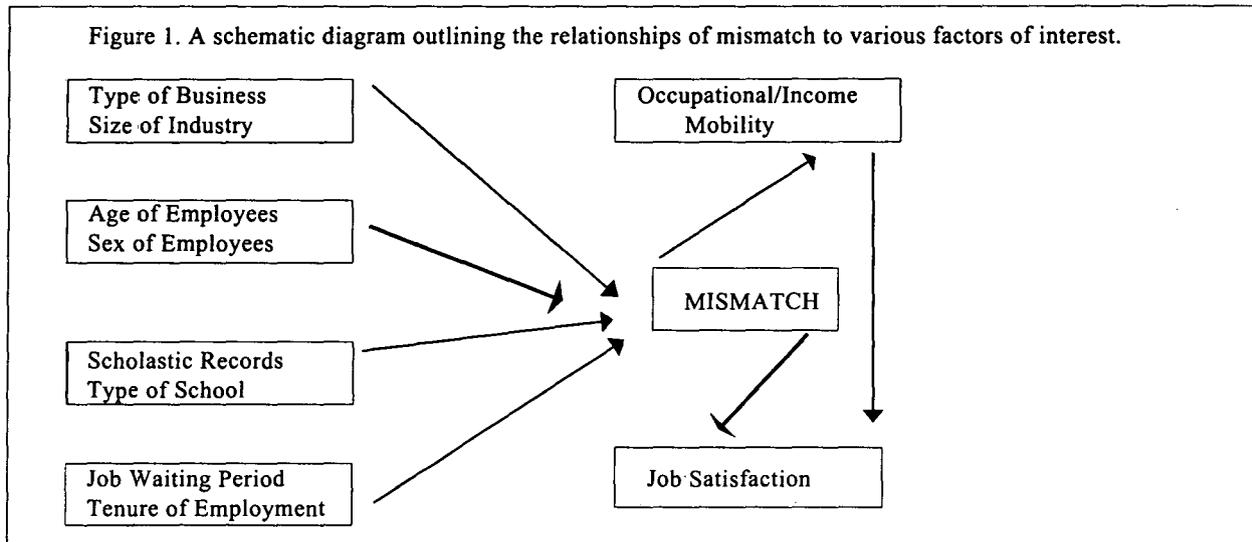
In the second stage of sampling, five employees were interviewed from every sample establishment drawn in the first stage of sampling. A total of 500 employees were randomly drawn from 100 sample business establishments in Cagayan de Oro City and likewise in Iligan City.

Two sets of interview schedules were formulated: one for the employer, and another for the employees. Both interviews focused on measuring factors that influence the movement of employees from school to the labor market, educational preparation, mismatch in actual occupation and educational preparation, specific educational requirement of a particular job or position, manpower requirements, recruitment and job placement procedures. The data generated included the socio-economic characteristics of the employed graduates, factors determining the pursuit of higher education, reasons for changes in the chosen field, mismatch in specialization and actual occupation, types of school graduated from, job-waiting period, role of guidance counselor in the choice of educational and occupational career, relevance of the training received with respect to the needs of the job, job and income mobility of employed graduates, job expectation and satisfaction, different methods of recruitment and their degree of effectiveness, hiring criteria, educational requirements of a position, factors that determine starting positions and salaries of employees, problems encountered by employers in hiring and recruitment, pre-employment training, and the industries' projected manpower needs by specialization.

### **Data Analysis**

Figure 1 shows the schematic diagram of the logical interrelationships of various factors to the variable mismatch. In this design, mismatch is viewed as being affected as well as affecting several occupational behavior and characteristics of employees. In one end, mismatch is seen as being influenced by gender and age of employees, scholastic records, and school graduated from, job tenure and job waiting period, and the type and size of industry. In another end, mismatch is seen as a dominant factor in determining job satisfaction and occupational and income mobility of employees.

Figure 1. A schematic diagram outlining the relationships of mismatch to various factors of interest.



An overall education and job mismatch score was derived by combining four types of mismatch which included educational attainment and job, extra years of education, and mismatch as perceived by employees. These items were added together to form one mismatch score for the first job after college and one mismatch score for the current job. These scores had values ranging from 0 to 4, indicating a perfect match and a perfect mismatch respectively.

The type and size of industry are expected to affect the mismatch inasmuch as educational preparation or specialization is oftentimes industry specific. Bigger industries tend to have job openings that require specific training or specialization as compared to smaller industries.

In addition to the nature and size of industry, the type of school where a person obtained his/her degree, as well as any honors or awards he/she has received, are expected to facilitate job acquisition and minimize the incidence of mismatch. It is expected that the longer the college graduate stays out of job, the greater the possibility for mismatch to occur.

Furthermore, such individual characteristics as age and gender of employees are expected to be associated with the kinds of job and position workers will hold. For instance, upper level jobs that require longer educational preparation, because of age and gender role definition, are expected to be dominated by older male workers.

Together with being employed is the question of whether the worker is satisfied or dissatisfied with his/her job and the reasons for feeling so. Mismatch is seen

here as a dominant factor in determining satisfaction or dissatisfaction, as well as job and income mobility of employees.

Job satisfaction score was calculated by summing up positive responses to 13 questions which measured liking the job, happiness at work, contentment with the job, career fulfillment, satisfaction with the job and the general working atmosphere, satisfaction in terms of position and status at work, and salary, feeling of awkwardness in the job, perception that the job is not important, a desire to change job, and a sense of accomplishment when doing the job. This scale had scores ranging from 0 to 13, corresponding to extreme dissatisfaction and satisfaction. Reliability testing of the scale revealed reasonable item-to-item and item-to-total correlations. The alpha coefficient of reliability was found to be 0.6652 and 0.6539 for Cagayan de Oro and Iligan, respectively.

## Findings and discussion

### *The labor market*

Since 1980, the levels of unemployment and underemployment in the Philippines have been rising steadily. Even the employed are indicating a desire for additional work. Yet as unemployment and underemployment rise, educational institutions in the country continue to produce college graduates at a rate of over a million annually (*Philippine Statistical Yearbook 1992*), compounding the already very critical situation. Presented in Table 1 are the employment, and underemployment estimates for the years 1980 to 1991. These official recorded estimates were generally

Table 1. The trend of employment, unemployment, and underemployment in the Philippines, 1980-1991 (in millions)

Years	<u>Employment</u>		<u>Unemployment</u>		<u>Underemployment</u>
	Number	% of Popn	Number	% of Labor Force	as % Employed
1980	17.202	35.40	0.874	4.8	*
1981	18.735	38.58	0.947	5.1	*
1982	19.291	38.56	0.915	4.7	34.2
1983	19.597	38.78	0.897	4.4	35.9
1984	19.360	38.25	1.264	6.1	35.7
1985	19.801	35.61	1.517	7.1	33.7
1986	19.631	34.93	2.441	11.1	36.0
1987	20.795	36.35	2.085	9.1	30.4
1988	21.498	36.62	1.954	8.3	29.4
1989	21.849	36.54	2.010	8.4	*
1990	22.560	36.45	1.930	7.9	*
1991	22.930	37.04	2.348	9.3	*

Source: Philippine Statistical Yearbook of the National Economic and Development Authority, Philippines, 1992.

\*no available estimate

considered to be much lower than the actual unemployment figure which in late 1985 was already estimated to be approximately 15 percent overall, with an even higher rate in Metropolitan Manila and in other urban centers (The Economist Intelligence Unit 1992). It is therefore possible that the current rate of employment and underemployment has remarkably increased.

The present economic crisis which was built on the economic crisis of 1983 to 1986 was further aggravated by the substantial loss of employment due to the closure of the U.S. bases in 1991-1992, the power shortages, the eruptions of Mt. Pinatubo and Mayon Volcano, a series of coup d'etat, and the rise in kidnappings and other crimes.

The outburst of emigration from 14,500 in 1975 to over 2 million in 1990 had somewhat helped in containing the levels of unemployment and underemployment in the country (Madigan and Pagtolun-an 1992). However, the levels shown earlier have already taken into account those workers deployed overseas.

This labor market atmosphere is likewise reflected in regional areas, especially within the city centers. Cagayan de Oro, being a regional center and Iligan, a manufacturing center, receive stocks of manpower supply from the neighboring rural areas which serve as manpower feeders. In fact, for less than a decade Cagayan de Oro City more than quadrupled its population because of high rural to urban migration.

Over 80 percent of these migrants are looking for work (Pagtolun-an 1989).

Examination of the type, nature, and employment size of business establishments in Cagayan de Oro and Iligan Cities gave us a good picture of the labor market in the area. Table 2 shows the total number of establishments and the total number of workers they employed, categorized into nature of business and employment size. In view of the fact that these data considered establishments with five or more employees only, the industries in Cagayan de Oro City were responsible for employing a much greater number of people (24,635) than in Iligan City (13,999). These figures, however, excluded those who were self-employed, workers of small business establishments (less than five employees), and unregistered workers or workers of unregistered establishments.

The data within each city indicated that Cagayan de Oro was dominated by service-oriented establishments, both private and government services. Approximately 50.2 percent of these establishments were service-oriented, 39.7 percent were in trading and business, and only 7.2 percent were in manufacturing. Iligan City, on the other hand, was dominated by trading and business (47.1%), service-oriented (41.0%), and manufacturing industries (9.6%).

However, examining these establishments relative to the number of persons they employed, it appeared that

in Cagayan de Oro City, service-oriented industries were responsible for employing 42.8 percent of all workers, followed by manufacturing firms with 25.9 percent, trading and business, 25.5 percent and by communication and transportation, 4.9 percent. In Iligan City, manufacturing industries are few (only 9.6

percent of all industries; yet, they were responsible for employing 44.6 percent of all workers in the area). Service-oriented industries were responsible for employing only 32.5 percent of all workers. Trading and business employed 20.3 percent while maritime and fishing industries accounted for 2.5 percent.

Table 2. Distribution of business establishments and employees by nature and size of business in Cagayan de Oro City and Iligan City, Philippines, 1992 (in percent)

Nature and Size of Business	CAGAYAN DE ORO CITY		ILIGAN CITY	
	Establishments	Employees	Establishments	Employees
<b>Trading</b>	39.7 (n=366)	25.5 (n=6288)	47.1 (n=231)	20.3 (n=2832)
5-9 employees	39.3	14.1	62.8	32.6
10-49	54.9	55.4	35.9	50.2
50-199	5.5	21.1	0.9	4.0
200 or more	0.3	9.4	0.4	13.2
<b>Manufacturing</b>	7.2 (n=66)	25.9 (n=6378)	9.6 (n=47)	44.6 (n=6220)
5-9 employees	48.5	3.1	51.1	2.5
10-49	25.8	4.7	21.3	3.0
50-199	18.2	18.4	14.9	11.9
200 or more	7.6	73.8	12.8	82.6
<b>Services</b>	50.2 (n=463)	42.8 (n=10539)	41.0 (n=201)	32.5 (n=4540)
5-9 employees	45.1	12.4	59.2	16.1
10-49	47.1	40.0	35.8	47.0
50-199	6.1	21.7	4.5	19.3
200 or more	1.7	25.9	0.5	17.6
<b>Communication/ Transportation</b>	1.5 (n=14)	4.9 (n=1213)	0.2 (n=1)	0.06 (n=8)
5-9 employees	21.4	1.4	100.0	100.0
10-49	64.3	9.0	0.0	0.0
50-199	7.1	7.1	0.0	0.0
200 or more	7.1	82.4	0.0	0.0
<b>Maritime Industry</b>	1.2 (n=11)	0.8 (n=198)	1.8 (n=9)	2.5 (n=349)
5-9 employees		54.5	19.7	77.8
10.6				
10-49	36.4	49.5	11.1	7.2
50-199	9.1	30.8	0.0	0.0
200 or more	0.0	0.0	11.1	82.2
<b>Agricultural/ Forestry/Hunting</b>	0.3 (n=3)	0.08 (n=19)	0.02 (n=1)	0.07 (n=10)
5-9 employees	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
10-49	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0
50-199	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
200 or more	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Majority of industries were small, ranging from 5 to 49 employees. In fact, except for a few manufacturing industries found in both cities which employed several thousand workers, the rest of these establishments were small.

#### *Characteristics of sample establishments*

A sample of 100 establishments was drawn randomly from a list of all industries in Cagayan de Oro City, and the same was done in Iligan City.

Presented in Table 3 are the characteristics of these sample establishments from the two cities. Majority of the establishments drawn in the sample were service-oriented industries, 42.0 percent in Cagayan de Oro and 42.4 percent in Iligan. These were closely followed by manufacturing and trading industries.

Table 3. Characteristics of sample establishments in Cagayan de Oro and Iligan Cities, Philippines, 1992 (in percent)

Characteristics	Cagayan de Oro City	Iligan City
<b>1. Type of business</b>	n = 100	n = 100
Trading	19.0	28.0
Manufacturing	30.0	24.6
Services	42.0	42.4
Communication/ Transportation	6.0	1.0
Maritime industry	2.0	4.0
Agriculture/Hunting	1.0	0.0
<b>2. Employment size</b>	n = 100	n = 100
5-9 employees	12.0	26.0
10-49	45.0	51.0
50-199	28.0	11.0
200 or more	15.0	9.0
<b>3. Firm's total assets (Peso)</b>	n = 100	n = 100
Less than a million	15.0	39.6
1 to 5 million	12.0	19.7
over 5 million	35.0	19.7
Confidential info	25.0	21.0
<b>4. Expansion plans</b>	n = 100	n = 100
Plan to expand	43.0	35.0
No plan to expand	57.0	65.0
<b>5. Number of additional employees plan to hire</b>	n = 100	n = 100
None	66.0	69.0
1 to 5	12.0	13.0
6 to 10	11.0	6.0
More than 10	11.0	12.0

These results were significant inasmuch as the nature and type of industries are most likely to influence the type of job and position a person would assume. Work involving production, which is most likely the job available in many manufacturing industries, requires certain skills and expertise acquired from a certain level of education, whereas most work in trading, business, and service-oriented establishments are possibly industry-specific requiring skills necessary that are readily acquired while at work.

The table also shows that majority of the sample establishments were small, with only 10 to 49 employees. Sixty percent of the establishments of this size were drawn from Iligan City and 45.0 percent were selected from Cagayan de Oro City. Estimates of the firms' total assets as provided by employers also showed the size of selected industries. However, a sizable proportion of employers, 25.0 percent in Cagayan de Oro and 21.0 percent in Iligan, refused to respond, claiming business confidentiality. Of those that responded, 15.0 percent of sample establishments in Cagayan de Oro and 39.6 percent in Iligan claimed less than a million total assets; 12.0 percent in Cagayan de Oro City and 19.7 percent in Iligan City claimed a total of 1 million to 5 million and over 5 million assets were claimed by 35.0 percent of the establishments in Cagayan de Oro City in contrast to only 19.7 percent in Iligan City.

Finally, these existing establishments were not too promising with regards to employment prospects for future college graduates. Only 43.0 percent in Cagayan de Oro and 35.0 percent in Iligan looked ahead to some future expansion. In fact, many were unsure of the future, that is, whether to continue or to shut down because of the power crisis. In Cagayan de Oro City (66.0 percent) as well as in Iligan City (69.0 percent) these establishments were not planning to hire additional employees.

#### *Characteristics of sample employees*

Majority of sample employees from both cities were at least college or vocational/technical degree holders: 51.6 percent in Cagayan de Oro and 53.4 percent in Iligan. Mean number of years of education in both cities was almost 12 years, which is equivalent to two years of college in the Philippines. Of those who had been to college or vocational school, 79.2 percent in Cagayan de Oro and 77.2 percent in Iligan indicated attendance at a private college or university. The most commonly mentioned areas of specialization of respondents in Cagayan de Oro were business (16.0

percent), technical vocational courses (12.6 percent), arts, humanities, or languages (6.4 percent), filing, typing and other related vocational courses (4.2 percent). In Iligan City, 14.0 percent of the respondents indicated engineering, 13.6 percent mentioned business, and 13.2 percent went into technical/vocational fields; 6.2 percent were on filing, typing, and related vocational courses, and 3.0 percent were in other areas of specialization.

Regarding gender and age of employees, almost 70 percent of the respondents in both cities are males; 66.2 percent in Cagayan de Oro and 69.8 percent in Iligan. Both cities have young workers: 79.6 percent in Cagayan de Oro and 79.8 percent in Iligan. This is very significant inasmuch as it suggests that for the next two decades or so, very few workers are retiring from their current jobs. Therefore, unless new industries are put up in these two areas, the levels of unemployment and underemployment will never be properly contained.

Table 4. Characteristics of sample employees in Cagayan de Oro and Iligan Cities, Philippines, 1992 (in percent)

	Cagayan de Oro	Iligan		Cagayan de Oro	Iligan
<b>1. Education</b>	n = 500	n = 500	50-54	3.2	3.4
College degree holder & higher	36.4	39.6	55-85	2.6	3.4
Vocational/technical degree holder	15.2	13.8	Current mean age	32.27	32.84
Some college education	12.1	12.1	Mean age when started working	21.43	21.51
Some high school	29.5	28.0	<b>6. Job waiting period between college Graduation and 1<sup>st</sup> job</b>	n = 258	n = 261
Elementary education	6.8	6.4	Less than a month	27.5	24.1
Mean years of education	11.58	11.69	1 to 6 months	37.4	34.4
<b>2. Type of school attended in college</b>	n = 318	n = 328	7 to 11 months	8.6	12.2
Private	79.2	77.2	1 year	15.0	15.7
Public	20.8	22.8	2 years	5.5	7.0
<b>3. Field of specialization</b>	n = 500	n = 500	3 years and over	6.0	6.6
None	50.6	46.6	Means (in months)	9.46	9.41
Business	16.0	13.6	<b>7. Scholastic record in college</b>	n = 319	n = 328
Engineering	6.0	14.0	Honor student	12.5	7.6
Arts/Humanities Languages	6.4	3.0	Non-honor student	87.5	92.4
Natural Sciences	1.2	1.4	<b>8. Tenure of employment</b>	n = 500	n = 500
Agriculture/Mining/Fisheries	1.4	1.4	Less than 5 years	23.1	21.8
Technical Vocational Courses	12.6	13.2	5 to 9 years	23.4	23.3
Filing/Typing Other Vocational	4.2	6.2	10 to 14 years	23.4	26.0
Health Related	1.6	0.6	15 to 19 years	19.5	18.2
<b>4. Gender</b>	n = 500	n = 500	20 years and over	10.8	11.1
Male	66.2	69.8	Mean (in years)	11.0	11.1
Female	33.8	30.2	<b>9. Job satisfaction score</b>	n = 500	n = 500
<b>5. Current age</b>	n = 500	n = 500	Less than 5	3.8	4.2
15-19	2.4	4.4	5 to 9	62.9	67.7
20-24	21.4	15.0	10 or higher	33.3	28.1
25-29	20.0	21.8	Mean score	8.4	8.3
30-34	19.6	19.8	<b>10. Occupational mobility</b>	n = 500	n = 500
35-39	15.0	18.8	Promoted	31.0	31.8
40-44	10.6	10.0	Not promoted	69.0	68.2
45-49	5.0	3.4			

Many college graduates have to wait a while before getting employed. Over 26 percent in Cagayan de Oro and 29.3 percent in Iligan have to wait at least a year before getting hired. The average job-waiting period of college graduates is 9.4 months in both cities.

