THERE IS NOTHING SO PRACTICAL AS A GOOD THEORY:
Social Psychology and Social Development Issues in
the Philippine Context

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This paper presents various ways by which social psychological theories and concepts can be usefully applied towards solving problems related to national development. The discussion focused on problems in human development, resource and productivity, and institutional development.

Most social psychologists have ignored the practical application of theory to social issues despite the often-quoted statement on the practicality of a good theory by Kurt Lewin, one of the most influential founders of modern social psychology. This in large measure is due to the tradition of laboratory experimentation in American social psychology.

While the laboratory experiment has the advantage of control of variables and strong causal conclusions, its major disadvantage of artificiality of the laboratory setting has led to many social psychological studies that have been described as "trivial"—irrelevant to events and issues in the real world (Ring, 1967). Furthermore, even in those instances where the findings of laboratory experiments clearly have implications to real world issues and events, there is still the problem of generalizability outside of the laboratory setting. Thus, during the 1970s, social psychologists vigorously questioned the nature and directions of the discipline in what has been called "the crisis in social psychology" (Elms, 1975). The debate during the 1970s between the critics and the defenders of social psychology led to one inescapable conclusion: the need for theory-oriented research to focus on socially relevant issues and for the greater use of natural settings and correlational studies in social psychological research (McGuire, 1973).

In the Philippine setting, the problem is compounded by the fact that the overwhelming majority of social psychological research has been done in the western (mainly American) culture. The teacher of social psychology is hard-pressed in trying to relate the operationalization of the concepts and the findings of these western studies to events and issues of concern to Filipinos. While great strides have been done in the field of Filipino psychology by the U.P. Diliman group, nevertheless, teachers and students of social psychology must examine the vast body of social psychological theories and concepts and test or apply these to the Philippine context.

Where problems exist, opportunities abound. The Philippine setting offers a unique opportunity for merging theory-orientation with social relevance: the many social development issues of concern to Filipinos provide fertile ground for the application of social psychological theories and concepts. Indeed, development-oriented social research in the Philippines has often been criticized for being too descriptive and lacking in theoretical orientation.
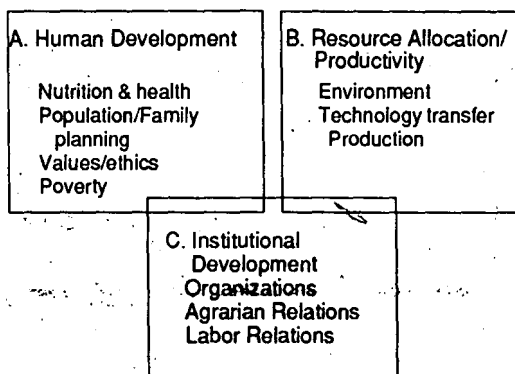
The present paper is an attempt to provide a broad outline of the many areas in which social psychological theories and concepts can be applied in the Philippine setting. The focus is on social development issues—that are of critical relevance to all Filipinos. It is hoped that the present paper will serve as an initial guide to students, practitioners, and social researchers in the use of social psychological theories and concepts in the context of development issues and will serve as an impetus to them to undertake applied social research aimed at understanding or solving the myriad problems of the human aspects of development.

Development Framework

Development may be said to be that area of concern regarding the totality of human needs, values and standards of a society (Goulet, 1973). Even to outline such a broad topic in a few pages will be pretentious. Thus, for our purposes in this presentation, a rather simplified approach will be taken such that only three general areas of concern are identified. Figure 1 shows this.

As Figure 1 shows, to our view, the major fields of concern are (a) human development, (b)

Figure 1. Diagram of a Development Framework

A. Human Development	B. Resource Allocation/ Productivity
Nutrition & health Population/Family planning Values/ethics Poverty	Environment Technology transfer Production

C. Institutional
Development
Organizations
Agrarian Relations
Labor Relations

resource allocation and productivity, and (c) institutional development.

Within each field, we have identified the component macroevents or development issues that may be addressed by social psychology.

In human development, the following are the major issues: poverty; nutrition and health; population and family planning, and values and ethics.

For resource and productivity, the following are the major issues: the environment; technology transfer; and production issues.

In institutional development, the major issues are: organizations; agrarian relations; and labor relations.

Some of these topics are not mutually exclusive precisely because these topics either underlie or are involved in many development concerns. Thus, one major assumption that we

take is the interrelatedness of many issues and problems. Another assumption is the fact that development is multidimensional and multidisciplinary and that a large component of development problems are fundamentally structural. However, development is concerned about human welfare. And human welfare depends on the nature and dynamics of human behavior. To paraphrase a trite expression, development is for humans and made by human behavior. Thus, in tackling the problems of development, for diagnoses and solutions to be successful, the psychological concomitants of the problems must be addressed.

