

CHILD-REARING PRACTICES IN BARRIO CRUZ-NA-LIGAS¹

MARIA FE A. DOMINGO
Department of Psychology
University of the Philippines

This study was conducted in Barrio Cruz-na-Ligas, a semi-rural community in Diliman, Quezon City. Nineteen mothers and thirty-eight children took part in this study.

It investigated the socialization of nine behavior patterns: *aggression, succorance, obedience, achievement-orientation, responsible performance of duty, sociability, nurturance, dominance and self-reliance*. For each of these patterns of behavior, two problems were posed: Firstly, how is the behavior socialized by the mothers to their children? Secondly, how is the behavior manifested by the children in their varying day-to-day interactions and how is this related to the mothers' rearing practices? The third problem calls for the interrelation of the training for one pattern of behavior with the others.

The methods used in this study were the following: participant observation, key informant technique, systematic interview of children, mother interview, and child verbal Thematic Apperception Test (doll play).

It was found that in many instances there is a close relationship between child-rearing practices and the behavior of the children. However, other variables also affect the behavior of the children; among those noted are the child's level of development and the cultural context in which the child lives.

In the main, therefore, child-rearing practices, although they may wield some influences on the behavior of the children, are only *one of the many factors* that affect the resultant personality of the child.

In 1958 when this study was undertaken, there was hardly any systematic study on Filipino socialization process and personality development.² Any serious scholar of this area

of interest had to depend mainly on impressionistic essays written by our writers and/or assume that findings made elsewhere (especially in the American setting) were valid for our people. These options were far from satisfactory.

¹This research report was based largely on a masteral thesis in Psychology, submitted to and accepted by the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, University of the Philippines in April, 1961. This is the first time that this study is published in full-length version.

²Subsequent to this study, other researches on socialization in Philippine settings have been published: Eslao, 1962; Nydegger and Nydegger, 1963; Quisumbing, 1964; Guthrie and Jacobs, 1966; Jocano, 1968 and 1970; Nurge, 1974; and an unpublished master's thesis in Anthropology was also conducted in Ligas by Lagmay, 1974.

This study on child-rearing practices conducted in Cruz-na-Ligas in 1958-59 was premised on the idea that a serious social science researcher should strive to know more about people by studying their behavior directly and within the context of their cultural milieu. Specifically, this study focused its interest on the sort of upbringing a group of Filipino children had and the probable relationship their

upbringing might have on their day-to-day behavior. This concern was not merely an academic interest for the researcher. Being a young mother then, she was personally interested in whatever systematic evidences she could gather with reference to the influences of parents on their children.

The interest of the researcher was not only content-oriented. Realizing that field research was relatively a novel experience in the Philippine setting, she was further interested in the validity and applicability of fieldwork methods in the local social setting. For instance, while interviewing had been used in many sociological studies, there had been no detailed report concerning *how* it was applied in the field. The use of a clinical tool like the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) was virtually unknown in Philippine fieldwork research. The researcher, therefore, was interested in the use of these methods with a view of describing her experiences with regards to their application in a relatively greater detail than was ordinarily found in other research reports. Furthermore, by outlining the difficulties that she encountered in their application and sharing her experiences in general, she hoped that, in a modest way, future social science researchers could profit from them or improve upon her work.

Taken in a broader perspective, this study was an offshoot of a prevailing interest on child development as an antecedent of later behavior stimulated by the insightful reports of Sigmund Freud, the Psychoanalyst. Earlier studies of Whiting and Child (1953) and Sears *et al.* (1957) in the American setting bear this interest. However, rather than make a flashback, so to speak, of an individual's childhood as is commonly done in clinical situations, these studies analyzed on-going child-rearing practices and on-going behavior of children. These studies had the advantage of being unhampered by the common stigma associated with the clinical situation. Using the concepts of contemporary learning theory, these studies analyzed the children's behavior as related to

the child-rearing practices of their parents.

This study conducted in Cruz-na-Ligas followed along similar lines as the two studies mentioned. It confined its analysis mainly to an investigation of the relationship of the mothers' rearing practices and the various measures of the children's behavior. At this point in time, the researcher felt that to consider child-rearing practices as an antecedent of adult personality was rather unwarranted by the available data. It was quite evident that a host of other developments transpired between early childhood and adulthood and it was hazardous to project a picture of adult personality on the basis of the data gathered.

THE PROBLEMS

This study aimed to investigate the socialization of the following forms of behavior: *succorance, nurturance, self-reliance, achievement-oriented behavior, sociability, obedience, dominance, responsible performance of duty, and aggression*. These nine behavioral patterns were thought to be related to dependence and independence of the infant on others, especially his mother. Succorance was thought to be the behavior most characteristic of infancy while the eight others represented forms of behavior which might replace or supplement succorance at later ages depending on the development of the child.

For each of these forms of behavior, there were two problems: (1) how was the behavior socialized by the mothers to their children and (2) how was this behavior manifested by the children in their varying day-to-day interactions? A third problem called for the interrelation of the socialization of one behavior with the eight others. For example, how was the training for succorance related to the training for responsible performance of duty?

In treating these problems, a description of the manner of rearing by the mothers was presented. In describing the manner of rearing, a scale for each behavior was constructed. In this manner, a means of comparing the rearing practices of one mother with the others

could be affected. The scales ranged from high to low values for each of the kind of behavior being described. For example, for aggression, a three-point scale was constructed. It ranged from "completely permissive" to "not at all permissive". Each of the scales were defined operationally based on the data gathered.

A mother's rearing practice towards each of her children included in the study was judged separately. Thus a mother may belong to one or more of the categories of the three-point scale for aggression cited above, depending on her treatment of each of her children who were included in the study.

A. The Forms of Behavior Studied: These nine forms of behavior had been chosen and defined by Whiting *et al.* (1954). Pre-defining the different forms of behavior was used here as a measure of insuring a high level of uniformity of meaning throughout the various phases of the study.

The following definitions for the nine forms of behavior were taken in full from Whiting, *et al.*

1. SUCCORANCE: In the presence of a drive that can be reduced either by the nurturant (please refer to the definition of *nurturance*) response of another person, or in some other way (for example, by self-reliant behavior, cooperative interaction as equals, dominance, aggression, etc.), succorance consists of tendencies to await the nurturant response of another, accept the nurturant response of another, or to signal to another the wish for nurturance.

2. ACHIEVEMENT-ORIENTED BEHAVIOR: Achievement-oriented behavior consists of tendencies to evaluate one's behavior, and that of others, by reference to standards of excellence, and to strive to behave so as to merit as high a place as possible on the scale of excellence.

3. SELF-RELIANCE: In any situation, self-reliance consists of tendencies toward self-initiation of a response and toward

maximum reliance on one's responses in reaching the goal. (Avoidance of other people is not implied here — only reliance upon the self for planning and carrying out behavior.)