As expected, a greater number of employees are non-honor students in college. Most of them, however, are graduates of private colleges and universities in the area. Majority of employees stayed in the same company for more than ten years. Despite this long tenure, few employees were promoted to higher positions. Only 28.8 percent in Cagayan de Oro and 37.4 percent in Iligan were ever promoted in their jobs. More than 67 percent, however, claimed that they received a raise in salary every year.

Interestingly, a very high job satisfaction score is shown by respondents in both cities. The mean score is more than eight, indicating that the employees were very satisfied with their work. More than 95 percent of the respondents scored high in job satisfaction, and the reason for this was their being regular and full-time employees. Apparently, landing a job in itself is satisfaction enough. The difficulty of finding a job, the competition one has to face, the paperwork, requirements, examinations, interviews one has to go through, and the many barriers of getting a job make finding a job seem like finding a pot of gold at the tip of a rainbow.

#### *Mismatch in education and job*

Mismatch between education and actual occupation is inherent in societies with very high level of unemployment like the Philippines. It is the by-product of a highly competitive job market, wherein even the most low-skilled positions are filled up with highly skilled and trained applicants.

The data presented in Table 5 summarize various forms of mismatch experienced by employees of Cagayan de Oro City and Iligan City. The first one is derived by comparing the person's actual educational attainment with the educational requirement of his or her job. Mismatch, in this case, occurs when a degree holder occupies a position that does not require a college or vocational degree.

The second type of mismatch shown assessed the gap between the employee's field of specialization and the specialization demanded by his or her job. Any discrepancy between these two types of specialization is then classified as mismatch. However, positions or jobs that do not specify or require certain specialization

are classified as match regardless of the employee's major field.

Mismatch between the employee's years of education and the preparation period demanded by the job or position is presented as additional years of education in Table 5. These additional years of education are further analyzed according to cost based on the individual's degree and place of study. These costs are adjusted to the current per unit and per course tuition fees of the employee's school. It does not include living and other school-related expenses.

Another form of mismatch evaluated in Table 5 is based on the perception of employees. Employees were asked about the appropriateness and relevance of their training to both their first and current jobs. A negative response to the question was classified as a mismatch while positive response a match.

Finally, these four types of mismatch were combined to form a summative five-partition scale which is labeled as overall mismatch score in Table 5 but is simply referred to as mismatch in the rest of this paper. This mismatch score has the lowest value of zero which means education matches the need of the job. The highest value of four means education does not fit the need of the job for all four indicators of mismatch.

As expected, the table indicates a large gap between employee's educational preparation and the requirements demanded by his or her job. The data showed that majority of college or vocational graduate respondents in Cagayan de Oro City and Iligan City were working on jobs way beneath their educational qualifications. Mismatch in actual occupation and field of specialization was found to be worse with more than 75 percent of respondents from both cities doing jobs that did not match their field of specialization. This was found to be true not only for current jobs but also for first jobs after college.

Mismatch in years of education is clearly visible when one looks at the difference between years of training and first job. Majority of graduates, 67.7 percent in Cagayan de Oro and 63.7 percent in Iligan, were at least a year over what is required by his or her first job. A sizeable number from both cities had undergone three or more years of extra education.

This mismatch in years of training and job is also true when one examines the employee's current job. However, the effect is somewhat tempered by the inclusion of employees with no college or vocational education inasmuch as most of these employees had

Table 5. Percentage distribution of mismatch in education and actual occupation of employees in Cagayan de Oro and Iligan Cities, Philippines, 1992.

Mismatch	Cagayan de Oro	Iligan	Mismatch	Cagayan de Oro	Iligan
<b>1. Educational attainment &amp; first job</b>	n = 229	n = 230	<b>6. Years of education and current job</b>	n = 500	n = 500
Degree holder and first job requires a college/vocational degree	30.0	31.3	Actual years of education less than the years required by the job	24.8	18.4
<b>2. Educational attainment and current job</b>	n = 240	n = 238	Years of education match the need of the job	29.0	30.4
Degree holder and current job requires a college/vocational degree	40.7	32.1	Extra education-		
Degree holder and current job does not require a college/vocational degree	59.3	67.9	1 year	14.4	12.4
<b>3. Field of specialization and first job</b>	n = 239	n = 245	2 years	8.4	9.8
Specialization -			3 to 4 years	13.4	16.6
Matches the need of the job	24.8	23.9	5 years and over	10.0	12.4
Does not match need of the job	75.2	76.1	Mean years	1.4	1.8
<b>4. Field of specialization and current job</b>	n = 238	n = 240	<b>7. Employees' perception</b>	n = 258	n = 258
Specialization -			Training fits first job after college	41.3	46.5
Matches the need of the job	28.3	23.1	Training does not fit first job after college	58.7	53.5
Does not match need of the job	71.7	76.9	<b>8. Employees' perception</b>	n = 258	n = 258
<b>5. Years of education and first job</b>	n = 256	n = 258	Training fits current job	38.7	42.2
Years of education less than the years required by job	6.3	6.6	Training does not fit current job	61.3	57.8
Years of education match the need of the job	26.2	29.8	<b>9. Overall mismatch score education and first job</b>	n = 207	n = 202
Extra education-			Match	10.1	6.9
1 year	27.3	24.4	Mismatch		
2 years	10.8	12.8	1	11.6	12.9
3 to 4 years	14.4	13.6	2	14.0	14.8
5 years and over	15.0	12.8	3	18.4	23.3
Mean years	2.0	1.9	4	45.9	42.1
			Mean score	2.78	2.81
			<b>10. Overall mismatch score education and current job</b>	n = 221	n = 247
			Match	10.0	6.1
			Mismatch		
			1	14.4	15.4
			2	19.0	16.2
			3	18.1	24.2
			4	38.5	38.1
			Mean score	2.61	2.73

jobs that fit their qualifications. In fact, a somewhat considerable number of them had jobs that required more than their educational qualifications.

Asking employees to assess the fitness of their work and training resulted to a 58.7 percent of respondents in Cagayan de Oro and 53.5 percent in Iligan claiming that their training was not related to their work. In fact,

the majority complained that their work was not suitable for a college graduate.

Lastly, the overall mismatch score is indicative of the gap between educational preparation and the educational requirement demanded by employer. Over 90 percent respondents in both cities shows a mismatch score of at least one, and over 60 percent of the

respondents from both cities, a high mismatch score of three and/or four.

*Mismatch and other variables*

In trying to examine the relationship of mismatch to various factors of interest, one can immediately deduce that education and job mismatch remained high, regardless of the type or size of industry, social, economic and scholastic status of employees, job waiting period and tenure of employment. The data showed a high mismatch score for all groups signifying that mismatch cut across all industries and affected all types of position and specialization. However, despite these generally high mean mismatch scores, differences still occurred between subgroups as presented in Table 6.

Table 6 shows the mean overall mismatch score of employees which is broken down into two categories of type and size of industry, age and sex of employees, scholastic record and type of school, and the job-waiting period and tenure of employment. Among all of these factors, scholastic record and tenure of employment show the most consistent and significant effects on mismatch. The mean mismatch score of employees who were honor students in college is substantially lower than those who were not honor students. The difference is, in fact, greater when one examines mismatch between education and current jobs. It is logical to assume that after graduation, some of these graduates were occupying starting positions that were beneath their educational qualifications. As they gained more experience, however, they were then promoted to a position that was more fitted to their qualifications.

Table 6. Distribution of mean mismatch score of employees by various factors, Cagayan de Oro and Iligan Cities, Philippines, 1992.

FACTORS	CAGAYAN DE ORO		ILIGAN	
	Education & 1 <sup>st</sup> job	Education & current job	Education & 1 <sup>st</sup> job	Education & current job
<b>1. Type of industry</b>	n = 207	n = 221	n = 202	n = 246
Service-oriented	2.73	2.41**	2.83	2.92
Production-oriented	2.91	3.06**	2.79	2.60
<b>2. Size of industry</b>	n = 207	n = 221	n = 202	n = 247
Small (5-49 employees)	2.79	2.51	3.07*	3.32**
Large (50 and more)	2.77	2.67	2.68*	2.49**
<b>3. Sex</b>	n = 207	n = 221	n = 202	n = 247
Male	3.07**	2.92**	2.83	2.73
Female	2.40**	2.13**	2.76	2.72
<b>4. Age at work</b>	n = 207	n = 221	n = 202	n = 246
Under 40	2.66	2.57	2.80	2.46
40 and older	2.89	2.81	2.83	2.63
<b>5. Scholastic record</b>	n = 207	n = 220	n = 202	n = 246
Honor student	2.07**	1.78**	2.89	1.91**
Non-honor student	2.90**	2.74**	2.80	2.81**
<b>6. Job waiting period</b>	n = 207	n = 220	n = 202	n = 246
Six months or less	2.77	2.46	2.94	2.60
Over 6 months	2.78	2.63	2.67	2.72
<b>7. Tenure</b>	n = 207	n = 220	n = 202	n = 246
Less than 10 years	2.56*	2.32*	2.84	2.91*
10 years and over	2.99*	2.76*	2.77	2.47*

\*T-value significant at p<0.05

\*\*T-value significant at p<0.01

The impact of length of employment and type of industry to mismatch score varied by city. In Cagayan de Oro, the factors of service-oriented industry and length of employment had a tendency to increase the average mismatch score, but in Iligan, these same factors tended to decrease the average mismatch score. Apparently, while the factor of service-oriented industry in Cagayan de Oro had a high average mismatch score, the factor of production-oriented industry had an even higher mismatch score. This could be attributed to the combined effects of a greater number of colleges and universities in Cagayan de Oro than in Iligan and the fact that production-oriented industries pay higher salary than service-oriented industries. It is possible that production-oriented industries attract more college graduates than others because of such difference in salary.

In Iligan City, small industries had a significantly higher average mismatch score than larger industries, while in Cagayan de Oro there was not much difference between the average mismatch scores of smaller and larger industries.

Surprisingly, male employees showed a much higher average mismatch score than female employees in Cagayan de Oro City, with a high level of significance at  $p < 0.001$ . This finding was quite revealing as most high employment positions in both cities were occupied by males. However, it could be that while more men were employed than women, the men were also underemployed.

#### *Mismatch and occupational/income mobility*

Occupational and income mobility is a 10-point index composed of several factors with equal weights. These factors include the following: promotion and the frequency and gap between promotions; demotion; salary increase and the frequency and gap between increases; the amount of the increase; the difference in status between current position and first job; the difference between current salary and starting salary; and job termination and the period of unemployment between terminations.

Presented in Table 7 are the mean occupational and income mobility scores of employees differentiated by factors of low or high mismatch score, service or production-oriented industries, small or large establishments, male or female employees, good or average scholastic background, shorter or longer job waiting

period, short or long employment tenure, and attendance or non-attendance in college or vocational training.

Table 7. Distribution of mean occupational and income mobility score of college educated employees by various factors, Cagayan de Oro and Iligan Cities, Philippines, 1992.

FACTORS	CAGAYAN DE ORO		ILIGAN	
	No. of Cases	Mean Score	No. of Cases	Mean Score
<b>1. Mismatch score</b>				
Low (0 to 1)	53	5.18	53	6.60
High (2 to 4)	165	5.75	191	6.50
<b>2. Type of industry</b>				
Service-oriented	189	5.05**	126	4.56**
Production-oriented	65	8.12**	131	6.20**
<b>3. Size of industry</b>				
Small (5-49 employees)	123	4.80*	88	4.24**
Large (50 and more)	131	5.87*	169	6.13**
<b>4. Sex</b>				
Male	141	5.41	155	5.74
Female	131	5.31	102	4.93*
<b>5. Age at work</b>				
Under 40 years old	212	5.00**	218	5.32
40 and older	42	6.45**	39	5.47
<b>6. Scholastic record</b>				
Honor student	38	5.73	24	5.78
Non-honor student	216	5.32	233	5.27
<b>7. Job waiting period</b>				
Six months or less	164	5.37	143	5.70
Over six months	87	5.38	106	5.06
<b>8. Tenure</b>				
Less than ten years	118	4.26**	115	3.97**
Ten years and over	133	5.88**	139	6.02**
<b>9. Educational attainment</b>				
Did not attend college or vocational school	242	5.01**	234	4.96**
Attended college or vocational school	254	5.97**	257	6.00**

\*T-value significant at  $p < 0.05$

\*\*T-value significant at  $p < 0.01$

There is no difference in mean mobility index between employees with low or high mismatch scores. However, comparing the mean mobility index scores between cities, Iligan showed a significantly higher mobility than Cagayan de Oro. In fact, generally, the table shows somewhat higher mobility scores for Iligan City. This could be attributed to the presence of more production-oriented establishments in Iligan which pay relatively higher salaries than the service-oriented industries which dominate in Cagayan de Oro. Moreover, salary increases are more frequent and are much higher in Iligan than in Cagayan de Oro.

This difference between the two study areas is further highlighted by the effects of gender and age of employees on income and occupational mobility. While the difference between male and female mobility scores were quite substantial and significant in Iligan, there was little difference in Cagayan de Oro. Likewise, older employees showed significantly higher mean scores than younger employees in Cagayan de Oro City, but this difference was not found in Iligan City.

Factors such as type and size of industry, employment tenure, and educational attainment in both cities showed similar and significant effects on occupational and income mobility. Employees of large production-oriented industries, of long tenure, and with college or vocational training showed higher mobility mean index scores than their counterparts in small, service-oriented industries, with short tenure and with no college or vocational education. Again, type and size of industries accounted for a great portion of the differences in mean mobility scores of employees from both Cagayan de Oro and Iligan Cities.

#### *Mismatch and job satisfaction*

Job satisfaction, like mismatch, is quite high with over 95 percent of employees responding positively to questions on job satisfaction. Presented in Table 8 is the comparison of means of job satisfaction scores of employees in low (0 & 1) and high (2 to 4) mismatch categories. As expected, employees with low mismatch scores showed higher mean job satisfaction scores than those with high mismatch scores. However, this difference in means is too small to be statistically significant at  $p < 0.05$ .

Table 8, likewise examines the relationship of job satisfaction to other factors. Again, while most factors showed the expected direction of the difference, very few categories showed a significant difference in their

Table 8. Distribution of mean job satisfaction score of college educated employees by various factors, Cagayan de Oro and Iligan Cities, Philippines, 1992.

FACTORS	CAGAYAN DE ORO		ILIGAN	
	No. of Cases	Mean Score	No. of Cases	Mean Score
<b>1. Mismatch score</b>				
Low (0 to 1)	53	8.49	53	8.60
High (2 to 4)	165	8.16	191	8.14
<b>2. Type of industry</b>				
Service-oriented	189	8.32	126	7.86**
Production-oriented	65	8.12	131	8.50**
<b>3. Size of industry</b>				
Small (5-49 employees)	123	8.21	88	7.74**
Large (50 and more)	131	8.32	169	8.41**
<b>4. Sex</b>				
Male	141	8.26	155	8.17
Female	131	8.28	102	8.21
<b>5. Age at work</b>				
Under 40 years old	212	8.20	218	8.14
40 and older	42	8.62	39	8.44
<b>6. Scholastic record</b>				
Honor student	38	8.13	24	7.92
Non-honor student	216	8.29	233	8.21
<b>7. Job waiting period</b>				
Six months or less	164	8.38	143	8.17
Over six months	87	8.01	106	8.31
<b>8. Tenure</b>				
Less than ten years	118	7.82**	115	8.03
Ten years and over	133	8.62**	139	8.31
<b>9. Occupational mobility</b>				
Promotion	66	8.38	92	8.42*
No promotion	185	8.35	162	7.85*
<b>10. Income mobility</b>				
Salary increase	224	8.56**	230	8.38**
No salary increase	30	7.50**	24	7.08**
<b>11. Salary increase from 1<sup>st</sup> job to current job</b>				
Less than a thousand pesos	48	8.12	39	7.69*
A thousand pesos or more	203	8.50	215	8.38*
<b>12. Educational attainment</b>				
Did not attend college or vocational school	242	8.62**	234	8.50*
Attended college or vocational school	254	8.27**	257	8.18*

\*T-value significant at  $p < 0.05$

\*\*T-value significant at  $p < 0.01$

mean job satisfaction scores. Among these variables, income mobility showed the most substantial difference in mean job satisfaction scores with an average of more than a point difference between those employees who did not receive any salary increase versus those who got an increase. This is followed by educational attainment with college and/or vocational educated employees showing lower mean job satisfaction scores than those with no vocational or college education. This difference, although not substantial, is very highly significant at  $p < 0.01$ .

This table also highlights the difference between the two cities with factors like type and size of industry, promotion, and the amount of salary increase received, making a significant difference in job satisfaction scores of employees in Iligan City but not in Cagayan de Oro City. On the other hand, Cagayan de Oro showed significantly higher mean job satisfaction scores of employees with longer working tenure as compared to those with shorter working tenure. While this pattern is also true for Iligan, the difference between means is not statistically significant at  $p < 0.05$ .