Most of the issues or topics we have identified as important in national development are included. Some specialized topics such as industrial productivity and issues of local and national bureaucracies are not discussed here. In these particular cases such as those in organizational behavior and employee productivity, the reader is referred to standard business or public administration literature on human behavior. These topics, therefore, will not be considered here.
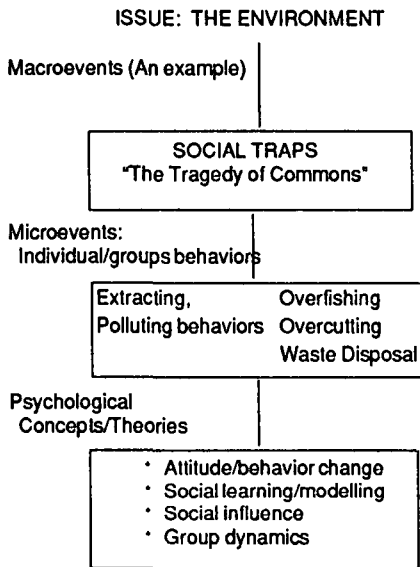
Approach

The specific approach used in this paper is to list some of the major issues in national development and identify the problem areas within those issues. This is illustrated in Figure 2.

As shown in Figure 2, the development issues are usually "macro-events," that is, they involve national or cultural systems or subsystems. In each system, however, specific behavioral patterns may be identified as crucial to the developmental issue in that system or subsystem. For instance, in Figure 2, the environment as a developmental issue has "social traps" as one typical macro-event as exemplified by the "Tragedy of the Commons" problem. This problem, in turn, is made up, among others, of extracting or polluting behaviors. The major behavior patterns involved, for instance, are overfishing, overcutting and waste disposal.

The social-psychological interface begins in the identification of these behaviors. Then appropriate concepts, principles and theories may

**Figure 2. An Analytic Approach to
a Development Issue.**

ISSUE: THE ENVIRONMENT

Macroevents (An example)

| SOCIAL TRAPS |
| "The Tragedy of Commons" |

Microevents:
  Individual/groups behaviors

Extracting,	Overfishing
Polluting behaviors	Overcutting
	Waste Disposal

Psychological
Concepts/Theories

* Attitude/behavior change
* Social learning/modelling
* Social influence
* Group dynamics

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be applied towards understanding or analysis of these behaviors for prospective solution of the development problem.

Within the psychological domain, major social psychological issues will likewise be identified and some representative concepts, theories and researches will be presented. Classic papers in psychology will be cited as these are deemed to be related to the issue. Selected publications which are current will likewise be cited to illustrate either direct or potential application of social psychology to development problems.

The concepts, theories and approaches offered for application are *proposals* for understanding selected behavioral aspects of development. It must be emphasized that these are tentative propositions subject to empirical verification. These proposals are like maps (Law and Lodge, 1984). They do not necessarily represent or capture all the details of the Filipino problems in development but they are useful for guiding us toward certain destinations. These proposals, therefore, are offered not because they are better or "more scientific." Rather, these are presented in the spirit of the search for useful

frameworks for the understanding and solution of the nagging problems of development.

Human Development

Poverty

Any consideration of social development issues must begin with the issue of poverty because it lies at the root of most other social development issues.

At the macro level, aspects of the economic system and social structure by and large lead to the existence of poverty. The existence of poverty creates a "culture of poverty" among the poor with distinct psychological processes and outcomes (Sarbin, 1970). The concern here is with these psychological processes and outcomes. There is no lack of poverty research in the Philippines (Alburo and Roberto, 1980). Indeed, the economists and the sociologists have done a great deal of empirical work in the area. The social psychological dimensions of poverty, however, have not been adequately addressed.

The major social psychological issues on poverty revolve around poverty perceptions and poverty behavior. The first challenge is to construct a reliable and valid instrument for measuring subjective perceptions of poverty (Alburo and Roberto, 1980). As Alburo and Roberto point out, objective poverty measures do not suffice in describing or measuring poverty. Subjective perceptions of poverty and their relationships to poverty behavior must be examined because such will provide "the rationale and framework for the evaluation as well as the design and implementation of poverty redressal programs that are target audience based" (p. 152). The research along this line has been "spotty and scanty relative to economic measures. The research has been mostly on measures of subjective feelings of satisfaction, happiness or aspirations" (p. 147).

What are some of the variables that could be measured in an instrument for subjective perceptions of poverty? Alburo and Roberto (1980) suggest the following: the poor's subjective perceptions of inequality, i.e., their sense of relative deprivation; who the poor compare themselves

with, i.e., their social comparison processes and reference groups; their perceptions of the source of inequality as it relates to perceptions of fairness or unfairness; and the specific concerns and resentments of the poor. These variables are important because they provide a picture of the dynamics of subjective perceptions of poverty. Depending on who the poor compare themselves with (e.g., the "rich" or "other poor people"), what they perceive to be the sources of the inequality (e.g., the "system," the rich, the government, or themselves), whether or not they consider such as fair or unfair, and their specific concerns and resentments will determine the poor's frustrations and sense of grievance over their condition which in turn will influence their responses to their situation and to programs aimed at ameliorating or redressing their poverty.

The relevant social psychological concepts and theories that relate to the above-mentioned variables are the concept of attitudes (Kiesler, Collins and Miller, 1969), the attitude measurement techniques that have been developed in social psychology (e.g., Edwards, 1957), relative deprivation theory (Gurr, 1970; Runciman, 1966), and the concept of reference groups and social comparison processes (Hyman and Singer, 1968).