4. OBEDIENCE: In the presence of demands, suggestions or hints by another individual or group that one act in a way specified by that other person, obedience consists of tendencies to conform to these specifications.

5. NURTURANCE: In the presence of the knowledge that someone else is in a state of need or drive, nurturance consists of tendencies to try to alleviate this state in the other person.

6. RESPONSIBILITY: In any situation in which performance of a task is required, expected, or preferred as part of one's social role, responsibility consists of tendencies to perform the task.

7. SOCIABILITY: In the presence or prospective presence of other people who are making a friendly approach (as if in expectation of direct reciprocation), sociability consists of tendencies to make a friendly response, to engage in activities together, to cooperate for the sake of social interaction. (While defined to include behavior towards persons of a superior or inferior status, more or less needy or resourceful, provided the behavior itself involves reciprocity as equals, sociability is less likely to be confused with nurturance and succorance if measured only in behavior towards peers.)

8. DOMINANCE: In a relation with another person or group, dominance consists of tendencies to demand that the other person act in certain ways, to attempt subtle direction of the other person's responses without making formal demands, to enforce demands, or to attain social position which will increase facilities for making demands.

9. AGGRESSION: In any situation, aggression consists of trying to injure another

living organism by physical hurt, insult or magical manipulation. It also includes attempts to displace aggression.

B. The Fieldwork Phases: The study covered one year of fieldwork, commencing on May 30, 1958 to May 28, 1959. This period covered the actual residence of the researcher and her family in Cruz-na-Ligas. Initial contacts with the community started on April 10, 1958 when the researcher introduced herself and her study to the two barrio lieutenants. Preliminary contacts with other barrio members followed shortly. The fieldwork of one year was interrupted only for one week when the researcher met a minor accident in April, 1959 and had to be hospitalized in the U.P. Infirmary for five days and had to take a rest of two days in her parents' home.

The duration of the fieldwork covered the following phases:

- Phase I: *Participant Observation: June to August, 1958.* This method was used during the whole duration of the fieldwork but more intensively during the first three months mentioned above.
- Phase II: *Key Informant Technique: September and October, 1958* covering two months.
- Phase III: *Child Observation: November, 1958 to January, 1959* covering three months
- Phase IV: *Mother Interview: February and March, 1959* covering two months
- Phase V: *Child Interview: April, 1959* for one month
- Phase VI: *Child Verbal TAT (doll play): May, 1959* for one month

The sequencing of the different phases followed these rationales: Firstly, the first three phases were used not only for gathering the needed data but also to establish rapport with the participants of the study; secondly, Child

Observation preceded Mother Interview so that the former method would not be biased by what the mothers would report regarding their practices; and thirdly, Child Interview and Child Verbal TAT were conducted last because these measures required the greatest amount of rapport between the researcher and the participants.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

This study utilized contemporary behavior theory in analyzing its data. This theoretical viewpoint holds that a child learns those responses which are followed by consequences of importance, commonly known as reward or, in the language of operant conditioning by Skinner (1953), stimulus reinforcer. This viewpoint expounds that the presentation of a stimulus reinforcer increases the probability of the occurrences of similar responses.

Before we go into the details of the learning process, let us state the assumptions that underlie our thinking:

1. It is conceived here that a child starts his life equipped with certain capacities. These capacities are motor, cognitive, affective, and the like. The main goal of these capacities is largely biological and is related to the infant's survival. As the child develops, he acquires other means of dealing more effectively with his environment. Such acquisition is made possible through the interaction of his growing inherent capacities and the history of his learning contingencies.
2. It is also assumed that a given society has developed within its systems of interaction some methods of transmitting what they consider as desirable behavior patterns. By interacting with members of his society, primarily his mother, the child learns these acceptable modes of behavior.

The Process of Child-rearing:

A child and his mother constantly interact with one another. In these interactions, there is

mutual influence of each other's behavior. Although it is highly possible to investigate the influence of a child's behavior on his mother's rearing practices, the focus of this study is to find out how the mother's practices are related to the behavior manifested by her child.

Child-rearing practices cover a wide range. They are as multitudinous as the various aspects of interactions that transpire between a mother and her child. They range from physical aspects, such as the way a child should carry himself, to cleanliness training and through various practices on interpersonal interactions.

The main interest of this study covers largely practices on interpersonal actions, namely forms of behavior that have to do with dealing with other people. The mothers' verbal description of these practices will be taken as identical with their treatment of the behavior of their children. The practice that each mother described will be taken as an abstraction of her day-to-day practices, taking out the exceptions to the general rule.

Some of the forms of behavior manifested by a child are considered noteworthy by the mother and are encouraged by her. Other forms, on the other hand, may be considered changeworthy and efforts may be made by the mother to eliminate or inhibit them. Nurturance is an example of a noteworthy behavior that many mothers in Cruz-na-Ligas encourage among their children. Aggression, especially against elders, is considered as highly undesirable.

In these instances of encouragement and elimination, the behavior in question should be in the behavior repertory of the child. A mother can encourage the manifestations of similar responses when she notices that her child is making attempts at it. The mother makes these attempts meaningful by having it followed by some consequences that are important to the child. A hug, a kiss, or the granting of some privileges usually conveys to her child that what he is doing is acceptable and "good". The mother, thus, communicates to her child

that these are the forms of behavior that she approves of. Conversely, the mother tries to eliminate those forms of behavior which she considers changeworthy. In her attempts to eliminate them, she may explain to her child why she does not approve of such behavior, she may frighten him of some supernatural beings or she may even scold and spank him.

Consciously or unconsciously, these practices of the mother shape the probability of the occurrence of similar responses on the part of her children. For the changeworthy behavior, the practice is geared towards a decrease of the occurrence of similar responses while, for the noteworthy behavior, the shaping is geared towards a corresponding increase.

The shaping of a child's behavior is not an all too simple matter. Other factors affect the behavior of the child: the child's physical condition, his level of development at the time of learning, the quality of relationship with significant people in his life, the stability of his culture. The mother's rearing practices, although they may wield some influence, are *only one of the many factors* which shape the resultant personality of the child.

METHODS AND PROCEDURE

This part contains an ethnographic sketch of Cruz-na-Ligas. A discussion of the methods and procedure follows. This discussion is made as detailed as possible in order to share with other researchers of similar interests these field experiences from which they may profit or over which they may improve.

An Ethnographic Sketch of Cruz-na-Ligas

At the time of the study, Cruz-na-Ligas was a semi-rural community in Diliman, Quezon City. It was located about three kilometers southeast off the campus center of the University of the Philippines. It had a total area of approximately forty hectares, encompassing the barrio proper and the outlying fields.