#### *The cost of overqualification*

The general opinion is that education and/or learning is a value in itself and as such must be desired. Just like other values, the acquisition of education is good and therefore, has no bearing on its usefulness. Moreover, education is considered by many cultures as an end in itself.

In the Philippines, the dream of every parent is to see their children finish college education (Lynch 1974; Madigan 1985). Education is considered so valuable that despite the high expense of both high school and college education, many parents are willing to sacrifice everything just to send their children to school. The harder the sacrifice borne by parents in sending their children to school, the higher the prestige accorded to them. Thus, education is considered important not only because of the opportunities that go with it but also the role it plays in enhancing the status of the parents.

This status enhancement aspect of education is very significant since more than 70 percent of the population is surviving not only below poverty level but in extreme economic deprivation (Pagtolun-an and Madigan 1992; Flieger and Gultiano 1992; Cabigon 1992). Many Filipinos believe that the only way to get out of poverty is through college education because it increases the prospect of long-term, good paying, and prestigious occupation. Furthermore, a college degree also increases the chance of employment overseas.

This section is not concerned with the aesthetic, moral, and spiritual nature of education but rather with the material and the physical aspects of education. It focuses more on the number of years the respondents spent in getting a degree and their field of specialization. It then takes this number of years and examines whether this degree is needed by the job, and if it is not, how much expense could have been avoided by the parents, and the significance of this "extra cost" to the local and national economy.

In the Philippines, the costs of high school and college education are not borne by the government but by individuals and their parents.

Table 9 shows the estimated average annual cost of "extra years" of education based on the current cost of tuition per course in the school attended by the employees. These estimates do not include books, other school fees, and living expenses.

Table 9. The current annual cost in pesos of college education of employees in Cagayan de Oro and Iligan Cities, Philippines, 1992

"Extra year" of education	CAGAYAN DE ORO		ILIGAN	
	Cases	Cost in Pesos	Cases	Cost in Pesos
0 year	94	0.00	94	0.00
1 year	70	8,915.00	63	8,610.00
2 years	28	10,295.00	33	9,053.00
3 to 4 years	37	11,778.00	35	10,491.00
5 years and over	27	9,018.00	33	8,410.00
Total Cost in Person Years	Person Years	Cost in Pesos	Person Years	Cost in Pesos
	399	3,968,844.00	432	3,906,663.00

The average annual cost for just an "extra year" of education is P8,915.00 (approximately \$357.00) in Cagayan de Oro and P8,610.00 (roughly \$345) in Iligan. It even becomes higher as the years of "extra education" increase. This cost is relatively high inasmuch as the minimum wage is only P115.00 (roughly \$4.50) a day and the mean monthly salary from primary occupation is only P2,886.00 (approximately \$116.00). Furthermore, if one includes the cost of living, books, and other school expenses as well as opportunity cost to individuals and parents, the cost of another year in school is even higher than what is presented in Table 9.

Table 9 also gives the estimated total cost of these "extra years" of education based on person years. In this case, the parents of college graduate employees in each city spend approximately P4 million (roughly \$160,000.00) more for educational expenses which are not demanded by the jobs currently held by their children. This figure is even higher if the costs of living, books, and other school expenses as well as opportunity cost to individuals and parents are included.

### **Conclusion and recommendations**

In today's economy, job is a precious commodity. As more and more people look for work, competition and hiring procedures and standards also go up. Consequently, getting hired is difficult that in many cultures and economies, employment is already an end in itself.

This was the perception of over 95 percent of the respondents in Cagayan de Oro and Iligan. Despite their very high job and education mismatch scores, most of them showed contentment and satisfaction with their work. The reason for this was their having regular and full-time jobs. This finding becomes even more interesting when contrasted with their occupational and income mobility. Few employees were promoted to higher positions during the course of their employment. Again, this stagnancy did not affect their attitude towards work and their job satisfaction scores remained quite high. Another contributing factor was their long tenure. Since many of them had remained employed by one and the same establishment, they felt comfortable and quite secure with their work. Furthermore, they already experienced and accepted the impossibility of getting a better job. In fact, when asked whether they will change job if a similar or better job becomes available, over 70 percent of the employees from both cities responded negatively because they felt settled in their present jobs and had served long in the firm.

Mismatch in job and education, likewise, did not affect occupation and income mobility. This was because promotion was far between and salary increases were usually applied to everybody. Mismatch scores were also generally high that differences between subgroups were minimal. However, despite the minimal impact of mismatch between job satisfaction and occupational or income mobility, there was a high percentage of employees in jobs below their qualifications.

Combining this with the knowledge that there were a million more college graduates who were still looking for jobs, the mismatch between educational institution and the demands of the labor market was also quite high. This very high proportion of unemployed and underemployed among college graduates in both cities should now begin to erode the traditional belief that better education increases one's prospect of getting a better and prestigious job. It would seem that in many of today's economies, higher education does not live up to its promise of providing more opportunities. The road from college to work is like aiming to find a pot of gold at the tip of a rainbow, that is, it does not exist.

Overeducation is costly and wasteful, especially in countries where a great majority of its population are extremely poor. Expecting parents to spend P8 million more for "extra years" of education for their children who, if ever they will get jobs, may not need this education is absurd. It is puzzling when parents keep on sending their children to college and children insist on going amidst all these uncertainties. One would be better off investing money in small scale industry than spending it for a college education.

A good career and guidance counselor would be very effective in helping students decide whether to get a job after high school or proceed to college or vocational school. Likewise, better cooperation and agreement between an educational institution and industry could minimize job and education mismatch.

In many instances, mismatch occurs because educational institutions do not only meet the needs of the labor market but even exceed the demand. Unless industry and school begin to work together and come up with a good training or apprenticeship program in the very near future, the problem of mismatch between training and work will continue to worsen.

It would be helpful if a shift in attitude toward employment is effected by the majority of Philippine society. That is, instead of aiming at being employed by some establishment, the goal should be to employ oneself. This can be realized only if the government, private, and industrial sectors will provide the technical, credit, training, material and other forms of assistance to motivate individuals or groups of families to venture into small-scale businesses or industry. Small-scale entrepreneurship is probably the only answer to the Third World's troubled economy.

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# Power Relations in Filipino Households: The Case of Southern Philippines

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**POWER** relations in Filipino households have been the subject of investigation of a few studies in recent years. The findings of these studies generally suggest that the economic model advocated by Western feminists and resource theorists does not apply to this country. For instance, it was found that fertility is an important factor in power allocation in the Filipino household. Women with a large number of children were found to have more power in resource allocation and fertility decisions compared to women with a smaller number of children. As a result, these studies caution that the promotion of programs that limit family size could lead to the disempowerment of the married Filipina in their own homes (e.g. Alcantara 1990).

It is the objective of this study to examine power relations in Filipino households in Southern Philippines to see if the findings of earlier studies also hold true for these households. It is important to reexamine the results of earlier studies because these have immense impact on the ongoing efforts of many concerned sectors of Philippine society to promote greater equity in Filipino households and to support programs that lead to reduced family size for married couples.

## Data and study design

The study uses qualitative and quantitative data from a research project that was undertaken in 1996 and 1997 by the Research Institute for Mindanao Culture (RIMCU) for the Women Studies Project of Family Health International. The project was specifically carried out to examine the impact of family planning on the following aspects of women's lives: personal autonomy and self-esteem, health, employment, leisure/rest, family and interpersonal relations, and community relations. The project had two main components: a survey component and a component that dealt with the conduct of focus group discussions (FGDs) in selected barangays in Cagayan de Oro and Bukidnon.

The survey was done in Cagayan de Oro and the province of Bukidnon in order to compare the impact of family planning on women's lives in different economic settings (since Cagayan de Oro is relatively urban while Bukidnon is relatively rural). Following a multi-stage sampling design, 20 urban barangays were randomly selected in Cagayan de Oro while 22 rural barangays were randomly selected in Bukidnon. One thousand respondents were selected from Cagayan de Oro and 660 female respondents from Bukidnon. These female respondents were all married and between the ages of 15 and 49. The total sample consisted of 1,660 currently married female respondents.

## Decision-making in the households: A conceptual framework

Three perspectives have been used frequently in the study of power relations in the household. The first, the *resource-power* perspective looks at power relations in the household within the context of how the individual resources of the husband and wife (e.g. earnings, education, occupation) are brought to bear in bargaining over who gets to decide over which in the household. This theory has since been reexamined a number of times, with recent studies focusing on which resources are important and how these resources may be used to enhance the husband's or wife's control of decision-making in the household. Some studies also suggest that the value of the wives' resources may be "*discounted*" because of male dominance at the societal level (e.g. Ferree 1991a).

Another theory is the *time availability* perspective. This theory assumes that decision-making in the household is a product of a rational process wherein husband and wife both consider their efficiency in doing things and the available time that they have for doing things. Whoever is doing more paid work is expected to be less involved in household chores because he or she would have relatively less time for

such compared to the other (Coverman 1985; Presser 1994).

The third one is the *gender* perspective. This theory suggests that the workings of the household are a result of years of intensive socialization about what society expects to be the appropriate roles for men and women. Husbands' and wives' roles are thus based on what they have learned and have come to believe about appropriate behavior for men and women (Shelton 1992; Goldscheider and Waite 1991).

The concept of "*doing gender*" has lately been incorporated into the "*gender*" perspective. Berk (1985) used this concept to describe the marital household as a "*gender factory*" which "*produces*" gender in the form of everyday housework and decision-making that mirrors the enactment of dominance, submission and other behaviors symbolically linked to gender.

Studies which have used the preceding three theories to guide their research about power relations in the household have produced mixed results, although the general consensus is that much more variance is explained by the *gender* perspective (see Ferree 1991b, South and Spitze 1994). A number of studies have also questioned the assumptions of the first two theories, citing that the results of most studies appear to refute these assumptions. First, they argue that decision-making in the household is hardly governed by rules of efficiency. Second, gender is more influential than individual resources in determining "*who gets, does, or says what, when and how*" in the household. Third, many women do not consider deferring to the wishes of their husband as "*bad*" but rather as an expression of love and affection (Ferree 1991b).

The results of studies that have been done in the Philippines are more in tune with the predictions of the *gender* perspective than with the predictions of the other two theories. For instance, these studies have found that Filipino wives generally control the household budget whether or not they contribute to the household income. These studies have also found that Filipino women predominate in subsistence resource allocation decisions and matters affecting childcare (Alcantara 1990).

Another important finding of these studies is that fertility is a key factor in Filipino household power allocation. For instance, Alcantara (1990) finds that the balance of power in Filipino households swings in favor of the husband in the case of childless couples. However, the arrival of children drastically changes

the pattern, with the wife gaining dominance in surplus resource allocation decisions, and having almost full control of decisions concerning subsistence resource allocation. The wife's power in fertility decisions is also greater among couples with a large number of children. Consequently, these findings are important. These suggest that programs like family planning should be implemented sensitively because reduced family size may lead to the disempowerment of the Filipina in her own home.

This study reexamines the relationship between fertility and power allocation in the households by coming up with some testable hypotheses based on the three models that were cited earlier. If it were true that fertility increases the relative power of women in certain areas of decision-making in the household, then it is also possible that having more children will also increase the husband's power in areas that are traditionally dominated by men (such as the buying of expensive things for the family or the buying and selling of family assets) because the act of having children can be viewed as the wife's unconditional acceptance of the roles prescribed by "*gender*." Moreover, if *gender* prescribes that it is the wife's role to take care of children then having more children will increase the wife's power in resource allocation because the needs of children such as food and clothing usually consume a good portion of the family budget. However, since child-rearing is also a time intensive activity, then it would be good to ask if the relative increase in power that women gain from having more children will be greater than the power that they would have gained in some other way, had they used the time they spent in taking care of children for some other activity such as paid work or getting more education.

This study examines also the relative impact of the use of family planning on the balance of power in the household. If a woman's use of family planning is to have an impact on the balance of power in the household, then it must be interpreted relative to the "*gender*" approach because it is clear that the other two approaches would not apply. The use of family planning *per se* does not increase a woman's resources nor does it provide her with more efficiency in deciding on things that have nothing to do with family planning. Consequently, if *gender norms* dictate that a woman's role in life is to stay at home and to bear children, then use of family planning by a woman can be viewed as a challenge to the traditional dictates of "*gender*." The use of family planning, together with its desired objective of preventing unwanted pregnancies,

is in itself a form of resistance to the idea that a woman's role in life is merely to procreate.

Indeed, if the use of family planning is a form of resistance to "*traditional gender norms*" then we would expect a woman who uses family planning to resist, in some degree, other manifestations of gender which may include, among others, behavior that is traditionally associated with submission and male dominance. Thus, we would expect women who use family planning to have more power in the household relative to non-users because the former's use of family planning enables these women to do away, at least to some degree, with the dictates of "gender." Moreover, it is possible that women who use family planning may also tap their newly-found abilities (to resist the dictates of "*gender*") to further enhance their power in areas of decision-making that are traditionally female-dominated (such as what to market or cook for the family and what to do when children are sick).

### **Empirical results**

The findings of our study suggest that much of the power relations in Filipino households can be explained by the *gender* perspective. However, the study also finds that some of the variance in the differing levels of power between husband and wife in household decision-making can be explained by the *resource-power* perspective.

*Patterns of decision-making.* The decision-making process involves an interplay of the decision problem, the decision-maker and the authority and influence. The last two are power dimensions; however, they differ in terms of power source. Authority is legitimated and culturally prescribed. It is the right to make decisions and to dominate the decision-making process. Influence as a dimension of power emanates from the individual's own abilities, skills or other personal characteristics.

Decision problems are courses of action and are grouped here into three major categories: decisions related to children, decisions related to economic concerns, and those concerning socio-cultural and family relations.

On decisions related to children on what family planning method to use, and on the manner of care giving (Table F1), the decision-maker is the wife as affirmed by the majority of respondents. Although there are two who prefer that these courses of action be jointly decided, the figures suggest the influence of the

wife because her decision has to prevail in case of conflict in preference. This implies that women themselves believe that with regard to reproductive needs, the men's involvement counts and their decisions are sought. In case of conflicting ideas, though, it is the woman's choice that prevails.

Patterns toward egalitarian decision-making can be discerned in decisions regarding number of children to have, manner of child discipline, and what action to be done in case of sickness. This egalitarian decision-making presupposes communication between spouses and a rational balancing of options.

On matters of education and marriage, the authority to decide seems to be allocated to husbands by their respondent wives. Even for those wives who believe that there should be joint decision-making regarding what course the children will take or to which school children will be sent, it is the husband's influence that predominates.

In economic decision-making, the authority to decide on what to buy and cook, buying of personal items for basic grooming and whether or not to hire domestic help is given to the wife as claimed by the majority of respondents. Even for those who reported joint decision-making, the influence of the wife is demonstrated because her decision prevails.

However, decisions on purchase or sale of land, buying of consumer durables and household appliances are attributed to be the domain of husbands, including the decision whether the wife works outside the household or not. In these particular decision-making problems, the husband has both the authority and influence albeit discernible patterns toward egalitarian decision-making can be seen.

The pattern of decision-making is similar to the results of the Cebu Longitudinal Nutrition Health Survey (CLNHS). Women tend to make minor decisions but in decisions involving larger expenditures, the husband has a greater influence.

Giving of assistance and financial support to in-laws and relatives is either a decision of the husband or jointly decided upon. In case of conflicting interest, the joint decision can be overruled in favor of the husband's preference.

It is interesting to note that wives believe that the decision for reconciliation after a quarrel comes from husbands. Three out of every four wives expect husbands to woo and patch differences between them.

The majority of respondents claim that the decision on whose religion should be followed in the household is a wife's decision. Making social calls is equally shared by spouses or decided individually. The data seems to suggest that this particular activity does not entail control of one partner over the other.

Table F2 indicates that the wife's power in subsistence allocation such as what food to buy is generally higher in the rural case than in the urban case. The same pattern is true for households, wherein power over such tasks as who works outside the household, is also generally higher in the rural case than in the urban case. At any rate, these differences are consistent with the predictions of the *gender* perspective which includes, among others, that people in rural areas are more likely to adhere to traditional gender roles than those in urban areas.

The figures in Table F3 indicate that users of family planning generally have more power in the household than non-users of family planning. Although the regression equations in Table F7 indicate that only the results in "what family planning method to use, how many children to have" and "hiring of a servant or maid" are significant, the pattern (in favor of family planning users) set in Table F4 may already be interpreted as significant in view of the fact that the study simply compared the non-users of family planning with those that had used family planning, not taking into account the fact that there may be some users of family planning who had used family planning for a very short period of time or who may not really be adherents of family planning in the sense that they are using very ineffective methods of family planning. Unfortunately, these distinctions cannot further be accounted for in the regression equations, but if they

Table F1. Percent distribution of sample respondents by decision-making: Women's Studies Project. Cagayan de Oro and Bukidnon Province, 1996.

Activities	Who Decides					If both, whose decision prevails in case of conflict?	
	Wife	Husband	Both	Others	Undecided	Wife	Husband
<b>A. Decisions related to children</b>							
- number of children to have	23.7	28.4	45.3	0.3	2.3	44.6	47.0
- family planning method to use	57.3	14.8	25.2	0.4	2.3	62.4	25.1
- discipline children	27.2	34.9	37.2	0.1	0.8	29.2	64.0
- what to do when children are sick	50.8	17.3	30.7	0.1	1.1	57.0	35.0
- course to take	12.8	33.0	24.4	28.3	1.5	22.3	67.2
- school to study	18.3	31.1	20.8	28.5	1.3	23.4	64.0
- choosing children's spouses	33.3	50.0	0.0	16.0	0.7	-	-
- friends of children	25.3	16.7	16.7	40.0	1.2	37.0	47.6
<b>B. Economic decision-making</b>							
- what food item to buy and cook	72.1	10.4	16.4	1.1	0.0	70.9	24.5
- buying appliances and expensive household items	15.6	38.8	43.8	0.6	1.2	24.5	69.0
- buying personal items/grooming	73.7	11.5	10.0	0.4	4.4	35.3	25.4
- selling/buying family possessions (car, land, house)	10.1	52.4	35.2	0.3	2.0	12.4	77.7
- hiring servants	56.1	25.1	16.3	0.1	2.4	50.5	29.2
- working outside the house	23.7	65.2	10.4	0.1	0.7	24.9	66.3
- giving assistance/support to in-laws (relations)	23.4	34.3	38.4	0.1	3.8	29.2	57.3
<b>C. Social, cultural and family relations decision-making</b>							
- initiates reconciliation after quarrel	18.6	74.9	5.1	0.0	1.4	17.4	56.0
- whose religion to prevail	51.2	20.7	12.0			-	-
- visit relations and friends	30.2	29.1	30.6	0.1	10.0	31.0	39.9

\*Totals do not tally to 100 because of non-response.