To the list of variables cited by Alburo and Roberto (1980) we add the following:

Time perspectives of the poor. It has been observed that individuals who grow up in the culture of poverty have a different time perspective from individuals reared in nonpoverty cultures (Sarbin, 1970). Specifically, it has been observed that the poor are rooted in the present and have little ability to plan for the future because the future to them is vague, unstructured, ambiguous, and without consensual markers.

Beliefs about locus of control. Rotter's studies on SES and locus of control (Battle and Rotter, 1963) suggest that the poor are more "external," i.e., inclined to believe that rewards are controlled by external forces such as fate, chance, luck or powerful others. The non-poor on the other hand tend more towards an internal

locus of control—the belief that many of life's rewards are contingent upon one's own efforts and actions. Studies have also found greater feelings of anomie or sense of futility and alienation among the poor (e.g., Bell, 1963; Langner and Michael, 1963; Lefcourt and Ladwig, 1965).

Achievement motivation (n Ach). Some studies have obtained results which indicate that individuals from the lower class are significantly lower on n Ach than individuals from the middle and upper classes (e.g., Rosen, 1956, 1959). To the extent that achievement motivation is related to achievement-oriented behaviors as a good deal of research has shown, then lack of achievement motivation among the poor would be an important basis for the perpetuation of the cycle of poverty.

The studies cited above were done in the western culture. There is a need to examine these variables in the context of the Philippine poor. Methodologically sound research on how the Filipino poor in the urban and rural settings fare on the abovementioned variables will help to increase our understanding of the dynamics of poverty perceptions among Filipinos. In addition, it is also important to examine how the poor in the urban and rural settings perceive the solutions to their poverty. It would be especially useful to determine the incidence of self-help versus dole-out solutions and the types of support needed as perceived by them.

The second challenge in the application of social psychology to poverty is the study of poverty behavior as it relates to subjective perceptions of poverty. The relevant questions here are: How do the poor behave given their subjective perceptions of their condition? What initiatives do they take to cope with and overcome their poverty? In what ways are subjective perceptions related to positive or to self-defeating behavior patterns? In what ways have the poor responded in terms of social unrest? In what ways have their social groups reinforced the cycle of poverty? In what ways can their social groups be used to provide the social support for self-help initiatives? Answers to these questions will do much to help poverty alleviation

programs that focus on individual and group initiative and self-help. Here, the concept of learned helplessness (Seligman, 1975), social learning theory (Bandura, 1977), the theory of need for achievement (McClelland, 1961, 1971), the concept of locus of control (Rotter, 1966; Collins, 1974), relative deprivation theory (Gurr, 1970; Crosby, 1976), and group dynamics theory particularly the concept of the group as a medium and as a target of change (Cartwright, 1951) can be used.

Nutrition and Health

Poverty arising from underdevelopment and economic injustice lies at the root of the nutrition and health problem in the Philippines. Therefore, the ultimate solution to this twin problem involves increasing incomes and changing unjust structures in society. Be that as it may, social psychological factors have exacerbated the nutritional and health effects of poverty. And social psychological methods can be used to help the poor protect themselves from the worst effects of poverty on nutrition and health (Gonzalez-Intal, 1987).

What are these social psychological factors? It has been observed that nutrition and health occupy a low position in the Filipino's scheme of values. This is one major social psychological factor that exacerbates the impact of poverty. For instance, there is a light attitude towards eating which is one reason why essential foods are often not included in daily meals (Valdecanas, 1971). Studies show that there is a low nutritional demand for food in spite of economic capability (e.g., Bustrillos, 1975; Paris and Unnevehr, 1985). Studies also show that people do not have appropriate knowledge and beliefs regarding correct nutrition and health practices, e.g., erroneous concepts that having a full stomach ("mabusog") regardless of nutritional content is synonymous with being well-fed, the prevalence of dietary restrictions during pregnancy and lactation, ignorance about the proper breastfeeding techniques, ignorance about the nutritional needs of preschoolers, school-age children and adolescents, negative food preparation practices that remove precious nutrients

from food, and unsanitary garbage and excreta disposal, poor hygiene and use of water supplies which are inadequate in quantity or quality leading to infections and parasitic infestations (see Gonzalez-Intal, 1987, for a review of studies done on these areas).

Solving or at least reducing the nutrition and health problems of the country necessitates not only increasing incomes but also changing people's attitudes and behavior. Given that poverty is likely to persist for a long time, it is important that people develop the proper attitudes and practices about nutrition and health in order the minimize the adverse effects of poverty. Social psychological theory and methods for attitude and behavior change can be used as framework for intervention programs towards this end.

Gonzalez-Intal (1987) proposes a framework for attitude and behavior change in nutrition and health intervention programs based on theory and research in social psychology. We present it briefly here:

There are two critical inputs in changing people's attitudes and behaviors—highly motivated change agents and appropriate strategies for change.

The change agents are the frontline people who translate the program into action at the grassroots level such as the extension workers. Often, these frontline people are among the most neglected aspects of a program. It is so easy to invest in the material component of a program and neglect the people who will translate the program into success among the target clientele. Although there are many dedicated extension workers, ultimately, negative work incentives are bound to take their toll in extension worker motivation and interest. Thus, there is a need for greater investment in the "people" component of change agentry.