Prior to the actual fieldwork which was conducted between May, 1958 to May, 1959, a

household census was taken by the barrio lieutenants of this community in connection with their petition filed with the University of the Philippines requesting that they be allowed permanent residence on the site. This petition had to be made since the barrio site had now become a property of the U.P. The census list was prepared in January, 1958 and a modification of this list (due to subsequent birth, death, transfers, etc.) was used by the researcher. Based on this list, there were 517 persons living in this community, composing 197 families. Roughly 50% of the people living in this barrio were born there and had lived there all their lives. At varying periods of time, other families from outlying places such as Marikina, San Mateo, Montalban, and Malabon had come to settle in this community. Within the last five years prior to the present study, a total of 17 families had settled here and all of them, just like the original members of the community, belonged to the lower socio-economic level.

Cruz-na-Ligas was selected as the research locale for a number of reasons: First, there was ample evidence that it was a long established community. Such evidence included the presence of a chapel whose architecture was similar to other old chapels in the country and the testimonies of some residents of San Mateo, Montalban, and Marikina who traced their forebears from former residents of this community as well as other evidence of long residence in the place such as old and gnarled trees. A second reason was the prospect of a broader generalizability of findings because of its semi-rural characteristics since our country is composed mainly of communities of similar characteristics. Third, its convenience to the researcher because of its proximity to the U.P. and its remarkable "insulation" at that time to the urbanizing effects of this institution.

Cultural Context

A. ECONOMY

Of the 197 family heads, 44% were engaged

mainly in farming and 56% were engaged in two other main occupations: as shoemakers in shoe factories in Marikina and as laborers of the Philippine Homesite and Housing Corporation (PHHC) projects and other government projects in Quezon City. Other occupations also mentioned were: as a barber in the U.P., as a vegetable vendor, as an occasional gardener in the U.P. cottages and as laundry-women among the residents of the campus.

Permanent employment was not the rule but rather the exception for men living in this barrio. Even the farmers were not assured of sustained work. The farms that they tilled were not owned by them and were increasingly being claimed by the P.H.H.C. and the U.P.

Another source of income among the barrio folks was raising carabaos. Besides being beasts of burden during the season, carabaos also supply milk which was sold to "lecheros" who in turn distributed them to their customers for 25c per Pepsi Cola bottle. The poor breeds were sold at P100 to P200 each before they were mature to be used mainly for their meat while the better ones were sold at P350 to P500 or they were allowed to breed. Selling of carabaos usually coincided with important events in the family such as wedding, a baptismal party, or an emergency in the family.

The womenfolk and the older children (usually 10 years and above) helped augment the family income by selling vegetables and other domestic animals such as chicken, pigs and goats which they themselves raised in their backyards. They sold their produce in surrounding areas which could be reached by foot such as the U.P. campus, Quirino District (Project 3 in Quezon City) and the nearby enlisted men's compound. When the vegetable season was over (i.e., when the dry season came), some women worked as laundrywomen for residents in the U.P. campus while others prepared and peddled *bibingka* (rice or cassava cakes).

Other sources of income were the seasonal wild vegetables such as *sabayot* and *kabote* and

edible frogs and fishes which abound in the surrounding fields. Even jobless men were observed catching these edible frogs and fishes for family consumption. While food was not abundant, there was generally enough to stave off hunger even among the unemployed.

A question comes to the fore: How did a family in Cruz-na-Ligas managed to survive when the father did not have a steady source of income? An understanding of the philosophy behind family support and maintenance would enlighten us. In this community, providing for the family was a joint responsibility of the husband and the wife and, later on, of their grown children. Furthermore, the homogeneity of the people living in this community (where almost everyone was one's relative and/or a *compadre*) and the underlying theme of helping one another helped a lot in the survival of everyone. For example, borrowing foodstuff and even of personal things such as a pair of shoes or shirt was commonly practiced among kins and close friends. Sharing one's abundance with neighbors in the form of vegetables and other produce was also commonly practiced. People here commonly remarked that their barriomates were like their siblings (*mga kapatid*) and therefore they were expected to share with one another.

B. SOCIAL INTERACTION

1. *The physical setting of the family*: Shortly after marriage (usually after one year and rarely exceeding two years), a newly married couple would build their own home. The philosophy behind this practice was the belief that it was important for a young couple to manage their own affairs; for example, if they needed anything, they should know how to procure their needs. Having their own home was also one way of preventing in-law frictions.

Their house was constructed largely from their own savings and some aid from parents of both parties, the amount of which depended upon their resources. The location of the house depended upon the availability of space. Land

was free and there was no private ownership of land although, by tradition, certain land clearings belonged to certain families. Permission from the particular family (usually related to the couple) was all that was needed for a construction to be started.

At the start, the house of the young couple was a single all-purpose room and a lean-to portion which served as the *batalan* (scullery) and kitchen. The walls were made of wood and the floor which was elevated was usually made from split bamboo. No toilet fixtures were provided, water facilities came from the public faucet, and light was provided by kerosene lamps. The preference for roofing was for galvanized iron sheets because they were more "modern" and durable but no ceilings were constructed. Thus, these newly built houses tended to be hot especially during summer afternoons. This condition was not a problem, however, because going to a neighbor's house (*pangangapit-bahay*) was an acceptable practice. Thus, *nipa*-roofed houses were favorite resting places in hot summer afternoons. Housewives with their young children spent time delousing one another (*naghihingutuhan*) and, in the process, exchanged "spicy" stories, jokes, and the like.

2. *Conception and pregnancy*: A family was not complete without a child in this community. The first conception, called *paglilihi*, was a welcome event not only for the couple but also for the families on both sides. The husband would be especially solicitous towards his wife because it was believed that a denial of an expectant mother's wish would have adverse effects on her unborn child. For this reason, even friends, neighbors, and relatives tended to satisfy the cravings of an expectant mother.

With regards to pregnancy itself, there were some noticeable differences between the attitude of the older married women (30 to 45 years old) who had borne several children and the younger ones (18 to 29 years old) who were just starting to have their children. For the

older ones, pregnancy and childbearing were natural consequences of marriage and they raised their eyebrows quizzically at such notions as family planning (as evidenced by a common remark: "We are not the ones to determine the number of children that we should have. God alone knows that"). Most of the younger ones, however, preferred to limit their children to three or four because they could feel the difficulties of having many children. These differences in attitude could be explained by the fact that the older couples had had a more economically secure life when their farms were bigger and children were welcome helpers in the farm and when work in the shoe factories in Marikina had not been taken over by machines. On the other hand, a majority of the younger couples in Cruz-na-Ligas had to depend mainly on seasonal work in the shoe factories and/or the "rotation" employment of the P.H.H.C. since they had no farms of their own. Life was therefore more difficult for these younger couples as the number of their children increased.

Our informants explained that couples in this community tended to observe a six-month period of sexual abstinence after delivery and for this reason, children were born with more than 18 months spacing between. Sexual abstinence was practiced for two reasons: firstly, it was believed that for a mother to retain her good health, her *bahay-bata* or uterus should be allowed to return to its original size and too early introduction of male semen would not make it so; secondly, sexual intercourse was believed to be fatiguing and since fatigue turns the milk of the mother unfit for infant consumption, sexual abstinence was considered necessary.