Table F2. Decision-making in the household: Mean values of the decision index by Stratum (urban/rural). Women's Studies Project. Cagayan de Oro City and Bukidnon Province, 1996.

Decision items	Mean		
	Urban	Rural	Urban and Rural
What food items to buy or who will cook for the family	.621	.797	.691
Buying of expensive things such as TV	-.312	-.312	-.423
Number of children to have	.069	-.256	-.060
What family planning method to use	.561	.432	.059
Giving of assistance and support to parents, in-laws, relatives, etc.	-.088	-.414	-.218
Whom to vote for during elections	-.169	-.414	-.266
Visits to relatives and friends	.067	-.167	-.026
Buying items for personal grooming	.653	.591	.628
Selling and buying of family assets such as land, etc.	-.555	-.777	-.643
Who works outside the household	-.268	-.720	-.448
Hiring of servant or maid	.356	.274	.323
Who initiates reconciliation after quarrels or conflicts	-.613	-.533	-.581
Who disciplines the children	-.071	-.395	-.200
What to do when children are sick	.480	.256	.391
What course will take or until what level of schooling will they be supported	-.250	-.392	-.307
The school that children will study in	-.167	-.265	-.206
Friends that children are allowed to go with	.101	.011	.065
Number of cases	1,000	660	1,660

Note: An index of 1 indicates that the woman has complete control and power over the decision item. On the other hand, an index of -1 indicates that the husband has complete control and power over the decision item. An index of 0 indicates that wife and husband have equal control and power over the decision item or somebody else, other than the wife or husband, makes the decision.

Table F3. Decision-making in the household: Mean values of the decision index by ever-users and non-users of family planning. Women's Studies Project. Cagayan de Oro City and Bukidnon Province, 1996.

Decision items	Mean		
	Ever Users	Non- users	Users and Non-users
What food items to buy or who will cook for the family	.698	.674	.691
Buying of expensive things such as TV	-.410	-.470	-.423
Number of children to have	-.018	-.194	-.060
What family planning method to use	.572	.318	.509
Giving of assistance and support to parents, in-laws, relatives, etc.	-.186	-.319	-.218
Whom to vote for during elections	-.254	-.306	-.266
Visits to relatives and friends	-.020	-.045	-.026
Buying items for personal grooming	.641	.594	.628
Selling and buying of family assets such as land, etc.	-.636	-.672	-.643
Who works outside the household	-.432	-.500	-.448
Hiring of servant or maid	.323	.196	.323
Who initiates reconciliation after quarrels or conflicts	-.587	-.567	-.581
Who disciplines the children	-.195	-.216	-.200
What to do when children are sick	.397	.376	.391
What course children will take or until what level of schooling will they be supported	-.287	-.371	-.307
The school that children will study in	-.190	-.265	-.206
Friends that children are allowed to go with	.066	.062	.065
Number of cases	1,255	402	1,650*

Note: An index of 1 indicates that the woman has complete control and power over the decision item. On the other hand, an index of -1 indicates that the husband has complete control and power over the decision item. An index of 0 indicates that wife and husband have equal control and power over the decision item or somebody else, other than the wife or husband, makes the decision.

\*40 cases were dropped because of missing values.

were, it is likely that more significant results will come out from the regression equations.

Nonetheless, these results clearly support the argument that the use of family planning has some "liberating" effect on women, to the extent that it is associated with attitudes that enable women to free themselves from the dictates of behavior that are closely linked with gender.

The regression equations in Table F7 indicate that "wife's income" significantly increases the power of women in "the buying of expensive items for the family" and "the giving of assistance and support to relatives." In addition, the equations indicate that "wife's income" significantly increases the influence of these women on other women as to "whom to vote for during elections."

The regression equations indicate that the "wife's education" is a key factor in the allocation of power in the household. Women with more education have significantly more power in deciding "what family planning method to use," "the number of children to have," "giving of assistance to relatives," "whom to vote for during elections," "buying items for personal grooming," "the school where the children will study," "the course the children will take and until what level of schooling will they be supported," "who works outside the household," "friends that children will be allowed to go with," and "hiring of a servant or maid."

#### Discussion and implications

The foregoing results are clearly consistent with the results of previous studies which have established that

Table F4. Decision-making in the household: Mean values of the decision index by level of schooling of the women in the sample. Women's Studies Project. Cagayan de Oro City and Bukidnon Province, 1996.

Decision Items	MEAN						
	0-5 Years	Elem. Grad.	7-9 Years	High School	11-13 Years	College up	For all women
What food items to buy or who will cook for the family	.746	.659	.709	.671	.714	.673	.691
Buying of expensive things such as TV	-.502	-.448	-.425	-.453	-.357	.298	-.423
Number of children to have	-.211	-.146	-.098	-.036	.049	.155	-.060
What family planning method to use	.357	.448	.425	.614	.585	.629	.509
Giving of assistance and support to parents, in-laws, relatives, etc.	-.394	-.266	-.315	-.187	-.098	.048	-.218
Whom to vote for during elections	-.479	-.403	-.248	-.218	-.116	-.107	-.266
Visits to relatives and friends	-.094	-.081	-.046	-.038	.049	.131	-.026
Buying items for personal grooming	.591	.532	.584	.691	.687	.714	.628
Selling and buying of family assets such as land, etc.	-.746	-.643	-.682	-.643	-.540	-.589	-.643
Who works outside the household	-.573	-.581	-.471	-.451	-.326	-.161	-.448
Hiring of servant or maid	.286	.182	.257	.326	.478	.554	.323
Who initiates reconciliation after quarrels or conflicts	-.577	-.536	-.636	-.583	-.634	-.500	-.581
Who disciplines the children	-.268	-.230	-.212	-.146	-.130	-.268	-.200
What to do when children are sick	.249	.380	.336	.444	.478	.458	.391
What course children will take or until what level of schooling will they be supported	-.352	-.331	-.379	-.293	-.242	-.190	-.307
The school that children will study in	-.253	-.201	-.257	-.204	-.156	-.131	-.206
Friends that children are allowed to go with	.009	.003	.052	.091	.170	.071	.065
Number of cases	213	308	327	417	224	168	1,660

Note: a. The women in the sample were divided into six educational categories: 0-5 years (women who did not finish elementary schooling); Elem. Grad. (women who only finished elementary schooling); 7-9 years (women who did not finish high school); High School (women who only finished high school); 11-13 years (women did not finish college); and Coll. Up (women who finished college).

b. An index of 1 indicates that the woman has complete control and power over the decision item. On the other hand, an index of -1 indicates that the husband has complete control and power over the decision item. An index of 0 indicates that wife and husband have equal control power over the decision item or somebody else, other than the wife or husband, makes the decision.

Table F5. Decision-making in the household: Mean values of the decision index by levels of income (monthly) of the women in the sample. Women's Studies Project. Cagayan de Oro City and Bukidnon Province, 1996.

Decision Items	MEAN						For all women
	0-500	501-1,000	1,000-2,000	2,001-3,500	3,501-6,000	Over 6,000	
What food items to buy or who will cook for the family	.690	.586	.701	.784	.756	.646	.691
Buying of expensive things such as TV	-.473	-.444	-.402	-.307	-.232	-.012	-.423
Number of children to have	-.098	-.061	-.075	-.057	-.061	.195	-.060
What family planning method to use	.488	.525	.561	.614	.476	.658	.509
Giving of assistance and support to parents, in-laws, relatives, etc.	-.270	-.323	-.187	-.079	.012	.272	-.218
Whom to vote for during elections	-.323	-.252	-.215	-.091	-.049	.073	-.266
Visits to relatives and friends	-.057	.040	.000	.136	-.049	.268	-.026
Buying items for personal grooming	.617	.677	.645	.682	.585	.695	.628
Selling and buying of family assets such as land, etc.	-.683	-.657	-.579	-.568	-.439	-.415	-.643
Who works outside the household	-.549	-.252	-.299	-.148	-.134	-.024	-.448
Hiring of servant or maid	.270	.333	.523	.534	.451	.476	.323
Who initiates reconciliation after quarrels or conflicts	-.581	-.556	-.645	-.625	-.366	-.695	-.581
Who disciplines the children	-.167	-.293	-.280	-.182	-.317	-.366	-.200
What to do when children are sick	.361	.545	.430	.523	.561	.280	.391
What course children will take or until what level of schooling will they be supported	-.334	-.353	-.336	-.159	-.183	-.085	-.307
The school that children will study in	-.223	-.172	-.290	-.091	-.158	-.061	-.206
Friends that children are allowed to go with	.057	.010	-.028	.216	-.012	.280	.065
Number of cases	1,202	99	107	88	82	82	1,660

Note: a. The monthly incomes of the women in the sample were divided into six categories to ensure that enough cases will fall in each category to facilitate comparisons between the mean of the decision index in each of the categories.

b. An index of 1 indicates that the woman has complete control and power over the decision item. On the other hand, an index of -1 indicates that the husband has complete control and power over the decision item. An index of 0 indicates that wife and husband have equal control power over the decision item or somebody else, other than the wife or husband, makes the decision.

in most Filipino households, the task of running the home is the wife's responsibility while paid work is the husband's responsibility. Women predominate in subsistence resource allocation decisions, whether or not they contribute to the household income.

The study also finds, consistent with the results of earlier studies, that the women have control over matters affecting childcare and that they are largely responsible for domestic chores such as cooking, cleaning, washing, and marketing tasks while men are largely responsible for such things as earning a living and house repairs. However, the study finds, contrary to the result of earlier studies, that fertility is not a key factor in Filipino household power allocation. For instance, the analysis does not show anything that would indicate that the balance of power in the household swings in favor of the husband in the case of childless couples.

The figures in Table F6 do not indicate any pattern that would support the argument that having more children increases the power of women in their respective households. This is clearly supported by the results of the regression equations in Table F7 which do not show anything that can be interpreted to mean that having more children significantly increases the power of women over a particular decision item. On the contrary, the regression results indicate that having more children significantly decreases the power of women in the following: buying of expensive items; and how many children to have. (A further examination of the results in Table F7, however, suggests that only the result pertaining to the "buying of expensive items" appears to be significant because the results pertaining to "how many children to have" may be influenced by large variations in the categories pertaining to women with more than six children where the cell counts are relatively small.) Anyhow, if the

Table F6. Decision-making in the household: Mean values of the decision index by number of children of the women in the sample: Women's Studies Project. Cagayan de Oro City and Bukidnon Province, 1996.

Decision	NUMBER OF CHILDREN								
	None	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven	All Women
What food items to buy or who will cook for the family	.693	.719	.667	.675	.757	.615	.660	1.00	.691
Buying of expensive things such as TV	-.295	-.370	-.412	-.401	-.485	-.615	-.509	-.600	-.423
Number of children to have	-.023	.024	-.114	-.015	-.085	-.018	-.264	-.133	-.060
What family planning method to use	.500	.492	.430	.618	.511	.532	.509	.867	.509
Giving of assistance and support to parents, in-laws, relatives, etc.	-.136	-.217	-.231	-.180	-.230	-.303	-.302	-.267	-.218
Whom to vote for during elections	-.159	-.211	-.256	-.333	-.289	-.376	-.189	-.400	-.266
Visits to relatives and friends	-.125	-.021	-.062	.006	-.004	.000	-.020	-.133	-.026
Buying items for personal grooming	.614	.659	.651	.640	.579	.514	.679	.533	.628
Selling and buying of family assets such as land, etc.	-.534	-.673	-.636	-.590	-.664	-.807	-.679	-.733	-.643
Who works outside the household	-.398	-.449	-.453	-.375	-.536	-.514	-.472	-.333	-.448
Hiring of servant or maid	.148	.382	.276	.342	.370	.303	.472	.267	.323
Who initiates reconciliation after quarrels or conflicts	-.511	-.615	-.572	-.593	-.604	-.596	-.453	-.333	-.581
Who disciplines the children	-.045	-.120	-.177	-.280	-.289	-.211	-.207	-.333	-.200
What to do when children are sick	.227	.517	.370	.336	.396	.486	.302	.067	.391
What course children will take or until what level of schooling will they be supported	-.216	-.303	-.318	-.301	-.349	-.294	-.321	-.400	-.307
The school that children will study in	-.057	-.183	-.235	-.236	-.221	-.174	-.113	-.533	-.206
Friends that children are allowed to go with	-.011	.024	.081	.080	.085	.128	.075	-.33	.065
Number of cases	88	327	481	339	235	109	53	15	1,660

Note: a. The monthly incomes of the women in the sample were divided into six categories to ensure that enough cases will fall in each category to facilitate comparisons between the mean of the decision index in each of the categories.

result on "buying expensive items" supports the argument that having additional children tends to reinforce "gender" in the household, why then did the other results not show that having more children increases the power of women in such areas as "what food items to buy or cook for the family or buying items for personal grooming?" A possible answer to this question in view of the results in Table F6 (which indicate very high positive values for the decision items, "what food items to buy or cook for the family and items for personal grooming") is that these items have been marked by "tradition" or by cultural factors as something that should be decided upon by women. These results suggest that any further increase in power that women may have over these items as a result of having additional children will likely be negligible because society has already decreed that women should

take control of these items even if they do not have any children at all.

The results in Table F3 indicate that users of family planning generally have more power in the household than non-users of family planning. Although the regression equations in Table 7 indicate that only the results in "what family planning method to use," "how many children to have" and "hiring of a servant or maid" are significant, the pattern (in favor of family planning users) set in Table F3 may already be interpreted as significant in view of the fact that the study simply compared the non-users of family planning with those that had used family planning, not taking into account the fact that there may be some users of family planning who had used family planning for a very short period of time or who may not really be

Table F7. Estimates of Regression Equations Describing the Balance of Power and Control of Decision-making in the Household Between Wife and Husband: Women Studies Project. Cagayan de Oro City and Bukidnon Province, 1996.

Decision	Number of Children	Wife's Schooling	Husband's Schooling	Living in Urban	Wife's Age	Husband's Age	Used Contraception	Wife's Income	Husband's Income	Constant	F	Cases
What food items to buy or what to cook for family	-0.19 (-1.60)	6.4E-04 (0.10)	0.007 (1.26)	-0.21 (-5.30)**	0.015 (4.58)**	-0.007 (-2.76)**	0.02 (0.58)	1.2E-07 (0.02)	3.6E-06 (0.86)	0.5390 (5.49)**	5.78**	1,660
Buying of expensive things such as TV	-0.038 (-2.60)**	0.01 (1.28)	-0.018 (-2.55)**	0.28 (586)**	0.001 (0.25)	0.003 (0.84)	0.07 (1.38)	1.9E-05 (3.04)**	-5.8E-06 (-1.11)	-0.6102 (-5.04)**	7.62**	1,660
Number of children to have	-0.036 (-2.27)*	0.017 (2.07)*	-0.01 (-1.20)	0.28 (5.37)**	0.004 (0.81)	7.2E-04 (0.19)	0.17 (2.97)**	8.1E-07 (0.11)	2.0E-06 (0.35)	-0.4956 (-3.71)**	7.35**	1,660
What family planning method to use	0.02 (1.51)	0.016 (2.29)*	0.005 (0.70)	0.057 (1.26)	-0.006 (-1.70)	0.003 (0.87)	0.22 (4.54)**	2.4E-06 (0.40)	-1.9E-06 (-0.38)	0.1732 (1.52)	5.93**	1,660
Giving of assistance and support to parents, in-laws, relatives, etc.	-0.009 (-0.56)	0.02 (2.61)**	-0.012 (-1.51)	0.27 (5.29)**	-7.2E-05 (-0.02)	0.005 (1.29)	0.10 (1.83)	1.8E-05 (2.69)**	-9.0E-07 (-0.16)	-0.7113 (-5.53)**	8.40**	1,660
Whom to vote for during elections	-0.006 (-0.49)	0.024 (3.89)**	-30E-04 (-0.05)	0.17 (4.30)**	0.002 (0.70)	-0.002 (-0.69)	0.012 (0.30)	1.8E-05 (3.45)**	-1.9E-06 (-1.86)	-0.5815 (-5.99)**	10.15**	1,660
Visits to relatives and friends	0.024 1.55	0.010 1.29	-0.006 (-0.79)	0.212 (4.15)**	0.002 (0.42)	8.8E-04 (0.25)	-0.023 (-0.43)	1.2E-05 1.73	1.6E-06 (0.28)	-0.3532 (-2.74)**	4.05**	1,660
Buying items for personal grooming	-0.006 (-0.53)	0.013 (2.00)*	0.003 (0.45)	0.01 (0.36)	-0.001 (-0.39)	6.7E-04 (-0.23)	0.035 (0.81)	1.1E-06 (0.20)	-1.4E-06 (-0.31)	0.5333 (5.19)**	1.55	1,660
Selling and buying of family assets such as land, etc.	-0.007 (-0.59)	0.004 (1.43)	-0.01 (-2.00)*	0.21 (5.36)**	-0.004 (-1.34)	0.006 (2.23)*	0.027 (0.51)	9.5E-06 (1.80)	1.2E-06 (0.29)	-0.8431 (-8.45)**	5.84**	1,660
Who works outside the household	-0.003 (0.19)	0.022 (2.94)**	-0.017 (-2.27)*	0.426 (9.01)**	-0.002 (-0.62)	0.004 (1.21)	0.025 (0.51)	1.1E-05 (1.70)	3.8E-07 (0.07)	-0.8633 (-7.25)**	14.34**	1,660
Hiring of servant or maid	-0.007 (-0.46)	0.026 (3.38)**	-0.02 (-0.34)	0.005 (0.10)	0.008 (1.93)	0.002 (0.51)	0.135 (2.60)**	5.0E-06 (0.76)	-4.0E-06 (-0.75)	-0.307 (-2.49)**	4.49**	1,660
Who initiates reconciliation after quarrels or conflicts	-0.002 (-0.18)	0.009 (1.25)	-0.007 (-1.05)	-0.09 (-2.04)*	6.8E-05 (0.02)	0.006 (2.11)*	-0.018 (-0.38)	-5.9E-06 (-1.00)	6.2E-06 (1.28)	-0.7801 (-7.01)**	1.84	1,660
Who disciplines the children	-0.016 (-1.04)	-0.002 (-0.28)	-0.007 (-0.92)	0.38 (7.29)**	-0.007 (-1.51)	-0.002 (-0.63)	0.035 (0.63)	-2.5E-05 (-3067)**	4.2E-06 (0.75)	-0.0099 (-0.08)	8.69**	1,660
What to do when children are sick	-0.006 (-0.41)	0.015 (1.96)*	-0.008 (-1.10)	0.22 (4.45)**	0.001 (0.32)	4.0E-04 (0.12)	0.004 (0.08)	-6.7E-06 (-1.03)	-2.9E-06 (-0.54)	0.1612 (1.30)	3.45**	1,660
What course children will take or when schooling will be supported	-0.02 (-0.15)	0.020 (3.10)**	-0.020 (-378)**	0.15 (3.57)**	-9.7E-04 (-0.27)	0.002 (0.61)	0.074 (1.67)	2.6E-06 (0.46)	2.6E-06 (0.56)	-0.4710 (-4.47)**	3.81**	1,660
The school wherein children will study	-0.012 (-0.93)	0.019 (2.85)**	-0.025 (-3.79)**	0.12 (2.71)**	0.006 (1.59)	-0.001 (-0.35)	0.061 (1.32)	-6.4E-06 (-1.09)	5.4E-06 (1.14)	-0.4198 (-3.81)**	3.28**	1,660
Friends that children are allowed to go with	0.020 (1.62)	0.013 (1.98)*	-0.011 (-1.82)	0.07 (1.82)	-0.005 (-1.36)	7.9E-04 (0.28)	-0.022 (-0.50)	7.4E-06 (1.35)	7.4E-06 (1.66)	0.0540 (5.02)**	2.31*	1,660