Changing nutrition and health habits and practices means changing *both* attitudes and behavior because attitude change without behavior change is useless and behavior change without attitude change will only lead to temporary change.

Change does not occur unless the person is *motivated* and *ready* to change (Schein, 1980). This implies that the person must *perceive some need* for change and must be *able* to change.

Persuasive communication can be used to arouse the perception of the need for change. The persuasive communication must come from a credible and attractive source (McGuire, 1969) and must clearly show how the advocated change will lead to the attainment of some *specific* good or condition that the person values and desires because this is what will serve to motivate the person to change. Attitudes are changed only if the incentives for making a new response are greater than the incentives for making the old response (Hovland et al., 1953).

Research in social psychology suggests that a persuasive communication is more likely to lead to attitude change if it is characterized by the following:

* The communication must be simple in content (i.e., no information overload) because people are limited information processors and the surest way to lose the target person is to pack in too much information (Hovland et al., 1953).
* The communication must show *in a causal way* that the change being advocated will lead to the attainment of some specific good or condition that is valued and desired by the target person (Nisbett and Ross, 1980; Insko, 1967).
* This causal linkage between the advocated change and the valued good or condition must be *immediate, vivid,* and *concrete*, otherwise, it will have little impact (Nisbett and Ross, 1980).
* The medium of the communication in which the message is transmitted must be appropriate for the target person (McGuire, 1969).

Change in attitudes does not necessarily mean that change in behavior will also occur. Except in cases of coercion, attitude change is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for behavior change. The likelihood of behavior change is enhanced if the person is ready to

change—i.e., he has the resources and capabilities that will allow him to translate his changed attitude into changed behavior (Schein, 1980).

Two conditions increase the likelihood that both attitude and behavior change will occur:

* When the person commits himself to significant others on the attitude and behavior change, i.e., makes a public commitment towards the change.
* When he is part of a group that makes a decision that its members change their attitudes and behavior (Cartwright, 1951).

These two conditions also increase the likelihood that change will be maintained over time.

Gonzalez-Intal (1987) discusses specific examples of how the above framework can be applied to nutrition intervention programs. As a final point she emphasizes that holistic intervention approaches which address both the socioeconomic and the social psychological aspects of nutrition and health *in concert* among the target clientele are likely to be more effective than one-sided approaches.

Population and Family Planning

The increase in the number of people of a society is not a natural problem. It becomes a problem when the rate of increase results in a large number of people and when the resources are dwindling to threaten the very existence of segments or all of the population. The Philippines like many developing countries, though not necessarily overpopulated, is said to be experiencing slow economic growth because of a large population it needs to support.

The ultimate goal of most population control programs is the limitation of the number of children that will be born in a particular time in order to enable societies to provide for quality life for the existing and future generations. The core of this development problem is basically a behavioral one: How to make people responsible parents as well as users of resources. Responsible parenthood is not only a slogan but also a behavioral goal to maintain quality of life.

The behavioral target is *fertility*, the number of live births (Lucas et al., 1980). Fertility is determined by its immediate cause, the sexual union of male and female. Although biologically, there are what are called conception and gestation factors that determine fertility, sexual union is essentially behavioral. Thus, social and psychological factors influence sexual union and fertility.

A typical analysis of factors governing fertility involves a survey of the well-used acronym *KAP*, for knowledge, attitudes and practice. It is here that social psychology is most salient in the family planning or population dimension of development. It is also the most widely studied area in the social psychological aspects of population (Feliciano, 1976; Mercado, 1976).

The four major causes of sexual union variables are: (1) beliefs and attitudes relating to family structure and formation, (2) knowledge and attitudes about contraception, (3) biosocial characteristics such as infant mortality, maternal health and nutrition, and (4) socioeconomic and cultural characteristics such as wealth, religion, ethnicity and migration (World Fertility Survey, 1977).

From these four factors alone, it is easy to determine which areas of concern in population studies and control are most likely fields for social psychological application.

Social norms, in most cases, determine what is called the perceived ideal family size (Lucas et al., 1980). Attitudes influence these norms, among others. Thus, attitudinal survey and change studies would be useful in the understanding of ideal family size. Theories of attitudes, attitude change and attitude-behavior relationship are appropriate in research on ideal family size.

Fertility-related attitudes can be examined for their basic functions (Katz, 1960), namely: (a) instrumental, adjustive, utilitarian, (b) ego defense, (c) knowledge, and (d) value expressive.

Attitudes, especially those involved in sexual behaviors, are not easy to change. Thus, studies could focus on the resistance to change of existing attitudes (Bem, 1970; Rokeach, 1960, 1971; McGuire, 1965).

Attitudes towards contraception and other beliefs may be altered depending on communication or persuasive processes. The major factors involved are: (a) the source of communication (Hovland and Weiss, 1951; Walster and Festinger, 1962; Berscheid, 1966), (b) the message (Karlins and Abelson, 1970) and, (c) the audience (Eagly, 1981).

The attitude-behavior relationship should also be examined (Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975) since, for instance, the connection between a family planning attitude and the expected behavior may not be immediate, clear or imminent (Schuman and Johnson, 1976).