3. *Children and postnatal care:* The first child was usually born in the house of either the maternal or the paternal grandparents. This arrangement was made so that the mother and the newly born infant could be well cared for and also so that the mother could have a complete rest from her household responsibilities. With her succeeding children, however,

the mother usually gave birth in her own house. Heavier forms of household chores such as washing and ironing were usually done by some helping relatives until after a few months when the mother was deemed to have regained her strength.

Most of the mothers in this barrio gave birth with the assistance of Tandang Elena, an unlicensed midwife who had learned her occupation through experience. A few of the mothers availed themselves of the pre-natal assistance offered by a nearby health center and sought the services of the licensed midwife connected with this center. Even those who used these services often called for the services of Tandang Elena for their postnatal care. This was usually done because of the insistence of the older women who were not satisfied with the comparatively brief care offered by the health center and the hospitals.

Postnatal care for the mother consisted of daily massage centering on the abdomen in order to restore her *bahay-bata* or uterus to its normal position. The back muscles were also massaged in order to stimulate the secretion of milk. On the fifteenth day after delivery, usually in the morning, the mother would be given a bath of warm water which was previously boiled with leaves of trees which bear acidic fruits such as *sampaloc* (tamarind), *suha* (pome-lo), mangoes and the like. It was believed that this practice would hasten the recovery of the mother's strength lost in the process of delivery. In the afternoon of the same day, the mother usually underwent a *suob*, a heating process. She would be made to stand over a urinal filled with boiling water with the same leaves as those used for her bath. Her naked body would be covered with thick flannel blankets until she perspires vigorously. This heating process was believed to restore the internal as well as the external organs connected with childbearing to their original positions. The *suob* marked the end of the postnatal care offered by the local midwife. The mothers were cautioned to wear long skirts, tight abdominal bands and thick sanitary nap-

kins to prevent the entrance of "bad" air which was believed to cause bleeding among newly delivered mothers. This period of extreme care usually lasted from one to two months, depending upon the health of the mother and available help. This period was locally called *ditmon*.

Just after birth, careful attention was given to the infant. He would be bathed with soap (even laundry soap was used in the absence of a toilet soap) and warm water. A piece of thread was tied to the base of the umbilical cord and the infant was separated from the placenta by using either a pair of scissors or a razor blade. These instruments were placed before an open fire in order to sterilize them before they were used for cutting. After cutting the umbilical cord, a piece of cloth was soaked in oil and the end of the cord was burned with it. After the cord was burnt, some of the ashes from it was placed in the forefinger of the midwife and the infant was made to suck it. This practice was believed to make the infant strong in its ability to digest its food. It was believed to prevent stomach upset.

After this, the infant was then clothed and wrapped in a diaper and was immediately placed beside his mother. He was allowed to suck from her as soon as he cried. This was the beginning of the close relationship between the infant and his mother. An infant in this community was generally breastfed because it was believed that mother's milk was the best for an infant. Most of the mothers reported that they had abundant milk and to insure this supply, they usually took lots of shellfish (such as mussels and *tulya*) soup with *malunggay* leaves. A few mothers who had scanty milk used canned milk but they claimed that canned milk was too expensive. Also some of the mother believed that if a child had subsisted on animal milk, when he grew up he would behave like one while a child who was fed with his mother's milk would behave like a real human being (*tulad ng isang tunay na tao*).

Mothers in this community did not follow a schedule of feeding. They believed that the surest way to pacify a fretful infant was to give

him the breast. If an infant refused to nurse, usually it was because he was ill. Even when the infant was merely sleepy, the breast was also given to him. The breast, therefore, represented for the infant not only a source of nourishment but also a source of comfort.

4. *Illegitimacy*: It was commonly believed that a marriage should endure even if only for the sake of the children. In the event of extra-marital affairs, different standards were applied for men and for women.

If the husband had an extra-marital affair, the wife was expected to ignore it provided the husband continued the support of his family. It was believed that the more attention the wife paid to the affair, the graver it tended to become. The objects of these affairs were usually unattached women -- single, widowed, or separated from their spouses. They were usually described as *flirts (malibot or molotot)*.

If a child was born out of this affair, the father might recognize his paternity over the child by giving him some measure of support. Generally, however, they were not supported fully as the legitimate ones. Provided that it was done discreetly, the legal wife might tolerate this occasional support.

The moral code in Cruz-na-Ligas was more strict for women. Wives were supposed to be faithful to their husbands. An illicit affair of a married woman would bring censure not only from the husband but from his whole clan as well. The husband might be willing to take back his erring wife if she would repent and promise not to continue but his relatives might not let him because of the stain she wrought on the family honor. If a child was conceived out of the wife's affair and if the husband was quite certain of it, the split between him and his wife would be inevitable. Splits like this were extremely rare in this community and to the living memory of the informants contacted, there was only one case of this sort.

5. *Patterns of rights, privileges, and authority between members of the household*: A child in Cruz-na-Ligas grew up with his mother as the

usual arbiter of his actions. His mother punished him when his actions were deemed wrong and likewise praised him for his noteworthy deeds. Punishment from his father usually came far between mainly because he generally spent less time with the child.

As the number of children increased, the older ones were generally given authority over the younger ones. This authority, however, was usually accompanied by a responsibility to take care of the younger ones. In turn, the younger ones were expected to obey their elder siblings.

6. *System of Communication:* In this community, a piece of news traveled by the following means:

a. *Face-to-face or oral communication:* The most common medium of communication in this community was face-to-face speech. When two people met, they invariably asked one another where each had been. This was a common way of greeting one another and was never interpreted as being inquisitive. If there was anything unusual about the goings-on, usually they would stop to ask about the details. Usually experiences from outside the barrio were related with greater interest and detail. Any "news" therefore traveled from person-to-person in this manner. Distortions often occurred and rumors were often circulated in this manner.

b. *Radio and printed materials:* The most important source of outside news was the community radio. This radio, one of the first transistor radios in the community, was donated by a politician to the whole community and was being kept by a barrio member. Everyday, especially in the evenings, this radio was placed in the *lamyaan* (a shed for resting) and since very few people had their own radios, most of the members of the community spent their evening listening to the news flashed over this radio. Sometimes they also listened to soap-box operas and other musical programs. *Harana ni Ruben Tagalog* consisting mostly

of *kundiman* songs was the most popular evening musical.

The most common reading materials in the barrio were weekly magazines in Tagalog such as the *Liwayway* and *Bulaklak* as well as the weekly *Pilipino Komiks*. It was customary to borrow from one another copies of these weeklies. There was no regular supply of newspapers. Anyone who wanted to buy newspaper had to go out of the community, the closest place to buy being the newstands in the U.P.

c. *Means of transportation to and from the community:* Only one vehicle used to make a regular trip to Cruz-na-Ligas: that was the jeep of Mang Lilo. This jeep used to take barrio marketeers from the community to Marikina and back towards the midmorning. These marketeers had their *tienda* where fresh foods were sold. Hence, the sight of Mang Lilo's jeepney was the cue in the community that fresh food was already available. This was a welcome sight because there was no nearby market in the community.

C. THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE

As a political entity, Cruz-na-Ligas was formerly under the jurisdiction of the municipality of Marikina. With the creation of Quezon City as a chartered city, some of the territories of Marikina, especially those on its western boundary, were transferred to Quezon City. Thus, by legislation, Cruz-na-Ligas became part of Quezon City although most of the people still referred to Marikina as their *bayan* or town.

The political administration of Cruz-na-Ligas was entrusted to their barrio lieutenants (there were two, one for the south and another for the north) and indirectly to the municipal councilor under whom the community fell.

The barrio lieutenant was considered the highest political figure of the community. Usually, he was a very influential figure among the barrio people. Occasionally, he was also

reputed to have some claims of friendship or other connections with important people in the government.

The barrio lieutenant of Cruz-na-Ligas was elected by the heads of families. There were no specific rules governing the qualifications of those who elect the barrio lieutenants. As a matter of tradition, all heads of families, men or women, had the right to vote.

Traditionally, the people of Cruz-na-Ligas only changed their barrio lieutenants whenever there was a change of mayor in Quezon City. This practice was followed for political expediency, since the people of this community believed that in order for the barrio to get better attention from the city government in terms of public improvements such public lighting, roads, etc., there should be a barrio lieutenant who, if not very influential with the new mayor, must at least be in his good graces.

Unlike some barrios in the Philippines, Cruz-na-Ligas did not have a barrio council as provided for in R.A. 1408. It did not have the regular councilmen for livelihood, education, sanitation, and health. When the barrio was in need of individuals to deal with such tasks, the Parent-Teacher Association usually took over these functions. The barrio lieutenants and the president of the PTA had in a number of instances worked together for the promotion of the community's well-being.

Besides the duties which were generally assigned to the barrio lieutenant, there were some functions which had been assigned to him by tradition. In many instances, the barrio lieutenant in Cruz-na-Ligas had acted as arbiter or mediator between quarreling barriomates.

D. RELIGION, SUPERNATURAL BELIEFS, AND MAGIC

The people of Cruz-na-Ligas professed to be Roman Catholic in their religion. An evidence was the observation that most houses hang pictures of some saints or venerated in some prominent places statues of some saints. Their belief in their religion was expressed in their prac-

tice of offering nine-day prayers or novenas in cases of need or illnesses in the family.

When an infant was a few months old, he was baptized into the Catholic religion in some nearby parish church. The infant might have one or more godparents or *ninong* and *ninang* who were expected to be religious guides of the child. Usually, the relationship between the child and his godparents was more inclusive than merely religious affiliation.

Because baptism usually included a baptismal party, sometimes it had to be put off for a more opportune time. If the child happened to be sickly, the parents might make use of *buhos* or lay baptism. Lay baptism was believed to keep the child in a state of grace of God. He might be baptized later on in a more fitting ceremony when the opportune time came.

Along with their belief in the Catholic religion, they also practiced animism such as belief in the *aswang*, an evil spirit which took the form a huge dog or pig. *Aswangs* were particularly attracted to pregnant women who were in the travails of labor. They were believed to carry away and devour newly-born infants. To drive away these *aswangs*, cloves of garlic were chopped and spread all over the vicinity where a pregnant woman was in labor.

Elderly dwarfs called *matanda sa punso* were also believed to dwell in earthmounds. When people passed by these earthmounds (which were usually found in the fields), people were cautioned not to step on them or express a *pasintabi* (excuse themselves from any unintentional harm that they might inflict on the spirits) for fear of a retaliation from these spirits. The casting of a spell by the *matanda sa punso* could cause them illness.

Some men were believed to have been endowed with extraordinary powers to cure. The best known of them was Tandang Barce, a man in his early eighties. He was an unschooled man who was also believed to possess an extraordinary strength. He could detect the illness of a person simply by feeling his pulse. According to the barrio people, the most

important requisite to be cured by Tandang Barce was an absolute faith in his power to cure. This faith he could detect simply by looking at the person concerned. He was said to have turned down people who he felt had no faith in him. However, for those who had absolute faith in his ability, he could do marvels. Many mothers testified that second only to God, they owed the recovery of their children's health to Tandang Barce. Many of the barriofolks availed of his services also because they were too poor to pay for the services of a doctor and/or buy the medicines prescribed by them.

E. RECREATION

Recreation in this community could be classified into the following categories:

1. *Hobbies*: Individual hobbies were the most uncommon forms of recreation. One probable reason could be because people here loved to do things together and anyone who spent a lot of his time alone was considered "queer". Only one hobby was found and this was basketweaving. This was a hobby of an old man who spent time weaving finely-made bamboo baskets. No one seemed to have taken after him.

2. *Games*: Their games could be classified into two main categories: *competitive* and *non-competitive*.

a. *Competitive games*: Among the competitive games commonly played were spider fights, *tancing*, *cara y cruz* (toss coin), *jolens* (marbles) *takip-silim*, *tumbang-presos*, *piko* (hopscotch), *taguan* (hide and seek) and different varieties of *hagaran* (racing). In all these games the children played with their approximate agemates and the nature of their competition was usually friendly.

In these games, the children tended to play with those of the same sex. Almost all of these games were played by the older ones (about seven years and above) while the younger ones (about three to six years) merely watched the games. If ever they were included in the games, they were merely

allowed to join as *saling-pusa*, in which case, they were allowed to join the game but were not accorded the privileges and punishments that went with it. In this manner, the younger ones were given an opportunity to have a "feel" of the game. Once they learned how to play the game, then they were allowed to engage in real competition.

b. *Non-competitive games*: Non-competitive games were more common among the younger ones although the older ones also played these. Non-competitive games were usually make-believe play activities which stressed cooperation rather than competition. In these play activities, the children usually re-enacted the roles that they commonly saw in the barrio. The children either volunteered for certain roles or they were assigned certain roles by the older ones. There were instances when two or more children were interested in one role as in *awto-awtohan* (make-believe driving). The conflict was usually settled by the older ones by asking those interested to take turns in being the driver. Those who did not abide by the agreement were usually branded as *suwapang* (selfish) and were usually excluded from the play.

3. *Athletic sports*: The most popular sport in the community was basketball. They had a regular-sized basketball court in the *patio* in front of the chapel. Whenever there was a game, the court would be filled with people who were eager to cheer for their own teams. Sometimes the barrio "selection" (composed of the better players from the community) played with an outsider team. They were careful about inviting these outsiders because some of them are not good sports and would tend to create trouble when defeated.

Children from three years and above also played a similar game which they called "play-ball". The action consisted of throwing, catching and dribbling a smaller ball. No shooting could be done because there was no goal set low enough for these young players.