Note: a) T-values in parenthesis. (\*) indicates significance at the 5 percent level. (\*\*) indicates significance at the 1 percent level. Regression equations were computed using SPSS.  
b) A positive coefficient suggests an increase of the wife's power over the decision item while a negative coefficient indicates otherwise.

adherents of family planning in the sense that they are using very ineffective methods of family planning. Unfortunately, these distinctions cannot further be accounted for in the regression equations, but if they were, it is likely that more significant results will come out from the regression equations. Nonetheless, these results clearly support the argument that the use of family planning has some "liberating" effect on women, in the sense that it is associated to a certain extent, with attitudes that enable women to free themselves from the dictates of behavior that are closely linked with "gender."

Predictably (and consistent with the resource-power perspective), the regression equations in Table F7 indicate that "wife's income" significantly increases the power of women in "the buying of expensive items for the family" and "the giving of assistance and support to relatives." In addition, "wife's income" significantly increases the influence of women on "whom to vote for during elections." The regression equations in Table F8 also indicate that "wife's education" is a key factor in the allocation of power in the household. The equations indicate that women with more education have significantly more power in decision items.

The results pertaining to the variables "wife's income" and "wife's education" clearly support the assumptions of the resource power perspective that decision-making in the household is also a process of bargaining between husband and wife wherein each one of them brings their individual resources to bear on the bargaining. However, the results also suggest that there are non-resource factors that effectively limit women from utilizing the full weight of their resources in this bargaining process. For instance, the regression that *wife's income* and *wife's education* are not significant in "the buying and selling of family assets." Since the "buying and selling of family assets" is largely a resource decision, then it should be significantly

affected by such resource variables as "wife's income" and "wife's education." However, since they are not, then only two explanations are possible. First, that the decision to *buy and sell family assets* is not subjected to bargaining but decreed by *gender* to be the man's prerogative. And second, that the decision to "buy and sell family assets" is subjected to bargaining but the wife's resources such as income and education are effectively "discounted" or ignored in the bargaining process.

On the whole, the findings of the study clearly suggest that much of the power relations in Filipino households can be explained by the "gender" perspective. However, the other results also give credence to the claim by resource theorists that some of the variance of the differing levels of power between husband and wife in household decision-making can be explained by the "resource-power" perspective.

### Recommendations

To increase the influence of women in household decision-making, men should be encouraged to give women more opportunities to participate in decision-making. Government authorities can effectively help in realizing this objective by formulating policies and implementing programs that are gender sensitive. These programs should provide women with more and better work and educational opportunities. They should also provide women with more opportunities to participate in government affairs.

On the other hand, the private sector (including NGOs) can influence men to give women more opportunities to participate in household decision-making by implementing gender-sensitive policies and programs for their employees. Firms and NGOs should hire more female employees and give these female employees more opportunities to participate in their affairs.

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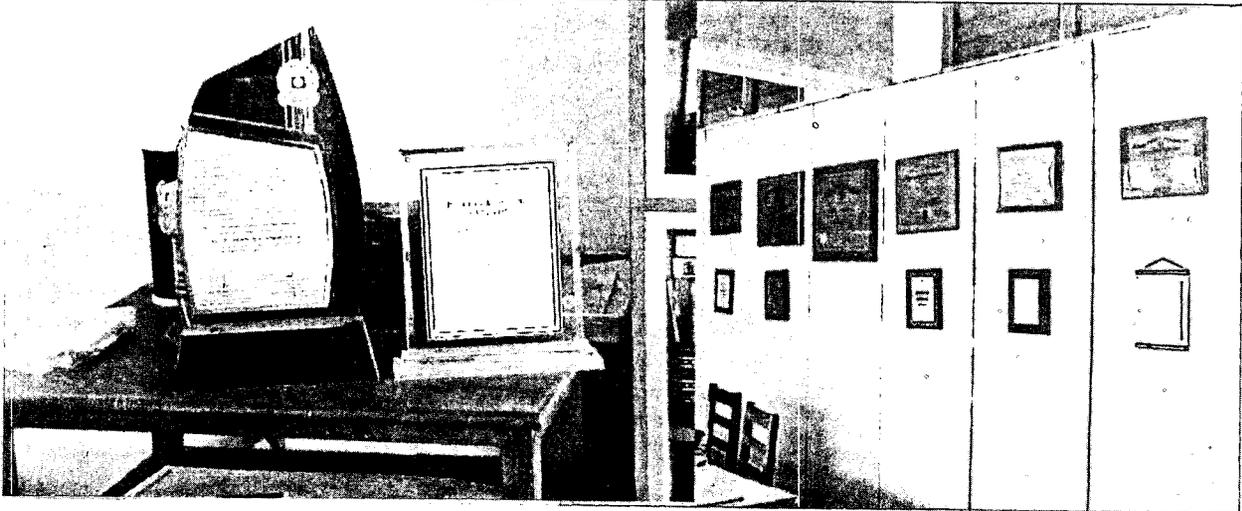
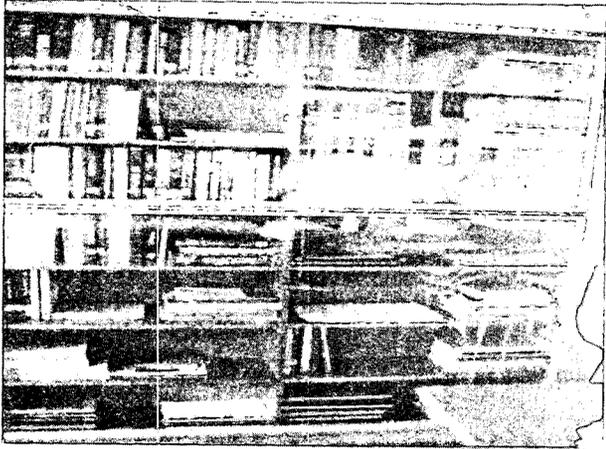
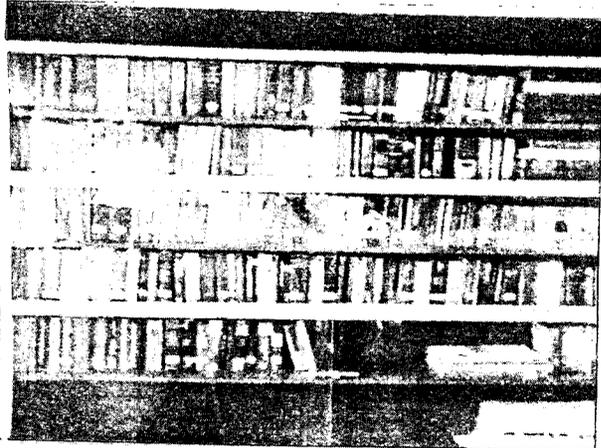


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Memorabilia of the late Fr. Francis C. Madigan, S.J.



# **Male Participation Through Reproductive Health Awareness: A Baseline Study**

LITA PALMA-SEALZA\*

**THIS** report presents the results of an operations research undertaken to Determine the reproductive health awareness (RHA) of member beneficiaries of a non-government organization (NGO) – the KANIB Foundation Inc. (KFI) in three municipalities in Bukidnon Province, Philippines.

This research forms the first part of a two-phase intervention study. It presents the pre- intervention condition upon which a Reproductive Health Awareness educational and organizational development intervention scheme is to be designed.

## **Rationale**

In recent years, there has been increasing consensus that family planning (FP) programs should make a stronger effort to involve the men. This is reasonable given the social and cultural reality that men play a dominant role in decisions about fertility in many, if not most, countries of the developing world. Indeed, the widespread unwillingness of husbands to practice family planning, even in cases where their wives would like to do so, is a major explanation for the high levels of unmet needs in Africa, Asia and Latin America (Bongaarts and Bruce 1995).

Even though gender relations in the Philippines are relatively egalitarian, there are reasons to believe that male involvement in family planning is nonetheless highly relevant for this country. Diagnostic studies indicate that Filipino husbands are accorded a disproportionate share of power in conjugal decision-making on sexuality, fertility and family planning (Yu and Liu 1980). Their reluctance to use FP also contributes to the country's widespread problem of unmet needs (Perez, Casterline, Biddlecom and Arguillas 1995). Hence this study which addresses the issue of male participation in reproductive health by working with a rural-based NGO that is working with a predominantly male agricultural population in Bukidnon province, Mindanao.

## **Study objectives**

The general objective of this study is to develop and test cost effective and sustainable strategies to increase male participation in reproductive health activities. It aims to provide training in Reproductive Health Awareness to staff members of an NGO (KFI) to enable them to carry out RHA activities as part of their community outreach program. It will also assist the organization in incorporating RHA concepts and activities into its existing programs and services in Bukidnon and Agusan provinces.

The specific objectives of the first part of this study are:

1. To describe the reproductive health knowledge, attitudes and practices of KFI member-beneficiary couples coming from Malaybalay, Valencia and Impasugong municipalities in Bukidnon;
2. To present an inventory of reproductive health related services presently available to the study couples; and
3. To describe the organizational capabilities and constraints of the KFI as a would be implementor of an educational intervention scheme on reproductive health among its member beneficiaries.

## **Materials and methods**

A series of data collection activities were undertaken in 11 barangays of three purposively selected municipalities of Northern Bukidnon from May 1997 to January 1998. These include the following:

1. Survey of all married couple member beneficiaries of KFI living in Valencia, Malaybalay and Impasugong through administration of a prepared questionnaire; husbands and wives were interviewed separately;

2. Inventory of maternal, child health and reproductive health services available in pilot municipalities through on site visits and interview;
3. Focused group discussions (FGD) with KFI member-beneficiaries and staff;
4. Institutional survey of the three municipalities through structured interviews with key informants and review of secondary data (service statistics) in the local government unit service sites.

The overall research design selected for this research is a pre-test post-test control group design. Baseline data was first collected in both the study areas and a corresponding group of matched control areas. Control areas were matched with study areas on at least three major criteria: barangay population size, farming system type and income classification.

The intervention will be introduced during phase two of the project. Post-tests will be carried out with the same project beneficiaries and control groups who were interviewed during the pre-test round. Analysis of selected indicators between the experimental and control groups will be undertaken to assess any change attributable to the intervention (please see figure 1).

A 100 percent sample of all beneficiary couples belonging to four KFI affiliates in the four experimental barangays was selected for interview. A total of 226 couples were interviewed. Another 250 couples from the control barangays were also interviewed using the same set of questionnaires. Husbands and wives were separately interviewed by male and female nurse-enumerators respectively.

The reproductive health awareness interview questions were drafted based on the reproductive health awareness framework developed by the Institute of Reproductive Health at Georgetown University. It thus has questions pertaining to the four pillars of reproductive health awareness namely a) body/self awareness b) gender awareness c) interpersonal communications and d) integration of sexuality.

This report relates mainly to Phase I activities.

### The Survey of Couples

#### Respondent profile

*Profile of Wives.* Two hundred twenty six (226) wives of KFI member-beneficiaries were interviewed. Their ages ranged from 15-49 years. The average age is 33.3.

Figure 1. Project Design of the Male Involvement Study, Phase I and II, Bukidnon Province, Philippines

A. In experimental areas



B. In control areas



Legend

A - Experimental areas are in Barangays of Malaybalay, Valencia and Impasugong

B - Control areas are in Barangays of Manolo Fortich, Maramag and Baungon

- 01 & 01' - Baseline data gathering activities:
- \* survey of married couples
  - \* inventory of available health services
  - \* focused group discussions and interview of key informants
  - \* institutional surveys of three communities

02 - Development of intervention plans

03 & 03' - Post intervention data gathering and analysis

X - Intervention activities

- \* training in RHA of KFI, People's Organizations (POs)
- \* couple educators' outreach

The wives finished on average, up to first year high school. They have had 4.4 number of pregnancies, 3.7 of these are living children.

Fifty four percent (54%) of the wives are working. Majority of these jobs are agriculture related with some doing backyard gardening.

*Profile of Husbands.* Two hundred twenty (220) husbands were interviewed. Their average age is 36.9 and their average educational attainment is like the wives', first year high school.

All the husbands are working, mostly as farm owners, part farm owners or as farm managers.

*Desired family size.* The study group consists mostly of couples in their thirties who already have 3-4 children. A good 38 percent of them still desire to have additional 1-2 children.

Given the average age of the wives at 33, at least 10 years of reproductive life is still ahead of them. Family planning and contraception, thus, is a significant concern of the group.

Majority of the respondents agrees that family planning (FP) is good and that it enables them to plan, space and limit their number of children.

A high percentage of all respondents (48.7% of the wives and 37.7% of the husbands) admitted to experiencing unplanned pregnancies.

More than 60 percent of the couples are currently employing contraception. The pill is the most popular method used. There is low use of male contraception methods (fig. 2).

Most husbands and wives interviewed believed that tubal ligation is preferable to vasectomy. The findings also support the prevalent belief that family planning is a woman's concern and therefore it should be woman-focused too.

Among the 45 couples who were not using birth control methods:

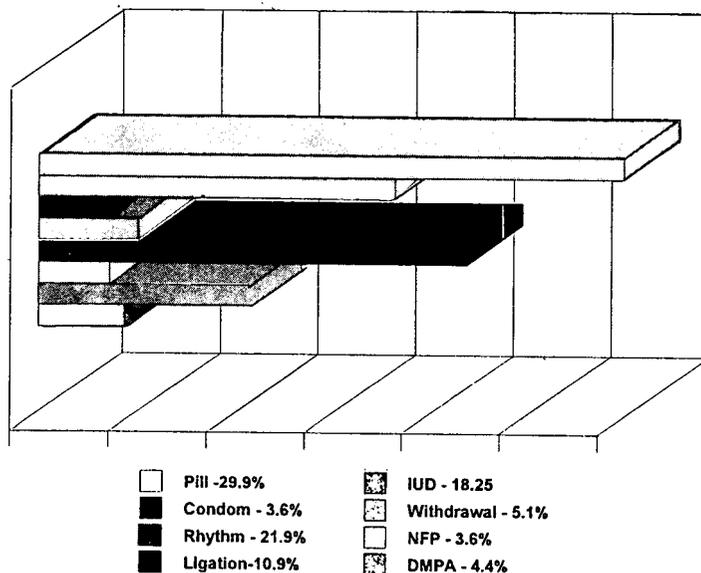
- One out of every four couples wanted to have another child
- One out of every five couples stopped due to side effects
- One out of every three couples saw no need to use birth control methods

*Reproductive health and fertility awareness.* While most of the couples claim to know fertility indicators and reproductive anatomy and physiology, this was not borne out by their responses to follow up questions.

Given the low knowledge regarding fertility, such methods as rhythm, the second most common method of contraception can be rendered ineffective.

Fears regarding side effects can be amplified by inability to understand how a specific contraceptive method works. Such understanding necessitates know-

Figure 2. FP Method Currently Used by Respondents



ledge of reproductive anatomy and physiology that was found inadequate/inaccurate in this study group.

The findings of the study also reveal that the respondents lack knowledge regarding the risks of child bearing. More than half of the husbands did not know when it is not healthy for their wives to have a baby. Even among the wives themselves, more than 30 percent claimed not to know.

The more well known pregnancy risk factor is age, usually when the woman is too old (above 35). Pregnancy at a very young age is not generally regarded as a risk factor nor is closely spaced birthing or high parity.

Only an average of 11 percent of the women regarded poor health, having more than four children and having undergone a caesarian operation as unhealthy conditions for pregnancy to occur. Only 4 percent of the husbands thought likewise.

There is a generally high level of awareness that diseases can be transmitted through sexual intercourse. However, a large proportion (more than one-third) of husbands and wives do not know about the signs and symptoms of the diseases.

There is also a higher level of awareness regarding AIDS than the other ordinary STDs.