The major social psychological theories may be used in the explication and application of population and family planning programs. For instance, reinforcement theory (Skinner, 1957) can be applied to the attitude-behavior or behavior-attitude process (Mercado, 1976).

The cognitive consistency theories can also be useful in understanding the dynamics of and relationships among fertility-related values, attitudes and behavior (Abelson et al., 1968; Insko et al., 1970).

Attribution theories may also be of explanatory use in understanding processes of judgments and causal thinking related to fertility and contraception (Kelley, 1967, 1971; Jones and Davis, 1965).

Finally, at the core of the social psychological aspects of family planning is the role of values. The role of the value of children has been extensively studied as a determinant of fertility (Fawcett, 1978; Hoffman and Hoffman, 1973). In the Philippines, we also have the "anti-natalist" value orientation (Feliciano, 1976). What is needed is more research on the *process of change* in fertility values and its relation to attitude and behavior change as this will be of practical benefit to family planning planners and programs.

Values And Ethics

> "Our national crisis is fundamentally not an economic nor a political crisis, it is a moral crisis. I believe this crisis serves as a test for Filipinos *to clarify and change their values.*"

This quotation would not be surprising if it comes from the President, or a noted educator, or a venerable theologian. It is surprising, however, because it is the considered judgment of a physicist who is a specialist in resources and technology (Talisayon, 1986). He continues:

> "Human and social decisions stem from values. Private and public projects, programs and ventures similarly stem from priorities and policies, which [are] formal embodiments of values. Development can be viewed as movement towards a desired or valued future state or condition (Talisayon, 1986:1016)."

With this brief but cogent description of the role of values in development, we may state the central issue: The need for shared values of nationhood; for efficacious collective action towards the common welfare. In other words, there is a need to be working together unselfishly for the good of all. In Talisayon's words, people-oriented values and community-oriented technologies are the social development targets.

Similar values have been presented as necessary ingredients for social development. Villegas et al. (1986), for instance, point out the following key development concerns:

Self-reliance: How do we develop self reliant, self generating and motivated citizens? What are the social technologies to train people to make decisions that are self-reliant?

Social Justice: How to inculcate social relationships that develop and reinforce sharing of power, resources and benefits? How to make relatively privileged people accept temporary dislocations for the greater good so that there will be less resistance to "reverse discrimination," i.e., the unequal treatment biased for the underprivileged? How to recognize, develop and inculcate the consistent application and following of rules and laws as a universalistic principle? How to develop strong norms of ethical conduct rather than legalistic skills of defending conduct?

Equity: How to develop enduring social relationships that promote better social and structural access to health, educational and other services?

Integration: How to initiate, develop and maintain harmonious inter-group (community, regional, ethnic, bureaucratic, cultural) activities?

The Shahani Committee (Licuanan, 1988) likewise identified the goals that are needed for societal change. Among these are patriotism and national pride, integrity and accountability, discipline and hard work, self-reflection and the internalization of spiritual values. The required general strategies were also identified. Among others, the multi-layered social approach, the holistic and mass-based methods were recommended. In terms of behaviors, however, "bite-sized" implementaion in the day-to-day context was emphasized. The need for the motive of self-sacrifice was also pointed out.

There have been journalistic accounts as well as academic pieces on Filipino values such as those which describe some of our national traits (e.g., Kaut, 1961; Bulatao, 1964; Licuanan, 1988). Some of the recent papers were made in the context of development (e.g., Licuanan, 1986; Perlas, 1986). However, there has not been a systematic theory or theories on the social psychology of Filipino values.

The literature on socialization processes and learning provide a good starting point for studies on how values are formed (Kohlberg, 1964, 1976; Bandura, 1971; Miller and Dollard, 1941; Brophy, 1977). Child development theories are also relevant (e.g., Piaget, 1948).

Another area for study is the relationship between values, attitudes and behavior especially with respect to the processes of development and change. Here concepts such as reference groups (Newcomb, 1943; Singer, 1981), reinforcement (Staats, 1968; Zanna, Kiesler and Pilkonis, 1970), and cognitive balance (Heider,

1948; Newcomb, 1953; Cartwright and Harary, 1956) would be useful.

A third area that will be helpful to look at in the study of values are the exchange and equity theories (Austin, 1979; Lerner, Miller and Holmes, 1976; Adams, 1965; Walster et al., 1978; Mikula, 1980; Harris, 1980).

Research in these areas should be pursued as there are probably very few studies on values using these approaches and theories in the Philippines and much fewer in the context of development.

Resource and Productivity

Technology transfer is one of the contemporary problem areas in development as it has been since World War II for many developing countries (Canela, 1986). It has been subsumed under the famous phrase "diffusion of innovations" (Rogers, 1962, 1983). It is that process involved in the spread of technology such as the adoption of new rice varieties or the use of improved production techniques, the rate and volume of which is intimately associated with economic progress.

The adoption of technology, however, is not a simple process of social transformation. In a 1966 symposium of the then National Science Development Board (NSDB), the problems of utilization of agricultural technology were identified. The social factors affecting technology transfer were presented and discussed. Today, we may summarize these into: the problem of intelligent use of available technology and the problem of technological information of client systems which critically need these innovations to improve their individual as well as collective welfare. The salient issues that were identified then were: (1) attitudes towards technology, (2) aspirations and the use of technology, (3) family decision making and, (4) organizational behavior as this relates to technology adoption (Feliciano, 1966).