4. *Rest days and holidays*: Generally, Sun-

day was considered a rest day for everyone. It was also considered a day for outings, picnics, and going to the movies. Adolescents called *binata* (young men) and *dalaga* (young women) usually went out in groups; exclusive pairing was frowned upon although it might be clandestinely done. Husbands and wives rarely went out by themselves; usually their children went with them. Visiting another barrio during *fiestas* was the most common occasion for family outings. Otherwise, only the men went out and the wives simply stayed home to take care of the children.

Holidays that were celebrated by the people were generally religious in origin such as their *fiesta* being celebrated on the first Sunday of May, the Holy Week, All Saints' Day, Christmas, etc. They usually celebrated by joining the religious celebrations, having some social gathering, and preparing native delicacies.

Few people, except the school children, were affected by legal holidays since there were very few office workers. The farmers and the shoemakers from Marikina were usually unmindful of these holidays.

5. *Aesthetics*: There was very little activity in this community that could be described as artistic in nature. The most common wall decor that they used were pasted colored pictures (from magazines and the like) of local movie actors and actresses. Their songs were those popular tunes that they heard over their radio although the older ones showed a marked preference for the old *kundiman* songs. No one was observed to be inclined to painting, sculpting and the like.

This brief ethnographic sketch of Cruz-na-Ligas indicated that it was a community of closely interacting members who tended to be personal and familial in their orientation to one another. A child from this community, therefore, tended to grow up in the midst of personal and familiar people.

THE SAMPLING METHOD

The individual measures in this study were

taken from the Primary Social Unit (PSU) which was a part of Cruz-na-Ligas. There were two main criteria used for the selection of the PSU: temporal stability and spatial homogeneity. The criterion of temporal stability required that the PSU must have been part of the community for at least one generation. The criterion of spatial homogeneity required a limited geographical boundary so that interaction among its members could take place constantly and so that face-to-face interaction would also be frequent.

In order to satisfy the first criterion, only native-born families two generations back (meaning either one or both parents were born and reared in the barrio and all of the children who were participants in the study were likewise born and reared in it) were selected for this study. A total of nineteen families were taken. These families had children whose ages were from one year to six and a half years at the start of the observation phase of the research. From these families, a total of 38 children were selected: 23 males and 15 females. All had not attended school.

The second criterion called for a limited geographical boundary, so that a closely interacting group could be selected. One of the public faucets installed in the barrio was taken as the focal points of the Primary Social Unit. There were four public faucets installed in the barrio and each of these were located strategically such that a group of families could be served. The public faucet of the PSU served the largest clientele (a total of 30 families) and was centrally located near the *patio*, the chapel and school (at that time the chapel was also used as the schoolhouse) of the community.

The probability of constant interaction among families using a particular faucet was very much greater than those who did not use the same faucet. The menfolk, while they waited for their turn to get water and the womenfolk, while they washed clothes and bathed their children, generally conversed with one another. They exchanged news, gossip, and jokes with one another as they gathered

together. Families using the same faucet tended to be neighbors, hence the frequency of their interaction.

How representative of the community was the selected Primary Social Unit?

After selecting the PSU, some measures of gauging the representativeness of the sample was made. The PSU was compared with the rest of the community along three attributes: number of children in the family; the ages of the mothers; and the number of children who belonged to the age range of the subjects of the study. These comparisons were used as a gauge in finding out whether the two groups were significantly different or whether their differences were merely due to chance variations. A computation of the critical ratio (C.R.) of the means of the two groups along these three attributes was made.³

The following table shows the comparison of the two groups:

TABLE 1

**A Comparison of the Primary Social Unit
with the Rest of the Population
of Cruz-na-Ligas on Three Attributes**

Attributes	Obtained C.R.	Significance
No. of children in the family	.032	not signif.
Ages of mothers	.340	" "
No. of children in age range of 1 to 6½ years	.163	" "

From these findings, it can be concluded that the Primary Social Unit was not significantly different from the remainder of the population of the barrio along these three attributes.

³A critical ratio of 3.0 is conventionally taken to represent a significant difference between two means. Following common usage, it was taken here that a C.R. of 3.0 would be indicative of a significant difference between the PSU and the remainder of the population of Cruz-na-Ligas.

1. *The Participants in the Study:*

a. *The Mothers:*

All of the nineteen mothers who participated in this study had been living in this community since their marriage. Most of them were born and reared here since their parents were also from Cruz-na-Ligas.

Most of them married in their late teens or in their early twenties. All of them married the men of their choice and not by parental arrangements. The average age of the mothers was 33 years and nine months.

All of them went to the primary school although very few went beyond the elementary grades. Most of them had stopped schooling long before they got married.

At the time of the study, most of the mothers were plain housewives doing the household chores by themselves. A few had some work experiences as shoemakers in Marikina but upon the birth of their first child, they stopped working altogether.

All of the mothers, with the exception of the two widows, were living with their respective spouses (the natural fathers of the children who participated in this study).

All the mothers were highly cooperative in their participation in this study. They welcomed the researcher in their home as a *kapitbahay* (neighbor) during the observation phase and provided time for the interview sessions.

b. *The Children:*

Twenty-three boys and fifteen girls participated in this study. They were children from the nineteen families selected from the PSU on the basis of the criteria mentioned. Their ages ranged from one year to six and a half years at the start of the observational phase of this study. None of them had gone to school.

In this group of 38 children there was a fair representation of the eldest, the middle and the youngest child in the family. All of

them had siblings except one who was an only child.

All of them were living with their parents.

All of them had several previous interactions with the researcher and her two-year-old daughter before individual measures were taken of them.

METHODS OF STUDY

This research used a multi-method approach. This approach was used for a number of reasons: (1) to examine the consistency of the findings; (2) to examine the applicability of the methods as used in a Philippine setting and, in so doing, to become aware of the problems their applications may entail; and (3) to open the findings for possible interdisciplinary analysis.

1. *Participant Observation:*

In this study, the researcher presented herself openly to the two barrio lieutenants of Cruz-na-Ligas and to the barrio populace in general, as a graduate student in psychology interested in the study of child-rearing practices. The study was accepted, if not with enthusiasm, at least with some tolerance on the part of the barrio folks. The study was accepted without any formal introduction from any agency or faculty of the University of the Philippines. It was accepted on the strength of the word of the researcher alone.

The initial contacts with the barrio people started on April 10, 1958 when the researcher sought the permission of the two barrio lieutenants to undertake the study in the community. This was one full month before the actual fieldwork. Initial contacts consisted mainly of mingling or joining groupings such as people around the *tiendas* and watching games. This was undertaken by the researcher usually in the company of her husband. Invariably, the couple aroused curiosity among the barrio people because there were very few strangers who lingered in their community. Some of the people mistook the couple as gallivanting sweet-

hearts. This impression was easily corrected when the researcher explained briefly to those who inquired regarding the purpose of the visits. When the barrio folks also found that the couple had a young child, rapport was more easily established. Details of the study were not discussed because the purpose of the researcher was to establish herself in the social network not primarily as a student of child-rearing practices but in a role more familiar to all of them: as a housewife and as a mother. Paul (1933) cited this as one of the techniques of field relations.