Very few respondents (10 husbands and 8 wives) reported having experienced symptoms of sexually transmitted diseases.

However, a significant number of women reported symptoms affecting their reproductive organs.

Symptoms	YES	NO
Problems with menstrual cycle	31.0	69.0
Excessive vaginal discharge	32.3	67.7
Pains in the lower abdomen	69.5	30.5
Burning sensation during urination	45.1	54.8
Itchiness in/around vagina	29.2	70.8
Pain during intercourse	36.3	63.7
Other problems in genital area	1.3	98.2

The most common way of avoiding STDs identified by the respondents (79%) is to be faithful to the spouse. Avoiding sex with infected persons and commercial sex workers was also commonly identified.

Almost all respondents knew of the existence of barangay health stations. They knew mostly about family planning, maternal and child care services offered.

The least known services are HIV/AIDS counseling, STD counseling, STD diagnosis, consultation regarding infertility, cancer and leprosy control.

Majority of the services availed are immunization, environmental sanitation and immunization services.

Generally, the women are more aware and perceive themselves to be aware of fertility issues than men.

#### *Husband and wife communication*

The husbands and wives were separately asked on how often they talk about 19 family issues. Majority of both husbands and wives responded that they talk frequently about:

- Number of children
- Health needs of children, wife and husband
- Food to buy for the family
- What to do with extra money
- Children's education
- Future plans for the family
- Important decisions re: the farm

Majority of husbands and wives only talk occasionally about:

- Whether to buy or sell animals
- Whether to buy or sell an important item in the house
- Whether or not the wife should have work outside the home
- Recreation and entertainment

The openness of communication between husbands and wives was also indirectly determined by comparing each one's responses with what their spouses thought their answers would be.

There is good communication regarding whether the couple wants another child or not. The wife knows the husband's preference almost 100 percent of the time. Six percent of the husbands, however, mistook their wives' preference.

There is less approximation of the spouses' wishes when it came to the number, timing and sex of the next child wanted.

Another indirect way to determine openness of communication channels between spouses is the degree a spouse knows about the other's condition and concerns.

The degree of openness in communication between husbands and wives depends on the topic being communicated.

While husbands and wives communicate well regarding preferred number of children, there is less openness regarding reproductive health and sexual well being/ satisfaction. For example, a significant 36 percent of wives reported pain during intercourse. Only half of their husbands were aware of the problem.

#### ***Male involvement in domestic work***

Husbands participate significantly in household work. These are mostly contained, however, in the traditional male chores like fetching water, doing house repairs and gathering cooking fuel.

All of the husbands in the survey are responsible for earning the family income. However, a very significant half of the wives also report that they are working.

In these cases, division of labor along clear-cut lines of traditional roles of provider and homemaker do not apply and the working woman suffers a double burden.

#### ***Domestic violence***

Domestic violence is a reality in a significant number of households (27%). Fewer wives than husbands admitted to its occurrence although more wives than husbands revealed this occurred even during pregnancy.

Fifty five percent of the husbands who admitted to hitting their wives claimed this was done only once.

- The study showed that husbands perceive quarrels as mainly family affairs that outsiders should not interfere with even when violence occur.
- Wives on the other hand perceive the need for the community to be involved in cases of domestic violence. This implies a call for help.

#### ***Perceived appropriate sex roles and decision -making***

The husbands and wives shared the same perception of appropriate sex roles in thirteen out of fifteen statements presented to them.

They agreed on the following points:

- that it is alright for a man to hold a job under a woman's supervision
- that men should share housework with women
- that it is not alright for men to have affairs or to go to commercial sex workers
- that most of the important decisions in the family should be made by the man
- that family planning is not a woman's concern only
- that it is much better for everyone if the man is the achiever outside of the home and the woman takes care of the home and family
- that sex is not only for the man's pleasure and that it is alright for the woman to initiate it

Both husbands and wives disagreed with the idea that:

- men are not good housekeepers
- the woman should never refuse sex whenever asked by the husband

Very significantly, the only areas of disagreement between the husbands' and wives' opinion regarding appropriate sex roles are:

- the community's involvement in domestic violence resolution
- the working wife's domestic work load

The wives think that it is still their responsibility to take care of the cooking, housecleaning and taking care of children even when they do outside paid work. The husbands said this is not so.

The disparity between the husbands' and wives' perception of the working woman's role in house-keeping may reflect on the one hand the husbands' rational acceptance of the unfairness of women's double burden. On the other hand, it could also reflect the wives' acceptance of the reality of their double burden.

There are deviations from the traditional viewpoints on appropriate sex roles in this study group. This is mostly in the area of expression of the wives' sexuality and the men's involvement in housework.

However, a large number of traditional perceptions prevail specially in the area of the husband's supremacy in decision-making and achievement.

## **Inventory of Available Clinic Equipment and Services**

Nine Clinics composed of two Rural Health Units (RHU) found in Malaybalay and Valencia towns as well as seven Barangay Health Stations were assessed as to availability of equipment and supplies as well as services provided.

The Barangay Health Stations are located in Barangays of Valencia town (Bgys. Vintar, Tongan-tongan and Kahaponan) and Barangays of Malaybalay town (Bgys. Impalutao, Simaya, Apo Macote, and San Martin). Two Barangays which are part of the study- Bgys. Kawayan and Sinanglanan- do not have Health Stations.

### ***Accessibility***

The official opening time of the clinics is from 8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. It was observed that most health providers arrived ahead of time or just on time except for one provider who arrived thirty minutes late.

Most family planning clients came between 8:00 a.m. to 10:00 a.m. The waiting time before clients are served ranges from 10 minutes to two hours and forty five minutes.

Most clinics (seven out of nine) offer family planning services five days a week. The other two Barangay Health Stations designate only three days a week for family planning services.

Signs announcing the availability of family planning services are found inside most clinics. Only three clinics provide such signs outside the clinic.

### ***Infrastructure and medical examination facilities***

The most equipped in terms of infrastructure facilities are the two Rural Health Units found in the town centers. The health stations in Bgys. Impalutao, Kahaponan and Tongan-tongan do not even have working toilets.

Generally, there is a need to improve cleanliness, visual privacy and water supply in the clinics.

### ***Equipment and commodity inventory***

In equipment and commodities inventory as well as in infrastructure, the central Rural Health Units of Malaybalay and Valencia proved superior to the smaller Bgy. Clinics.

The RHUs have all the 21 equipment and commodities listed. Malaybalay clinic also has adequate storage facility.

Sterilizing equipment, refrigerator for EPI, IUD kit and ovum forceps are found in Malaybalay and Valencia RHUs. These are not found in the Bgy. Clinics except for IUD kits found both in the San Martin and Simaya clinic.

### ***Provision of contraceptive methods***

All the nine clinics provide pills and condoms. Injectable hormone (DMPA) is also commonly available except in the Impalutao clinic.

IUD is the other most common contraception method that can be availed of.

Counseling for natural family planning, exclusive breast feeding and referrals for further evaluation and management of reproductive health cases are available in all the clinics studied.

The RHUs of Malaybalay and Valencia offer more counseling services. Both offer additional counseling in dual method and emergency contraception.

### ***Other services provided by the clinics***

Aside from family planning, the clinics also provide the following services:

- Prenatal care
- Child immunization
- Child growth monitoring
- Oral rehydration therapy
- Nutrition counseling
- General consultation

Only the RHU in Malaybalay has laboratory testing for gonorrhea, pregnancy and can do Gram Staining. Laboratory testing to diagnose syphilis, chlamydia, and stool examination can be availed of elsewhere in Malaybalay (usually in the hospitals). This is true also of the more specialized HIV and cervical cancer testing.

All the clinics keep orderly and up to date clients' records as well as target clients.

A problem observed especially in the Barangay Health Stations is the lack/absence of doctors, nurses and sanitary inspectors. Only the RHUs in Malaybalay and Valencia have them. The Barangay Health Stations

are manned by midwives. They are supported by Barangay Health Workers (BHWs) available on a part time basis.

The BHWs are not compensated except in some barangays where a very minimal amount is given as allowances.

**The KANANIB**

The KANANIB Foundation Inc. (KFI) is a Non-Government Organization (NGO) established in 1980. It operates in the rural and landlocked provinces of Bukidnon and Agusan del Sur.

**Programs**

The KANANIB has programs on:

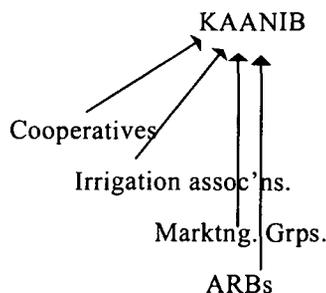
- Sustainable Agriculture
- Gender and Development

Its activities involve:

- Trainings
- Technical support
- Liaison with LGUs, NGOs, other NGOs, academe
- Organizing

**Membership**

The KFI represents a federation of more than 35 independent cooperatives, irrigation associations, marketing groups and agrarian reform beneficiaries (ARBs). These are organized at the barangay level.



Its current membership is close to 2,000. Approximately 40 percent of the members are directly involved in KFI programs.

**Staffing**

The KFI maintains 28 staff members most of whom are outreach workers with background in agriculture, business, economics and engineering.

The average age of the sixteen staff members interviewed is 28.5 years.

There is close contact between staff members and farmer-beneficiaries as well as with members of the latter's families.

These are usually in such activities as :

- Giving orientations
- Conducting trainings
- Conducting meetings
- Organizing
- Project updating
- Validating reports
- Project monitoring
- Technical consultations

**Organizational capabilities**

The Kananib staff members interviewed cite the strengths of KANANIB that would enable it to implement a Reproductive Health Awareness Program.

One of KANANIB's strengths is its close contact with targeted beneficiaries and potential partners through its:

- Existing base of Peoples' Organizations (POs)
- Area-based operations
- Established linkages with other NGOs, church and media
- Good relations with people whose cooperation will be readily obtainable

KANANIB also has:

- Experience in project handling
- Dynamic and young staff
- Skilled and capable staff
- Administrative capabilities
- Communication facilities
- A Gender and Development Program
- Good track record of 15 years

**Organizational constraints**

The staff members interviewed think that in order to implement another program particularly the Reproductive Health Awareness program, KANANIB needs to be strengthened in the following areas: Financial, Educational, Manpower.

While KANANIB already has a complement of staff, a new program will strain time demands on these staff. Also, training on the new subject matter of reproductive health is needed for them.

### ***Perception of Member-Beneficiaries re: KANIB's Capability to Implement RHA Program***

Member-beneficiaries interviewed in three Focused Group Discussions (FGD) viewed KANIB's purposes as:

- to provide technical assistance on diversified farming.
- provide loan assistance to cooperatives
- facilitate organizing of farmers

Although a few thought that KANIB has not yet achieved fully its objectives, most participants consider KANIB successful in program implementation.

Results of interviews with KANIB staff and member-beneficiaries show that they think KANIB is capable of implementing a RHA program. Since this is a new and different endeavour from what KANIB has done before, resource persons and additional funding is deemed needed.

They also think such organizations as the PHILDRRA, Department of Agriculture, the Church and especially the Department of Health can be tapped for assistance.

### ***Profile of the KANIB communities***

Any Education Intervention scheme will be facilitated or hampered by the social environment of its target population. Hence this profiling of the communities of the targeted KANIB member-beneficiaries.

#### ***Language***

Training modules will need to utilize Binisaya and Ilongo as these are the languages spoken and understood by most residents of the communities studied.

Ilocano, Binukid and Tagalog are also spoken by some residents in the areas. Talaandig and Higa-onon speaking peoples are present.

#### ***Population***

The municipalities of Malaybalay and Valencia are the two largest municipalities of Bukidnon province.

Malaybalay make up 11.9 percent while Valencia make up 13.7 percent of the province's total population.

Barangay Kawayan has the smallest (750) while Bgy. Apo Macote (7,266) has the highest population of the study areas.

### ***Occupation of residents***

Farming is the main occupation of most residents. In Valencia, people are mostly engaged in commerce and trade.

A number of residents work as professionals and executives while others are in the government service. Other occupations are services-related (sewing, transportation, construction, recreation). A few are into handicraft-making, mining, quarrying and manufacturing.

### ***Activities after working hours***

There are few facilities for recreation especially in the barangays.

Forms of recreation especially among men are sports, cockfighting, drinking, dancing and playing cards.

Most women engage in getting together with neighbors rather than the above activities.

### ***Religion***

Most residents are Roman Catholics. Others are Protestants.

### ***Health services***

Only two barangays do not have clinics. The clinics are usually manned by midwives.

The doctors and nurses reside in the poblacion. Residents have ready access to other health practitioners especially the "hilots".

Government and private hospitals are situated in Malaybalay and Valencia.

Not all barangays have access to regular health services.

### ***Personal services and public utilities***

- Facilities for personal services (e.g. barber shops, restaurants, lodging places) are found only in the two main municipalities.
- The same is true for utilities and other services (telephone, telegraph, post office, newspaper, fire department, police).
- There is, however, electricity in all the barangays.
- Transportation services are available in all the communities. The "trisikad" and "habal-habal" (motorcycle) are present in at least three of the barangays. Buses ply the

national highway while jeepneys are the most common means of access to the barangays.

- Most barangays have only dry-weather type of roads and travelling is difficult during the wet season.

Transportation facilities are available in all areas. However, these cannot be availed of at all times of the day.

#### *Organizations*

Many types of organizations are present in the communities. These are:

- School-related
- Youth organizations
- Church-related
- Farmers' organizations
- Women's clubs
- Sports
- Professional
- Civics

The most prevalent types are:

- School-oriented
- Civics
- Church-related
- Women's and Youth Clubs
- Irrigation and Consumers' cooperatives

Many organizations present in the study communities can be tapped to support Reproductive Health Awareness programs.

#### **Conclusion and recommendations**

The results of the baseline survey indicate that reproductive health and health in general are concerns which are not given enough attention by residents (especially by men) in the communities studied. Thus, the conduct of the RHA program in Bukidnon is very timely.

Some of the major recommendations of the study are listed below:

1. Half of the women are not engaged in gainful occupations. The conventional structure of male female relationships and roles still prevail, reinforcing power inequality in the family. Improving women's access to income generating activities will give women the power to assert, given that they now contribute to the family income. This will also improve their position in the family power structure. Their work involvement should not, however, reinforce double burden on their part.
2. Interspousal communication was found to be poor. The Reproductive Health Awareness Program should also deal with couple-focused programs where interpersonal communication skills, power sharing, listening and empathy between husband and wife are harnessed.
3. Services for reproductive health, specifically for males, are not available if not lacking in most government clinics. LGUs should be requested to provide these services.
4. Incidence of domestic violence is high in the study areas. Educational programs should take into account factors associated with this (e.g., alcohol). Possible networking with other NGOs having programs on domestic violence should be explored.
5. The local "hilot's" potential in spreading RHA is worth looking into as she /he is the most accessible health worker in the barangay.
6. Training modules on RHA can benefit from using agricultural examples and analogies as these are appreciated in this agricultural community.

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# The Effects of Training on the Traditional Birth Attendants as Auxiliary Workers in Reproductive Health Care: A Philippine Case

ERLINDA M. BURTON\*

## Introduction

ETHNO-OBSTETRICS is still entrenched in the rural areas where modern health care delivery has not penetrated. But with the advent of modern medicine in these parts, the role of traditional birth attendants (TBA), recognized for their traditional obstetrical knowledge, has slowly diminished. Nonetheless, since health workers are still lacking in the rural communities, government health agencies in many Third World countries, including the Philippines, have begun to recognize the traditional medical lore of the TBAs. Since their indigenous knowledge and experience are wanting of modern skills and know-how, it is necessary to give them further training in modern obstetrics and better maternal care and/or improve their skills along accepted practices. Trained TBAs have been tapped and utilized to serve as auxiliaries in health care delivery programs including family planning (Mangay-Angara 1974; Poerwodiharjo 1974; Peng et.al 1974; Ram 1976; Betera 1977).

In Third World countries where TBAs are necessary in maternal and child care, they are recruited and given training by their respective Ministry or Department of Health, specifically in the use of modern paraphernalia and procedures to enhance their knowledge in obstetrics. Several studies that have been conducted on the effects of training on the TBAs have shown similar results. McClain's (1978) study on *parteras* (midwives) in a Mexican community who were trained in modern obstetrics shows that the trained *parteras* still maintained a corpus of traditional obstetrical practices while utilizing modern drugs and other modern medical paraphernalia. Likewise, studies of *hilots* (the Tagalog language term for TBA) by Bailen and Morisky (1974) in Marinduque and by Dizon and Miralao (1973) in Mindoro Oriental, reveal that the *hilots* who had undergone training were in a state of transition for they still adhered to some of their traditional practices related to midwifery, but also had adopted modern techniques. While these studies have

demonstrated the effects of training on the TBAs, the effectivity of training in terms of their actual practice has been neglected.

The training of TBAs in the Philippines was started by the Department of Health in 1954 as part of the country's midwifery training program. The main objective of training was to improve the quality of the services rendered by the TBAs by teaching them sanitary means of child delivery and care and when to call a doctor or a nurse (Mangay-Angara 1974). Training was conducted in a series of 123 hours weekly classes and after completion of the course, they were given a midwifery kit issued by the UNICEF.

In the mid-60s, another training of around 482 TBAs was conducted at three different sites of the Philippines as part of the project to evaluate their suitability as family planning motivators. However, in the early 70s, TBA training was discontinued because of the political and economic instability in the country. Training, however, was revived in the early 80s as a regular program of the Department of Health which has continued to the present.

There has been no formal evaluation of the TBA training since its inception. The Department of Health personnel responsible for training made observations of the trainees which revealed that the TBAs were popular in their own communities. When trained and supervised by the Rural Health Unit personnel, they provided better care and their morale was high (Mangay-Angara 1974). They were involved in recruiting and organizing mothers' classes, assisting in birth registration, helping bring in children for immunization, and motivating mothers towards family planning acceptance.

This paper is based on the evaluation study of the training of traditional birth attendants conducted in 1994-1995 for the Maternal and Child Health Service of the Department of Health, Philippines. The area of study was Region 10 (composed then of seven

provinces), located in Northern Mindanao. The primary objective of the evaluation was to determine the effectivity of training on the untrained practitioners in changing some of their obstetrical practices which may have been in conflict with modern obstetrical procedures.