The focus then were the so-called "personality deficits" or "individual and cultural weaknesses" of the technology recipients, e.g., the peasant-farmer. By the late 1960s, there was

a "paradigmatic shift" from a predominantly individual-blame orientation (e.g., that people have low n-Ach or poor productivity motivation) to a structural and individual problem of adopting technology orientation (Rogers, 1976).

Unfortunately, despite the change in focus, today, over twenty years later, the problems have not been solved nor have they gone away. The fundamental issues remain: How do clients (e.g., farmers, housewives, laborers, out-of-school youth) learn to use technology? What characteristics do these clients bring in the process of decision making? How do "significant others" affect this decision process? What is the nature of the attitude-behavior linkage in technology transfer? What is the role of organizational structure and processes in the adoption of technology? What are the critical conditions in the physical and social environment that affect technology adoption? What is the role and extent of the effect of various forms of non-formal education?

Thus, as in other aspects of development, psychological concepts and processes such as social learning, attitude change and social influence come to fore as some of the most salient areas that are involved in technology transfer.

The theories of classical and operant conditioning are applicable to this topic in development (Kunkel, 1963, 1965). Social learning theory (Bandura, 1977) as well as specific processes such as "learned helplessness" (Seligman, 1975) have been used in explanatory frameworks for understanding such problems as resistance to change.

Attitudes and attitude change are issues that have been explored by social psychologists and other behavioral scientists in explaining the varying rates of adoption (e.g., Doob, 1960, 1967; Rogers, 1962). Cognitive consistency theories have been used as framework and these are still useful in the many aspects of the spread of innovations (Abelson et al, 1968). The theories of attitude and behavior linkage have also been examined (Schuman and Johnson, 1976). For example, in the early years of the "green revolution" the behavior-to-attitude change model was applied in the introduction of

the new "miracle" varieties of rice (Mercado, 1971).

There exists an already large literature in technology adoption which the interested reader can refer to. In the diffusion of innovation literature alone (Rogers, 1983) there are many applications of social psychological concepts, theories and principles that have been applied in many settings both in developed as well as developing societies.

The Environment

In recent decades, there has been heightened concern about the relationship between man and his environment. This concern is mirrored in the growth of the field of environmental psychology, which began as an offshoot of social psychology. Much of the attention on man-environment relationships has focused especially on the effect of (negative) environmental conditions on human behavior and welfare and the (negative) effect on the environment of human actions in the use of environmental resources. The focus is epitomized by theoretical and empirical work on crowding and environmental stress and on resource utilization and conservation. Although there are several other substantive areas of interest in the field of environmental psychology, we will focus the discussion on these two areas.

Crowding and environmental stress. The effect of overcrowding on human behavior has been one of the most heavily researched areas of environmental psychology. Early work on crowding equated crowding with high population density or the presence of a large number of people in a given area. Later work indicated that the two are not the same and hence it was proposed that social density simply refer to the number of individuals per unit of space while crowding be defined as the negative feelings experienced by the individual when there is less space than desired (Stokols, 1972).

According to Stokols (1976, 1978), crowding arises from three types of conditions that can be present in high density environments—overloading, which occurs due to high density or proximity; thwarting, which occurs when people

interfere or hinder each others' activities because of high density; and overstaffing, which occurs when there are more people present than what is needed to carry out the required roles. Research work on crowding has largely focused on its effects on human performance, emotional reactions including feelings of stress, mental and physical health, and the behavioral coping mechanisms to crowding. Reviews of the research on crowding can be found in Baum and Epstein (1978), Schmidt and Keating (1979), Taylor (1980), and Epstein (1981).

Crowding is one type of environmental stressor. Two other environmental stressors that have been investigated are noise and air pollution. Reviews of research on noise stress can be found in Loeb (1980) and Cohen and Weinstein (1981) while Evans and Jacobs (1981) present a review of behavioral aspects of air pollution.

In general, results of studies on environmental stressors indicate that these stressors can, but do not always, result in negative emotional and/or behavioral effects. People are able to adapt to them and keep on functioning effectively (e.g., Freedman, 1975). Studies also indicate that the perception of some control over the stressor reduces its negative effects (e.g., Glass and Singer, 1972).

What about the impact of environmental stressors such as crowding, noise, air pollution, the garbage problem, and the transportation crisis in the Philippine setting? It is common observation that these stressors exist in high degree among the poor in Philippine cities, Metro Manila, particularly. What are their emotional and behavioral effects on the population, especially the poor? How do people cope with these stressors? These are some of the questions that social research on the area could address.

Resource utilization and conservation. The major issue in this area is the intelligent use of resources for sustainability. The problem is *social traps* or social situations in which people are motivated to pursue their individual self-interest instead of behaving in the long-term common interest (Platt, 1973). The "tragedy of the commons" (Hardin, 1968) exemplifies this problem

in which resources are depleted because of the wanton extracting and polluting behaviors of individuals pursuing their own short-term self-interest without regard for the long-term common interest. The major behavior patterns involved, for instance, are overfishing, overcutting of trees and indiscriminate disposal of waste in the water and air resources.