After the preliminary contacts, the researcher and her husband started looking for a house that would fit the purpose of the research design. The choice of a suitable dwelling place was important because it would help enhance the rapport that the researcher aimed to establish with people. The house had to be spacious enough so that the children and their parents could come while allowing the researcher and her family some measure of privacy. It had to be situated also within a group of closely interacting families who would later constitute the Primary Social Unit of the study. Fortunately a house with no lesser specifications was found. The house was an elevated nipa hut (therefore it was cool in the afternoon) which was a bit more spacious than most houses but still not very different from the rest. Before the researcher's family moved into the house, an antipolo-type toilet was constructed nearby, an unusual feature of a house at that time. An indication of the acceptance of the researcher's family was the fact that this toilet was built on *bayanihan* labor spontaneously offered by menfolk in the neighborhood. The toilet, including the shed, was completed in one day with the help of five men. No payment was made for the labor offered but the researcher prepared chicken *tinola* and freely invited those around, especially the workers for lunch. Snacks were also served in the afternoon. These spontaneous gestures served as indications that the researcher and her family were accepted in the community.

In order to obtain meaningful observations of barrio life, the researcher took all possible opportunities to participate in social undertakings, both on the personal level and on the community level. Since helping one another was commonly practiced among neighbors in this community, the researcher was able to participate in many neighborly undertakings. Among the various activities wherein she took part were food preparation for rice planters during the planting season, wake for two occasions of death in the community, helping in the house of newly delivered mothers and standing as a godmother during baptism. Sometimes in the afternoons while the other housewives were resting in the *lamyaan* (resting shed) and listening to the community radio, the researcher would join in their conversation and jokes as well as took note of the types of program that they listened to. In these participations, the researcher carefully saw to it that she was not identified with any particular grouping in order not to bias the responses of the research participants.

Another focal point of interaction wherein the researcher participated and secured relevant information was the public faucet. By occasionally washing near the public faucet, conversing with the womenfolk as they washed, gossiped, exchanged news and threw "cold war" with another (this was usually done by the use of sharp glances or *irap ng mata*) the researcher was able to gain insight into much of the behavior of the people.

In these contacts the researcher made use of the non-directive principles of Carl Rogers (1950) as applied to social research. By allowing the informants as much lead as possible in the conversations and by avoiding judgmental tendencies, the researcher was able to delve deeper into many of their ways and practices.

In all of her dealings, the researcher kept in mind that the primary purpose of her stay in Cruz-na-Ligas was to study their way of life as it served as a setting for their child-rearing practices. This thought prevailed in the researcher's dealings with the barrio people. It

helped her check her relationship with any member of the community before it became too deep and involved. There was a conscious effort on the part of the researcher to establish a high level of rapport with the barrio folks particularly the members of the PSU, but, at the same time, she tried to maintain some measure of reservedness towards them. This was important because once the researcher got lost in the gamut of friendships that he had established he might lose the perspective of the research and might altogether abandon it. For this reason, the researcher's regular consultations with her thesis adviser and her contacts with her peers in the U.P. helped a lot in maintaining her research perspective in this year-long fieldwork.

Problems Encountered in the Use of Participant Observation

With respect to the relationship with the barrio folks, there was no problem in the application of participant observation. The researcher and her family were welcomed in the activities in the barrio.

The problem was more on the extent that the researcher was willing to participate in the activities of the people. For example dog-eating was common and the researcher and her husband occasionally got invited to these. Because of the researcher's aversion for dog-meat (this was also true of her husband), she could not take part in such activities. In situations like this, the researcher found that frankness rather than evasiveness had a better payoff. Care had to be taken, however, not to make the "inviter" feel rejected.

The researcher also felt that she and her family were not made to participate in all customary practices in the barrio. For example, the researcher knew that borrowing money and foodstuff was commonly practiced in the community. In her year-long stay, however, no one made any attempts at these practices. No one also made attempts to borrow personal things like clothes, shoes, etc., which was commonly

practiced among siblings and close friends. However, household equipments such as charcoal clothes-iron and the ironing board were frequently borrowed. Apparently, the people had some hierarchy of customary interdependent practices and the researcher and her family were not expected "to go all the way".

2. Key Informant Technique

The first important consideration in the use of the key informant technique was to draw the criteria upon which the selection of the informant would be based. The following criteria were considered important in the selection of an ideal informant of the study:

1. *Role in the community*: The informant's role in the community should expose him continuously to the kind of information that would be asked of him. For example, if the desired information was on the political structure of the barrio, one who was or had been connected with the government of the community would be the logical informant for this aspect of community life.
2. *Intelligence*: In addition to being exposed to the circumstances, the informant should have absorbed the information meaningfully.
3. *Willingness and communicability*: The informant should be willing to communicate and cooperate with the researcher in a manner that would be intelligible to the latter.
4. *Leisure*: The informant should have some free time to devote to the interview session.

Of these, only the first criterion could be determined in advance. The other criteria were determined only after at least an initial contact with them had been made. A list of the probable informants was prepared and the subsequent eliminations were made as a result of initial contact and appraisal of each individual.

The informants and the information they provided were judged on the basis of the following criteria:

1. *Productivity*: This means that the informant could tell substantial information about the topic being discussed.
2. *Reliability*: Here cross-comparison of the data given by each informant was made in order to detect any discrepancies in the information given and so that areas where further interviewing was needed could be detected.

An initial period of "acquaintance" was allowed for each probable informant before they were interviewed. During this period, the researcher and her husband contacted each of them and talked with them on any topic that they chose. A neutral question such as "How are you?" (*kumusta ho kayo?*) was usually asked by the researcher or her husband. This was done in order to establish rapport and to gauge the applicability of the other three criteria for selection.

On the second or third contact, the researcher started interviewing the informant on the topic in which the latter was considered to be well-informed. (Informants were asked to discuss any of the following topics dealing with the cultural background of the community: *economy, social structure, political structure, means of communication, religion and supernatural beliefs, recreation, and art*. Informants were sometimes asked to discuss more than one topic depending on his knowledgeability). An outline of the topics to be covered was prepared before each initial interview.

There were some differences in the recording scheme used. Some respondents were more productive in a formal type of interview wherein the researcher visibly wrote down his answers on a piece of paper. One such informant (one of the two barrio lieutenants) later on remarked that he felt important when an "educated" person like the researcher took down every word that he said because it meant that the answers he gave were important. There were some informants, however, who showed some reluctance in answering questions when they saw that their answers were being written.

When this was noticed by the researcher, she simply engaged the informant in what appeared as an informal conversation. Through the unobtrusive use of codes and symbols, the researcher recorded the responses and then transcribed them immediately afterwards.