The study employed an evaluation approach which was deemed to give more reliable and relevant data regarding the assessment of the effectivity of programs. This is known as the "User-Focused" approach which is a strategy that seeks to uncover the range of variation in the reactions of program participants and their clients or patients. The evaluation of the program's effectiveness is derived from the perspective of the client, i.e. "user's perspective" which combines an examination of the process of training as well as its product (Davidson 1985:69). The "User-Focused" approach, moreover, stresses on supplying the user of the evaluation with data information that will lead to improvement of the program or satisfy in other ways the requirements that were set out as the objectives of evaluation (Patton 1981 cited in Davidson 1985).

This paper dwells on the effects of training on the traditional birth attendants of Region 10, Northern Mindanao, Philippines. It will describe the state of the art of traditional birth attending in the rural areas and the practitioners' training in modern obstetrical practices; it will likewise discuss the effects and impact of training on their cognitive orientation and the shift in their roles as the main actors in the maternal and child care in their communities and possible roles as auxiliary workers in the reproductive health program.

#### **Brief description of the study**

Three provinces in Region 10 were chosen for this evaluation, namely Bukidnon, Agusan del Norte, and Agusan del Sur. A municipality from each province was selected based on their being heavily populated by indigenous communities, specifically, Talaandig and Manobo, and which are not usually reached by social services such as primary health care. Moreover, five barangays (villages) were purposively chosen from each municipality based on the following characteristics: (a) population size of 200-1000 inhabitants; (b) existence of untrained TBAs (called *hilot* or *mananabang*); and (c) presence or non-presence of health centers.

A baseline survey of these communities was conducted mainly to obtain a profile for each barangay and relevant information from married women regarding the type of birth attendants they had utilized during childbirth, and to identify untrained TBAs and ever-married women clients who had frequently utilized the services of TBAs, trained or untrained.

Ten untrained TBAs from each province were identified, i.e., two from each barangay (a total of 30) who signified willingness to undergo training in modern obstetrical methods conducted by the Department of Health. Moreover, untrained TBAs from the sample barangays were identified who served as a control group and were compared with the trained TBAs in terms of their traditional obstetrical practices. Life histories of both trained and untrained TBAs were also collected, focusing specifically on their traditional training, practices and beliefs with regards to child delivery and maternal care.

A total of 150 ever-married women between the ages of 15 and 65 were chosen from the list of women already identified by the baseline survey. They served as respondents to the in-depth interview conducted which probed into their experiences with either the trained or untrained TBAs and/or both during their pregnancy period up until the delivery of the child including post-natal care.

Observation and process documentation were the major techniques used in the evaluation of the TBAs which were conducted by six Process Documentors (PD) through the observation of the activities of the newly-trained TBAs. The Process Documentors were trained in documentation techniques which include the observation and documentation of the behavioral patterns/practices and activities of the TBAs while conducting pre-natal examination, delivering the baby and extending post-delivery services. The PDs, who were residents of the respective study areas, conducted the observation for a period of five months.

Video-documentation was also employed to record and document the process of child delivery and the procedures and paraphernalia used by a TBA in one of the villages. It can explicitly capture the behavior of actors in the process of performing such an activity. The recording of the birth of a human child through whatever means used, is a document of the onset of the life cycle of a human individual, and hence a record of human interest.

### **Traditional birth attendants in Northern Mindanao**

Generally, the TBAs in Northern Mindanao are called *mananabang* (one who assists). They are men and women (usually the latter) who attend to a parturient woman using traditional procedures infused with cultural beliefs and practices. Most of them are trained by members of their immediate family, usually their mothers, grandmothers, and other close kin who were themselves TBAs. The training of TBAs starts at a young age, between the age of 13 and 15 or older by letting them assist with minor tasks, such as in the preparation of materials needed by the TBA during delivery. After several months of observation of the techniques and procedures employed in child delivery, the apprentice is given an opportunity to assist in actual delivery until she is able to practice on her own.

The TBA learns to conduct pre-natal check-up and caring for the parturient and child during post-partum. Indigenous TBAs learn certain cultural practices and beliefs associated with maternal care, such as the conduct of rituals during pre-natal and delivery proper to have a safe delivery and the observation of some beliefs (taboos) believed to affect mother and baby. Moreover, they learn how to prepare medicinal herbs and plants as decoctions which are given to parturient mothers during or after delivery, and certain paraphernalia to be used by the mother while in labor to ease the coming out of the child and to protect the mother and child from witches.

The TBAs are respected practitioners of the community who are the repository of knowledge and lore not only in child delivery but also in the identification of plants and herbs with both contraceptive and abortive properties. Some of the TBAs practiced abortion on some women but abandoned it because of the fear of divine retribution.

Despite the presence of medical personnel in the Barangay Health Station, such as the Midwife and Nurse, many pregnant women prefer to use the TBAs' services. A survey of women in the areas of study revealed that a good majority (94%) of them solicited or called the TBAs to deliver their babies in most of their pregnancies. Their main reason for this was that the TBAs gave better care and service than the medical personnel. Moreover, the TBAs also made follow-up visits for several days which was taken as an indication of genuine concern for their clients. With regard to payment, the TBAs do not ask exact fees directly from

their clients; it is up to the clients to give something, in cash which they can afford, in kind or none at all.

### **The training of the traditional birth attendants**

The training of the traditional birth attendants was conducted by the Provincial Health Office training personnel composed of nurses, supervisory midwife, and the Provincial Health Officers. Each training team prepared their syllabus based on the Training Manual for Traditional Birth Attendants.

Lectures were conducted by the trainors on various topics ranging from the objectives of the training to the program of the Maternal and Child Health Service (MCHS), immunization of pregnant women and infants, dangers of pregnancy, family planning, etc. The training module consisted of lectures and demonstration in the preparation for delivery such as familiarization with instruments and paraphernalia, proper ways of handwashing, preparation of beddings, proper way of placement of things needed by both mother and child, proper procedure of child delivery, cord cutting and dressing, expulsion of placenta and cleaning the baby and mother. All these lessons were followed by return demonstration by the trainees who were observed and graded by the trainors on their performance.

The training was for five days, culminating in the distribution of certificates and kits provided by the Department of Health which contained the instruments and paraphernalia necessary for birthing.

The 30 TBAs were chosen purposively based on their lack of training in modern obstetrical practices, regardless of sex, and not older than 65 years old. Their educational level was not given emphasis. The age range of the trainees was from 23 years to 63 years old. Majority of the trainees had elementary education; a few had gone to high school, and some never had schooling. The older trainees had the most number of years of experience (21-30 years), while the young trainees had the least between 1-10 years.

Inasmuch as most of the participants had had minimal years of schooling, the trainors used the Cebuano language (*lengua franca* in Mindanao) as medium of communication and instruction.

The training was well-attended by the TBAs who were quite eager to learn sanitary and modern obstetrical practices. They were also encouraged by the knowledge that they would receive certificates after

training as these were needed for their own recognition as auxiliary health workers, and kits containing the equipment needed in child delivery. The trainers, on the other hand, perceived the untrained practitioners to be "empty vessels" waiting to be filled with new knowledge. They did recognize, however, that the untrained TBAs already had stored knowledge in birthing acquired through many years of experience, and that this knowledge could be improved or added upon with newer information and learning. The trainees were enthusiastic in accepting the new experience to fill their vessels. The older trainees tried their best to learn and even learned better than the younger trainees. They were pleased to know that some of their traditional birthing practices do complement the modern ways.

From the perspective of the observers, the training was viewed as a vehicle that brought the TBAs to a new dimension in health care, specifically the care of the mother and child. Although there were some flaws and weaknesses in certain aspects, the overall assessment was good, with room for more improvement.

#### **The evaluation of the trained traditional birth attendants**

The TBAs returned to their respective villages after training. They were required to be in usual contact with the midwives in the Barangay Health Stations to assist them during prenatal examination day once a week and in other activities pertaining to maternal and child care, and to respond to the call of expecting mothers.

In this study, the newly-trained TBAs were evaluated through observation of their performance in conducting pre-natal examination, the process of child delivery, and post-delivery work. The observation was undertaken by the Process Documentors (PD) who recorded the processes of each activity of the TBAs, especially how they handled the delivery and the observance of proper procedures and techniques.

The TBAs were evaluated on the following: (a) whether they implemented the new ways of obstetrical procedures as part of their practices, and what these new procedures were; (b) how they utilized or implemented the lessons from the training and observed sanitary measures in the preparation of paraphernalia used in pre-natal, child delivery and post-natal events; (c) changes or shifts in their ways or practices from traditional to modern regarding pre-natal, child delivery, and post-natal practices and their attitudes

and habits; (d) effectivity of training as seen in the improvement of skills especially during delivery process.

Moreover, the behavior of TBAs was observed for the persistent use of some traditional obstetrical procedures which are deemed maladaptive and unacceptable - for example, the use of *bal-is* (bamboo blade) in cutting off the child's umbilical cord. Likewise, traditional practices based on their beliefs such as rituals, incantations, etc., related to child delivery were noted.

The Process Documentors, who were either residents of the area of study or were staying in the area during the duration of the study, worked and stayed with the TBAs, assisting the TBAs in difficult circumstances when no one else was around who could extend assistance or help.

#### **The effects of training on the traditional birth attendants**

The results of the evaluation of the newly-trained traditional birth attendants in Region 10 are the following:

1. Although they tried their best to follow closely the obstetrical procedures and steps taught during the training, many of the TBAs under study failed to implement or use the instruments and paraphernalia (e.g. forceps, hand gloves), or follow the rules during child delivery. At the very onset of the evaluation period, many of the TBAs were quite nervous because of the presence of the PD, thus doing haphazard work. Nonetheless, they realized their own mistakes and their inability to recall the right rules and procedures, and in the ensuing deliveries they were able to correct these mistakes.
2. More than half of the TBAs persisted in employing their traditional birthing practices which they believed did not run counter to the obstetrical methods they learned from training. Some performed rituals (offering chicken as a sacrifice) while doing pre-natal examination and delivery of a child. Many advised the mothers to wear amulets as defenses against the machinations of witches or evil spirits. Herbal decoction was used while the mothers were in labor. In other words, the TBAs syncretically fused or blended the modern obstetrical ways with the traditional patterns and beliefs to ensure that the mother and child would be safe and alive.

3. No maternal or infant death occurred during the period of evaluation. This was due to the fact that the TBAs were always consulting with the Barangay Health Station personnel during difficult deliveries. They also knew their limitations and weaknesses and were not comfortable in pursuing a task that they were not quite adept in. Some of the TBAs sometimes found themselves in difficult situations such as crossing a flooded river or threatened by a husband who was afraid that his wife might die, but they were able to face these difficulties bravely.
4. Most of the parturient clients were very pleased with the services of the newly trained TBAs because of the improved obstetrical procedures employed by them. The clients also indicated that the TBAs closely observed sanitation and cleanliness while performing pre-natal, child delivery, and post-delivery services. Moreover, the women felt more confident and at ease with the TBAs who gave them extensive and personalized care which they could not expect from the medical personnel.
5. The medical personnel in the Barangay Health Stations, on the other hand, were observed to be more open and helpful to the TBAs, whom they ridiculed and chastised earlier because of their traditional practices. They themselves saw that the TBAs could be very useful in areas where they could not extend maternal and child services because of distance and difficulty of travel. They found that the TBAs working together with the Barangay Health Workers (BHW) could be effective health auxiliary workers.

While the evaluation demonstrated the effects of training on the traditional birth attendants, it also revealed that there were several impediments which deterred or hindered a much better and effective implementation of maternal and child health services.

Firstly, most of the TBAs had only an elementary education, with a few who had gone to high school, and others who were illiterate, making their level of understanding of modern obstetrical procedures low.

Secondly, the TBAs had already acquired traditional knowledge and skills which were a part of their mindset and entrenched in their cognitive map, making it difficult to uproot such knowledge and change or replace it with another that was new and different from what they knew beforehand.

Thirdly, most of the TBAs were old and had some difficulty in recalling or remembering details of information, names of new instruments or paraphernalia, and procedures which were out or not akin to their experiences as practitioners.

Fourth, the training syllabus was complicated for them. The manual was written in English for professional personnel and was loaded with technical terms which the TBAs were unfamiliar with. Some of the trainers also used English in training which the TBAs hardly understood since they spoke the vernacular language of their community.

Finally, the training was too short. Five days proved not adequate for the TBAs to internalize the rudiments of training. In so short a time, the TBAs' cognitive framework had to undergo a process of transformation and go through a maze to be able to translate new symbols learned during the training.

On the whole, all of the TBAs claimed that there was a lot of difference between their traditional ways of attending delivery and modern obstetrics. They found their ways to be more crude unlike the new techniques and procedures which seemed to be more exact and placing emphasis on sanitation and cleanliness. Those who utilized bamboo and rattan blades earlier to cut the umbilical cord turned to using scissors after realizing that the former can cause neonatal tetanus. They also believe that they can gradually adapt to the modern ways if given more time to internalize the new methods.

Nevertheless, most of the TBAs have indicated that there are certain practices that they cannot totally abandon such as the conduct of rituals, especially among the TBAs coming from indigenous ethnic communities, the use of medicinal plants and herbs which they find to be effective in preventing relapses (*talimughat*) after the woman gives birth. The TBAs, in fact, want to make a compromise: they are willing to adapt new ways but to use them along with the traditional ways. This is an adaptive strategy to prevent unnecessary social cost.

One major problem which some of the TBAs are encountering is the procurement of materials and other paraphernalia needed in their work. Since they hardly receive financial compensation for their work in the community for mostly subsistence farmers, they cannot always afford to obtain things required by their job. On the other hand, the Primary Health Clinics are

also lacking in resources and cannot provide the TBAs' needs. Thus some TBAs resort to using the devices they had prior to training which the Department of Health resolved to change. Without assistance to the TBAs, maternal and child care services will still be poor and neglected.

### **Role adaptation of the traditional birth attendants**

Role change process has been observed to be primarily a chronological modification occurring when a person assumes new roles and therefore a new social horizon (Landy 1978). However, role change also takes place as a response to the stimulus of competing values and technology of a more economically powerful culture. The contact situation may perhaps lead to actual conflict between the person and change; but it also has the possibility for role adaptation in so far as elements of ideology and behavior patterns of the impinging culture are adopted to enhance the receiving culture's efficacy and strengthen a person's status in society.

Role adaptation as defined by Landy (1978:220) is the "process of attaining an operational socio-psychological steady-state by the occupant of a status or status set through sequences or role bargains or transactions among alternative role behaviors. In rapid culture change, alternative behavior possibilities, obligations, etc., can originate within or from outside the indigenous social system. Initially, the individual would be confronted with the demands of role obligations but he must manage to equilibrate role relationship and role sets through continual bargaining with other actors in the system to reduce role strain (Goode 1960:485).

There are several role adaptation possibilities that may emerge among societies undergoing acculturation. In the case of the traditional birth attendants in Region 10 of northern Mindanao who received training, the role adaptation which many of the trainees entered into was an "attenuated" role. This role arose as the medical and economic systems spread their influence, and the TBA continued in her traditional role, ignoring the reduction in her clientele due to competitive services of the government clinic's maternal care unit.

In effect, this implied the TBA's acceptance of her diminished prestige because she yielded her influence to more powerful competitors who threatened to render her role obsolete. Most untrained TBAs practicing in

the rural communities in northern Mindanao became more open and least resistant to training; they saw that they would not only be competing with government run clinics but also with trained TBAs who would have more edge in getting prospective clients seeking maternal service. Hence, their role in extending maternal care weakened as the services of the competing groups became more established. They lost the trade.

On the other hand, the attenuated role adaptation of the TBAs may have stimulated new emergent roles instead of making them obsolete. The program of the Department of Health gave TBAs a new orientation, and they were utilized as auxiliaries in reproductive health, an emergent role created for them. The utilization of the TBAs in Family Planning program is significant because they became cultural brokers between the community and the agency, the Department of Health (DOH).

The other possible emergent-role of the TBAs in reproductive health is their utilization in health education program focused on women's reproductive health. The TBAs will be trained not only in appropriate obstetrical methods but also in the detection of reproductive tract infections (RTI) among parturient women so that cases can be referred to the medical personnel in the Barangay Health Station for further check-up and referral to a hospital. Moreover, they can also be trained to conduct seminars on knowledge about RTI and personal hygiene for the women in rural communities, and specifically on preventive measures.

### **Conclusion**

The effects of training on the untrained TBAs have been very positive for they have been shown a new horizon in maternal and child care. While the training was weak in certain areas, it helped in a short time to improve the skills of the TBAs who are very appreciative of the new knowledge.

This study also shows that the training of the TBAs on modern obstetrical procedures introduced change not only to the socio-cultural system but also to their psychological and cognitive dimensions. Their acceptance of the new elements and their utilization by the government agency (DOH) as auxiliary health workers created an emergent role for them. They became cultural brokers with a crucial stake in the maintenance of the indigenous culture. Moreover, the TBAs are seen to have a crucial role in the promotion

of reproductive health program especially among married rural women. They can also serve in RTI detection and recognition, referral, and counselling on hygiene and prevention of RTI diseases.

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## Publication Notes

### **Changing Views, Changing Roles, Changing Lives: The PhilDHRRA-Mindanao GAD Mainstreaming Experience<sup>1</sup>**

*CHONA R. ECHAVEZ AND MA. LUISA TUMANG\**

THIS is a monograph which brings together 13 cases studies that reflect how individuals, people's organizations, and non-government organizations responded to women's and men's needs in their respective communities. It also documents their attempts to reduce existing gender inequities. The cases further reflect how the new relationships of women and men transformed not only their lives, but also the lives of the rest of the families and community members.

#### **The gender and development framework project: A background**

It all started in February 1996 when the Philippine Partnership for the Development of Human Resources in Rural Areas (PhilDHRRA-Mindanao), then a network of 19 non-government organizations implemented the Gender and Development Framework Project (GAD-FP). It was a three-year project implemented among all PhilDHRRA-Mindanao member NGOs funded by the Lutheran World Relief based in New York.