It has been observed that the tragedy of the commons is especially acute in the Philippines. Forests have been reduced to critical levels by indiscriminate logging and "kaingin," dynamite and "muro-ami" fishing methods have destroyed coral reefs resulting in drastic declines in fish population, lakes and rivers have become polluted as has the air in industrial and crowded urban areas. What can be done to solve this problem?

Hardin's (1968) proposed solution is mutual coercion—social arrangements that create coercion of some sort that are mutually agreed upon by the majority of the people affected. Examples are coercive laws on the extraction of scarce resources and taxes on pollution that make it cheaper for the polluter to treat his pollutants rather than to discharge them untreated. Coercive solutions require, however, good surveillance which necessitates an adequate number of honest manpower to conduct it.

When do people act to maintain common resources? Stern's (1978) review points out the following: an attitude of concern about the environment is associated with actions to preserve environmental quality albeit the relationship is weak; the experience of events which push people into action such as the occurrence of severe resource shortages or episodes of environmental damage leads individuals and communities to efforts at conservation or environmental protection.

How can institutions act to maintain common resources? Stern (1978) points out the following: the use of individualistic solutions such as assigning each individual a portion of a common resource to manage or market solutions like taxes on resource consumption or financial incentives for conservation which will make the collective interest profitable to people acting in their own short-term self-interest; and the use of collectivistic solutions such as practiced in traditional societies in which group pressure induces individuals to accept collectivistic values or to act in ways which serve the group's interests.

What other social psychological solutions can be tested? Attitude/behavior change techniques such as the use of persuasive messages in information campaigns in which the sources of information are highly credible and which contain fear appeals that are coupled with recommendations to take specific actions (see McGuire, 1969, for a review of theory and research in this area). Social learning/modelling techniques which can be conducted using television or films in which the desired behaviors or practices are explicitly demonstrated (Bandura, 1977). Techniques based on reinforcement theory such as the use of monetary or social incentives like public recognition. Social influence techniques such as the "foot-in-the-door" effect (Freedman and Fraser, 1966) or the "door-in-the- face" effect (Cialdini et al, 1975). And group dynamics techniques such as group problem solving and decision making coupled with public commitment (see e.g., Cartwright, 1951).

Institutional Development

Labor Relations

In the Philippines today, the labor sector has been observed to be easily galvanized to protest and mass action. After years of suppression under the Marcos martial law regime, the new democratic space has provided the leeway for greater demands for redress of grievances.

The basic issue in labor relations involves cooperation between labor and management, i.e., to what extent will management and labor cooperate with each other.

From the social psychological perspective, labor relations can be conceptualized in terms of the dynamics of power relations among hierarchical interdependent groups (Alderfer, 1977). Management possesses legitimate power over workers and they expect their orders to be fol-

lowed. But this power to order is limited by the willingness of workers to follow. It is a basic human tendency, however, to seek to minimize one's dependence on another and to try to increase one's power.

Labor, being at the bottom of an organization's hierarchy, usually do not do well on the various indicators of human welfare. Thus, labor organizes in order to improve their wages and working conditions and to increase their bargaining power. Management, on the other hand, will resist attempts of workers to have a power base and another object of allegiance.

Much of labor-management conflicts arise from real conflicts of interest between these groups. Nonetheless, over and above the issue of legitimacy of grievances between groups, the dynamics of hierarchical intergroup relations involves some distinctly social psychological processes which make conflict between groups of unequal power almost inevitable. Foremost of these is the development of ethnocentrism or positive feelings about the group to which one belongs (the "ingroup") and negative feelings about the group one is not a member of (the "outgroup") (Levine and Campbell, 1972). Ethnocentric attitudes are one of the (negative) factors that lead to greater cohesiveness among members of a group as the outgroup in time becomes perceived by the ingroup as an external threat (Sherif and Sherif, 1969). The existence of intergroup conflict usually gives rise to cognitive distortions in the perceptions of the conflicting groups about each other, for example, seeing one's group as (morally) superior and the outgroup as more prone to irrationality (Alderfer, 1977). Further, the existence of intergroup conflict tends to foster the rise of authoritarian leaders (Sherif and Sherif, 1969). It has also been suggested that authoritarian leaders possess a tendency to provoke external conflict as a way of justifying the suppression of dissent among their members (Frank, 1967).

What are researchable areas in the social psychology of labor relations in the Philippines? We suggest the following:

1. *Intergroup attitudes, prejudice and discrimination.* What perceptions and attitudes do management and labor have of each another? How do prejudice, discrimination and conflict arise from competitive situations in labor-management relations? Attribution theory, particularly the work on philosophies of human nature (Wrightsman, 1964) and biases in the attribution process (e.g., Ross, 1977; Jones and Nisbett, 1972), exchange theory (Thibaut, 1950), and the work of the Sherifs on intergroup conflict and cooperation (e.g., Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood and Sherif, 1961) provide good literature for this area.

2. *The nature of social exchange between management and labor.* How do management and labor interact toward each other in terms of their notions of rewards, costs, investments and distributive justice? The exchange theories of Thibaut and Kelley (1959) and Homans (1961, 1974) and equity theory as applied to exploiter/victim relationships and to business relationships (Walster, Walster and Berscheid, 1978) can be used as conceptual framework for this area.

3. *The dynamics of power in labor-management relations.* What are the determinants of social power of management and of labor in terms of their resources, dependencies and alternatives? What are the power processes, tactics and strategies used by management and labor in everyday exchange and in the more specialized exchange of collective bargaining and negotiation? The following are some source materials for concepts and theoretical framework in this area: the work of French and Raven (1959) on the bases of social power, Thibaut and Kelley's (1959) and Blau's (1964) treatment of power in the context of their exchange theories, Emerson's (1962) work on power processes, Secord and Backman's (1974) review of social power, and research on mixed motive situations such as the prisoner's dilemma in which the choice is between cooperation and competition (see e.g., Davis, Laughlin and Komorita, 1976; Pruitt and Kimmel, 1977; Rapoport and Cham-

mah, 1965; and Wrightsman, O'Connor and Baker, 1972).

4. *Social psychological interventions to improve labor-management relations.* The question of interest here is what social psychological approaches can be used for labor-management conflict resolution and for improving labor-management relations. Alderfer's (1977) review of behavioral science interventions to improve intergroup relations such as interpersonal peacemaking (Walton, 1969), intergroup problem solving (Blake, Shepard and Mouton (1964), system-wide interventions, and long-term improvement in intergroup communication (Alderfer, 1975) can be consulted for literature in this area.

Agrarian Relations

In a country that is predominantly rural with only 30% of its population in urban areas and with about 60% of its families classified as poor, we can only conclude that the general social situation is inequitable. This inequality is reflected in almost all things that matter: education, nutrition, government, information and recreation. This situation is not simply unequal but highly skewed. Moreover, studies have shown that those who are poor, mostly in the rural areas, feel that they are doubly unhappy than urban people (Castillo, 1979).

While it may be argued that there are many bases for comparing social position, land ownership remains the crucial material foundation of most social relationships in the Philippines. The central issue therefore in land reform is equity.

Land reform involves redistribution on grounds of justice. It should not be confused with the attainment of economic productivity or efficiency, the concern for which is no justification for denial or delay of land reform. A just land reform is both desirable and attainable with or without accompanying programs of credit or technology which are separate concerns" (Mangahas and Quisumbing, 1986:10).

Up to the recent administrative and political confrontations in the national government, the root cause of most of the resistance and reluc-

tance of participants in implementing the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Legislation (CARL) is the violation of subjective as well as formal requisites of fairness. Distributional justice is therefore recommended as both a general and a specific issue in rural development (Quisumbing, 1986). Legislation or the legal administrative pronouncements probably are the first formal steps in redressing this historical legacy of injustice but the less dramatic day-to-day implementation problem remains a Gordian knot to be untied.

The social psychological underpinnings of agrarian relations may take on the following problems: What are some of the underlying dimensions of tenants' sense of justice? What are the bases for land owners' sense of equity involving property? What are the various social and psychological dimensions in property ownership such as those involved in private, commercial, and communal systems of ownership? Is the expected pricing and mode of payment that is acceptable to landowners and tenants perceived to be normative or merely prescriptive, i.e., informally agreed-upon or primarily imposed? There are issues which involve those who may not be direct participants but nonetheless will be affected by CARL, namely, the millions of landless who will not have any possibility of obtaining any piece of land. Is land ownership the only conceivable base for rural equity? Is it not more of the role of government in relation to equitable administration of justice rather than fair land distribution per se? As Mangahas and Quisumbing (1986) note, land reform is a historical issue of the relationship of government and the poor rather than a land ownership redistribution problem between particular owners and tenants.

Very few studies have explored the social psychological dimensions of this redistribution issue in land reform. At this juncture, we can only point out some theoretical directions that may be fruitful in examining the psychology of social relations in land ownership. To be sure, there are significant cultural variations within the country so that a thorough study should include a survey

of the various ethnic or regional nuances in the social psychology of agrarian relations.

There is the literature on equity, justice, conflict resolution, and social unrest that should be explored and profitably applied. Among these are those dealing with conflict resolution and intergroup relations (Austin and Worchel, 1979; Bachrach and Lawler, 1981; Druckman, 1977; Swingle, 1970; Thibaut and Walker, 1975). Theories and studies on equity and social exchange may be found in Adams (1965), Foa and Foa (1976), Thibaut and Kelley (1959), and Walster et al. (1978) while the work of Runciman (1966) and Gurr (1970) can be referred to for literature on social unrest.

The urgency of doing serious fundamental studies in these areas cannot be overstated if social psychology is to assist in alleviating the 5.3 million families in the rural sector, 82 percent of which are in the poorest 30 percent of the families in the country (Quisumbing, 1986).

Conclusion

There are many areas for social psychological research in the field of development. There are also many theories and concepts in social psychology that are potentially useful for understanding and solving the problems of development. The application of social psychology to development issues will no doubt enhance our understanding of these issues and increase the repertoire of solutions to problems. Likewise, it will no doubt enrich the science of social psychology. It is therefore hoped that this paper will stimulate interest in the area especially among students who are looking for thesis or dissertation topics. The challenge is there to build a tradition of research and scholarship on the social psychological aspects of development. Let's take it!

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