Each participating NGO identified two People's Organizations (POs) which each NGO was closely working with and where GAD-FP could be applied at the grassroots level. Hence, aside from the 19 NGOs, 38 POs were covered by the GAD-FP.

The GAD-FP is part of PhilDHRRA's agenda to institutionalize gender equity in its development work. The GAD paradigm is very close to the PhilDHRRA membership not only because of its importance but

also because of the members' involvement in the women's movement even when it was not yet a popular issue. As women in development (WID) evolved to GAD, new strategies needed to be formulated to raise gender consciousness among the general public.

PhilDHRRA-Mindanao has been an active participant in several activities espousing the equality of women and as development partners. The activities undertaken created a condition for member NGOs in the network to be receptive to the idea of mainstreaming gender within their respective organizations. However, for most, if not all member-NGOs, gender mainstreaming remained a concept. The main challenge of integrating gender in their programs and projects remained. Hence, the institutionalization of Gender and Development Framework among the 19 members of the PhilDHRRA-Mindanao was conceptualized.

#### **Three years later**

After three years of project implementation, PhilDHRRA-Mindanao's GAD-FP has lessons to teach. Gender is one of the concepts that people in development work find vague and difficult to translate into action. Through the GAD-FP, the staff from implementing NGOs experienced how to mainstream gender in their respective organizations. The network itself gained a rich experience on how to mainstream gender at the NGO and PO levels by conducting Gender Sensitivity in their respective organizations. The GAD pointpersons, with the assistance of other staff members, trained the people on GST at the community level, specifically the pilot POs.

<sup>1</sup>PhilDHRRA, 1999.iii+55 p.

At the community level, there are initiatives from the people themselves to correct their misconceptions and stereotypes on what women and men can do and cannot do. They have started to question gender insensitive values. Relationships (e.g. husbands and wives, parents and children, women and men) have improved; partnerships have been forged, and people's lives have somehow improved.

### The cases

A major strategy of the GAD-FP is demonstrating how to mainstream gender through piloting, collecting, and disseminating good practices, examples and lessons learned. Thirteen case studies have been documented, and they are the following:

The first two cases, *From a Farmer to a Politician: A Barangay Chairperson's Journey Towards Political Awakening*, and *A Woman Leader Strengthened by GAD Values*, trace the beginnings of two women leaders and how the GAD-FP helped in molding them to what they are today. The first woman leader was content being a wife, mother and farmer before she became an active member of a cooperative organization. Her involvement in the cooperative and the GAD-FP prepared her for entry into politics. She was also very definite in the added value GAD contributed to her leadership and her constituency. The second woman leader claimed that she is a product of the organizing work of a dedicated NGO. She was once an active PO member who became Officer-in-Charge of an NGO that assisted community members to organize themselves into a PO.

The third and fourth cases, *The Light at the End of the Tunnel: The Journey of Overcoming Violence*, and *The Journey Continues: A Community's Search for Perfection*, tell the stories of the struggles of an individual and of an organization in overcoming violence within the home and the community.

The fifth and the sixth cases, *Mainstreaming Gender in a Muslim Community*, and *The Maladeg Experience*, highlight the possibility of mainstreaming gender within Muslim communities. The servicing NGO in the fifth case is a Maguindanaoan foundation that is committed to the economic and social upliftment of Maguindanaoan Muslims. The servicing NGO for the sixth case is a non-Muslim development

oriented NGO. According to the staff of the servicing NGO, positive changes were made possible through a supportive management, an earnest GAD advocate and a receptive and sensitive staff who are open to change for the better. The head of the servicing NGO of the Maladeg community noted that a change of attitudes in a conservative culture was made possible through patience and more adult education. She emphasized that in the process of changing attitudes, the culture and tradition should not be trampled upon.

The seventh and eight cases, *Gender Advocates within a Federation of Cooperatives: A Partnership of the ED and GP that Works*, and *A Story of Men and Women Partnership for Community Development*, focus on the efforts of both NGO and PO leadership in advocating GAD mainstreaming.

The ninth and tenth cases, *From Nonchalance to Active Participation in Gender Advocacy Work* and *Making the Most for Gender Advocacy: The Case of United Small Women Alternative Group*, trace how a male member (ninth case) in a people's organization and an all women organization (tenth case) became active gender advocates. Both cases relate how people felt the first time they heard the 'gender messages' and the struggle they encountered due to cognitive dissonance between the beliefs held while they were still small and the new messages about gender sensitivity. The ninth case specifically relates the process of the difficulty of letting go of power and of treating women, specifically the wife, as an equal.

The eleventh to thirteenth cases, *Helping Young Women and Men Pursue their Dreams: The Experience of NDBRCFI in Its Pursuit Towards a More Gender-equitable World*; *Still Tending God's Flock: Jimmy's Continuing Ministry as a GAD Pointperson*; and *From "To Each His/Her Own to a Closely-Knit Community: The Experience of Madara Gender Association with the Help of Kapwa Upliftment Foundation, Inc.* tell the stories of an NGO, a GAD pointperson and a PO's journey towards a more gender-sensitive/equitable community. The cases outline how individual and organization efforts were exerted to break down stereotypes of women's and men's roles in the home, community, and society as a whole.

It is harvest time after three years of sowing seeds. The different cases noted the following changes: cracks on the hardened walls of misconceptions and stereotypes on women and men have become noticeable, relationships have changed for the better, partnerships have been forged, and lives have somehow improved.

Indeed, the ground has been furrowed with the implementation of the GAD-FP; the hard work is just beginning. The task of sustaining the changes and deepening the levels of gender-consciousness and sensitivity in people's lives remain.

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## **Growing-up in Difficult Circumstances: Portraits of Children's Health**

MAGDALENA C. CABARABAN

*"For those that never know the light,  
The darkness is a sullen thing;  
And they, the Children of the Night,  
Seem lost in fortune's winnowing."*

*Edwin Arlington Robinson*

"SEEM lost in fortune's winnowing" is a poetic and apt description of children in difficult circumstances which include streetchildren, children affected by armed conflict, and tribal children.

A research undertaken by RIMCU focused on the health needs and health problems of these children. The scientific result of the study was translated into popularized version and delineates the health picture of each of these vulnerable groups.

"*Shadows in the Alleyways*" portrays the physical look of Cagayan de Oro streetchildren. Generally stunted, their heights do not match their ages. One-half of these children are rugby sniffers, which is their coping mechanism against hunger and cold.

Streetchildren have two faces: one who is smart, streetwise, and a survivor; the other characterized by a blank look, with helplessness etched in every inch of the face.

Eight out of every ten streetchildren have stopped schooling. Reasons for not remaining in school include: lack of interest, difficulty in understanding lessons, and too old to return to formal schooling.

Street life poses a threat to the children's health. Personal hygiene is deficient. Spitting everywhere is an established habit. Streetchildren suffer from respiratory-related illnesses (common colds, cough, asthma), gastro-intestinal, and skin diseases. Physical abuse is one of the major reasons why children run to the streets; abuse is also experienced on the street from law enforcers, *manoy-manoy* (big brothers), and strangers.

"*Echoes of the Highland*" describes children from tribal communities. Most of them are malnourished and underweight. Stunted both physically and mentally, they cannot decide on their own and are seemingly docile.

Not all households in cultural communities have toilets, and household members relieve themselves in rivers or isolated areas. To them, an open space is more desirable than a toilet because the latter stinks.

Fever, cough, colds, and scabies are found to be prevalent among tribal children. Other illnesses experienced by them include diarrhea, leprosy, amoebiasis, malaria, and measles. Herbal treatment is the most common and an affordable option in illness management. Prayers and rituals are done as part of traditional response to illnesses.

Educated mothers from these communities have learned to make oresol for counteracting the effects of diarrhea. While herbal medicines are utilized, mothers also seek health services from health workers and midwives. Grave cases are brought to doctors or hospitals and in some instances, only when the patients are no longer ambulatory.

*"The Children of the Angry Hills"* provides a glimpse of the health conditions of children affected by armed conflict. These children have been physically threatened with death, injury, and diseases due to displacement and forced evacuation from their homes and farms to seek shelter in safer grounds. Generally malnourished, majority of them experience unattended cuts, bruises, sprain, deafness, respiratory-related

infections, and gastro-intestinal diseases. Moreover, the inner wounds inflicted on them by these experiences, causing deep emotional and psychological trauma, need time to heal. The psychological impact of the conflict is more alarming than the physical impact.

The children describe an action-packed and stressful life at the height of military offensive. Tora-tora planes dropping bombs, with bullets zinging overhead and seemingly coming from different directions always reduced them to trembling.

Besides the violence which children witnessed between the armed group and government forces, some of the children are victims of parental beatings. This abuse is however viewed by parents as a form of discipline.

Comparing the 3 groups of children in terms of a health vulnerability index, streetchildren are found to be highly vulnerable, compared with other children in difficult circumstances, in terms of being sick, in number of times sick, in propensity to recurring illness, smoking behavior, immunization status, and regularity of eating meals.

The overall health need index showed the streetchildren to have higher health risks, poor hygienic practices, more illness episodes, and greater number of physical abuse in comparison with the other two groups.

## In Memoriam

### A Tale of a Priest: Tribute to Fr. Francis C. Madigan, S.J.

THIS tribute is dedicated to Fr. Francis Cunningham Madigan, S.J., a respected Jesuit priest and renowned Sociologist and Demographer, also founder of the Research Institute for Mindanao Culture, who passed away on May 31, 1999, a day after his 82<sup>nd</sup> birthday.

Father Frank as he was fondly called, was born on May 30, 1917 in New York City where he also spent his childhood and completed elementary and secondary schooling. After graduating from the Fordham Preparatory School in 1936, he went to Fordham College to obtain his baccalaureate degree in 1938, and thereafter entered the Jesuit novitiate at St. Andrew-on-Hudson, Poughkeepsie, New York to study the classics.

In 1941, Father Frank was assigned to the Philippines to begin his philosophy studies at Sacred Heart Novitiate at St. Bellarmine College at the old Ateneo compound in Ermita. His studies were interrupted by World War II and he was incarcerated from July 8, 1944 to February 23, 1945 in the Japanese Concentration Camp at Los Baños, Laguna.

He returned to New York City after the war where he spent his regency at Fordham Preparatory School teaching Religion, Latin, English and Social Studies. Then he studied Theology at Woodstock College in Maryland and was ordained a priest on June 19, 1949 also obtaining the Licentiate in Theology in 1951. After making the tertianship in Auriesville, New York (1951-1952), he entered Fordham University and finished a Master's degree in Sociology in 1954. He earned his Ph.D. in Sociology at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 1956.

The following year (1957), he returned to the Philippines and was assigned to Xavier University, Ateneo de Cagayan to start a research center. He founded the Research Institute for Mindanao Culture



(RIMCU) and became its first director. Along with research, he formally organized the department of Sociology and became its first chairperson. With these two institutions, Fr. Madigan was able to pioneer and develop the field of sociology and demography/population studies. Cultural anthropology was later added to the department. Through the social, cultural, demographic and economic researches of RIMCU, issues and concerns of Mindanao were highlighted before local, national and international audiences.

Moreover, the research findings provided data for government and other entities for the integral development of Northern Mindanao.

Fr. Madigan was a great scholar who published 7 books, 35 monographs, and about 40 articles. He encouraged, trained and supported many young Filipino scholars to go into academic and professional careers in Social Science.

His many achievements as a classroom teacher, as an educational manager and as a meticulous scholar are highly recognized and awarded. In 1977, Ateneo de Manila bestowed on him the degree of Doctor of Science, Honoris Causa.

For his pioneering academic endeavor, leadership and research in Population and Sociology, he was conferred in 1994 the Fr. William Masterson, S.J. Award by Xavier University.

In 1993, he was conferred two important awards: 1) the Rafael M. Salas award for his achievement in population and development studies; and 2) Outstanding Foreign Social Scientist Award by the Philippine Social Science Council.

Fr. Madigan's endeavors for the welfare of Mindanao were fully recognized by the city of Cagayan de Oro where he was a long time resident, and which was planning to give him an award on June 4, 1999. Unfortunately he passed away four days before he could receive it. However, he was still presented the Datu Salangsang award posthumously by the city government "for being a man for others and a man of Mindanao."

Father Frank touched the lives of many people, some of whom are now known in their professions including some of the research associates of RIMCU. A very kind hearted and generous man, he helped and financially supported many students and others in their dire need. He went out of his way in the best way he could to lend a helping hand—an advice of encouragement and a prayer for inner strength.

All of us in RIMCU who have worked and endured with him for a long time shall ever be grateful to him and attest to the goodness of this priest who taught us humility and love. We hope to emulate his virtues and scholarly achievements, though difficult to be at par with him, and keep the legacy he left us, the Research Institute for Mindanao Culture and the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, as Centers of Excellence always.



# RIMCU NEWS



## On-Going Projects

- A study on the economic activities of selected low-income communities of the Visayas and Mindanao areas. This was commissioned by TESDA Women's Center to generate bench-mark data which will serve as the basis for the formulation of TESDA plans and programs on technical-vocational training courses and economic interventions for the empowerment of low-income women.
- Gender Assessment for the Province of Misamis Occidental under the agencies working for the Sustainability of Mt. Environs Project (AWESOME). The project combines environmental protection with alternative livelihood assistance to the communities who depend on Mt. Malindag. This is commissioned by CARE Philippines.
- A study on local government—to identify indicators of good governance and development. The study which was commissioned by the Philippine Center for Policy Studies (PCPS), University of the Philippines will be conducted in Davao del Norte, Mindanao.
- Male involvement in reproductive health study (second part) is the implementation of the intervention, i.e., introduction of reproductive health awareness module to farmer beneficiaries of Impasugong, Malaybalay and Valencia, Bukidnon in cooperation with local NGOs and LGUs.

## Recently Completed Projects

- Baseline study of the urban poor in Mindanao. This was conducted by members of the Mindanao Research Consortium: RIMCU (Xavier University), Ateneo de Davao University, Western Mindanao State University (Zamboanga City), Notre Dame University (Cotabato City), Mindanao State University-Iligan Institute of Technology (MSU-IIT, Iligan City), and Urios College (Butuan City).

The data are useful to graduate students in sociology, government policy-makers, and NGOs.

- Ethnographic studies of two indigenous communities in San Luis, Agusan del Sur—Banwan and Manobo. These studies are intended for the use of the San Luis Lumad Comprehensive High School as bases for the preparation of teaching materials and modules for their indigenous students.
- Technical Education and Skills Development (TESDA) area research was conducted by Dr. Magdalena C. Cabaraban, Research Associate of RIMCU for TESDA, Region 10. The project is designed to produce a database which will aid in modifying and strengthening plans and policies of the program of TESDA, Region 10. Moreover, the results of the study will determine the skills training and investment priorities for the region as well as the four provinces of Region 10.
- Evaluation of the impact of the First Water Supply, Sewerage and Sanitation Sector project (FW4SP) of the Department of Health in Region 10. The primary objective of the study is to assist the government in providing the rural population with safe and adequate water supply as well as proper sewerage and sanitation. It also includes the promotion of effective community participation in water conservation efforts and improving the capability of local government units in planning, implementing, and monitoring water supply and sanitation systems.
- Baseline survey for male-involvement in reproductive health project in 3 municipalities of Bukidnon-Impasugong, Malaybalay, and Valencia.
- Multi-indicator cluster survey for the provinces of Bukidnon and Camiguin, and the cities of Cagayan de Oro and Butuan
- Gender and sexuality study in Caraga region
- KAP survey of the sexual behavior of young adults

### **Other News Bits**

- The Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Xavier University, Cagayan de Oro City, was selected by the Commission on Higher Education (CHED) as a Center for Excellence (Sociology) for Visayas and Mindanao from 1999-2001. This recognition brings prestige not only to the university and the department, but also to RIMCU which is a research arm of the university and whose research associates are also teaching in the department of Sociology and Anthropology.
- RIMCU co-sponsored with the National Task Force on Reproductive Health based at De La Salle University, Manila a dissemination seminar workshop on reproductive health on January 12, 2000 in Cagayan de Oro City. Reports on studies on abortion and STD were made, followed by a workshop. The participants came from the Department of Health, Region 10; City Health Office, Cagayan de Oro; Jose Rizal College of Medicine at Xavier University; College of Nursing; NGOs and LGUs.

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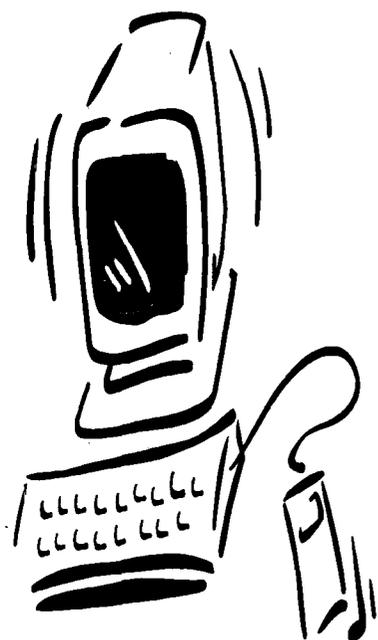
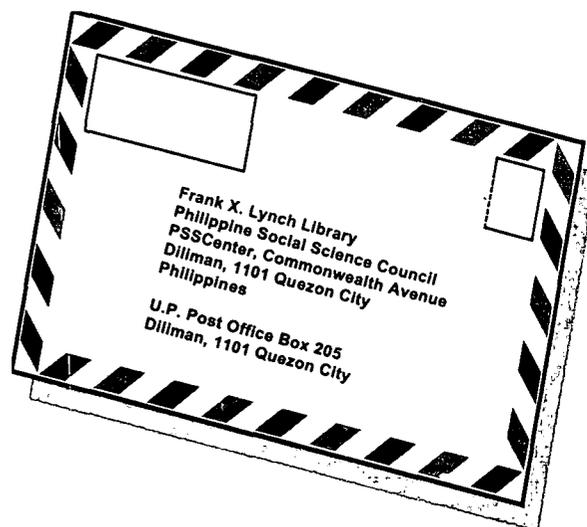
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