Problems Encountered in the Use of the Key Informant Technique

Key informant technique as a method in this study did not pose serious problems for the researcher. All the informants were easily located, were intelligible to the researcher (since there was no language barrier), and provided time for the interview sessions.

The first problem that was encountered was the problem of reliability of the information given. This problem was approached by having at least two differently involved primary informants for each topic in order to view the same aspect of community life from different perspectives. By observing and making further inquiries from others, the researcher tried to determine and record the possible biases that the informant might have brought into the information that he furnished. In these inquiries, the researcher was careful to respect the confidences of the respondents. Thus, as time went on, the informants realized that no adverse consequences followed when they openly discussed with her.

There were also some topics which were more fully discussed between an informant and an interviewer of the same sex. For example, the male informants discussed more fully with the researcher's husband the extra-marital relationships involving some individuals in the community than with the researcher herself. To solve this problem, some of the informants were interviewed by the researcher's husband (who was himself a social science researcher and an experienced interviewer from the U.P.). Prior to the sessions which he handled, he familiarized himself with the points to be covered and the overall connection of the topic to the research design itself.

3. Systematic Observation of the Children in the Various Settings Where They Spent Their Day:

Systematic observation is especially suited for studying the very young child. It does not impose any task on the child neither does it demand continuous attention, verbal expression and/or recollections which are rather difficult tasks for the one-to-three year olds. Since many of the children who participated in this study fell within this age range, systematic observation was considered one of the best approaches towards arriving at some measures of their personality.

Gellert (1955) suggested the following tactical considerations in the application of the systematic observation method. These suggestions were considered in this study:

1. *The definitions of the variables for the study and a systematic choice of subjects of study as well as objective definitions of the situations to be observed.* As was stated earlier, this study dealt with nine patterns of behavior. Each of these behavior patterns was defined by Whiting *et al.* (1954). The children who participated in this study were chosen according to a particular sampling scheme. There were twelve situations for observation for each of the children. Each of these situations was operationally defined by Whiting *et al.* and was expected to evoke the patterns of behavior being investigated. The researcher tried to observe these situations over a wide variety of setting as they occurred to the children.
2. *The selection of a recording scheme:* The researcher used complete protocols or diary records of her observation instead of category observation. The former was preferred over the latter for three reasons: firstly, the complete protocol method of recording made it less likely that any significant behavior would be overlooked; secondly, the uses of this type of

data were varied and flexible (for example, the behavior of one child-participant in his own protocol could be cross-checked with his interaction in the protocols of the other children); and finally, another investigator could make use of these data by categorizing them independently of the researcher's categorization.

A five-minute period of observation was chosen. During this period, all of the activities of the particular child (P) including his interactions with others (O) were recorded.⁴ Prior to this period of observation, time was allotted for recording the other important facets of the observation context: the date and time of the day, a list of the people present as well as their relationship to P, a brief description of the on-going situation as well as the locale.

3. *Reliability of the observation data:* The following were the considerations taken to insure the reliability of the data gathered:

a. *Intra-personal reliability:* Unlike most studies employing systematic observation, this study had only observer in the field. All the data were gathered by the researcher-observer. In order to maintain a high level of reliability, the observer kept herself freshly posted on the particular characteristics of each form of behavior by reviewing their operational definitions at least once a week.

Another practice used by the researcher which was also aimed at increasing the reliability of the observation data, was to make inquiries and further unscheduled observations on certain forms of behavior that did not seem to be clear at the time of observation.

b. *Interpersonal reliability:* Interpersonal reliability is the extent to which two independent judges agree in categorizing a particular behavior.

It was mentioned earlier that the categorization of the observed behavior was subsequent to the observation of the behavior. This was done by the researcher herself. The researcher further requested a psychologist whose special interest was child psychology to make an independent categorization of the observations made.⁵ The co-judge independently categorized ten sets of protocols, each set representing one child-participant. For each set of protocols, a reliability test of evaluation was computed. The formula used for the reliability test of evaluation was: items in which judges agree divided by this value plus items in which judges disagree. This formula was taken from Jersild (1959). The two independent judges had an average evaluation reliability of .88.

There was a difference between the experiences of the two judges with regards to these observation protocols: while the field observer drew from her experiences additional data that was not supplied in the observation protocol, the second judge could depend only on the protocols gathered. Nevertheless, the obtained reliability test of evaluation was quite high.

4. *The validity of the observation data:* One of the main criticisms against systematic observation as a method in social research is the question regarding its validity. The following measures were taken to insure the validity of the observation data:

a. The researcher wrote her impressions of

⁴Please refer to Appendix B for the behavioral categories used.

⁵The researcher is grateful for this assistance extended to her by the former Miss Asuncion C. Miteria (now Dr. A.C. Miteria Austria, Ph.D.) formerly of the department of Psychology, University of the Philippines.

each participant in order to maximize her awareness of the biases that she might have in favor or against any of them. In this, the researcher could gauge how these biases could have affected the observations she made of each participant.

- b. The observation situations were defined independently of the responses of the children. Each observations was pre-scheduled, i.e., the intention to observe preceded the manifestation of any response on the part of the participant. This was important in order to rule out as much as possible the researcher's preferences for particular situations and particular responses.

Problems Encountered in the Use of Systematic Observation:

Three types of problems were noted here: the first dealt with problems inherent in the use of observation; the second had to do with difficulties encountered in the use of this method that might be peculiar to the community where the study was made, and the third, those that had to do with problems particular to the researcher as a person.

A. Problems inherent to the use of observation:

1. *The problem of observer-effect:* The investigator-observer tried to minimize the effect of the observer in the field of interaction in a number of ways: firstly, the behavior units were not revealed to the participants. They were simply told that the observer was interested in the activities of the children, whatever they might be doing at the time of observation. Secondly, the observer interacted with them in highly permissive manner so as not to assume any distinguished value for the emission of any particular behavior.
2. *The difficulty of the following on-going behavior:* The participants were young children who could be highly mobile which sometimes involved radical changes

in the observation locale. Sometimes a participant would suddenly enter a house thereby causing the observer to follow him in the house unannounced. To avoid embarrassment for the researcher and the occupants of the house, the researcher explained to each of the mothers how the observational phase would be conducted without informing them the particular details of the observation. Hence, the observer was able to follow her participants without interrupting the observation sessions. She paid her respects to the household members present after the observation was completed.

B. Problems in the use of observation in the community:

1. *Some of the mothers engaged the observer in conversation while the observation was going on.* The observer answered them as briefly as possible and embarked on a more animated conversation after the observation session. Since the observation phase covered a three-month period, the mothers gradually caught on the pattern and refrained from engaging the observer in a conversation while she was still writing on her observation pad. The observer saw to it, however, that she spent some time with the family members after a session conducted in their house in order to give them a feeling of importance and also to gain more information about the child-participant.
2. *Societal transgressions incidental to the use of the method of observation:* In this barrio, people frowned upon a woman who would make an entrance into a house where only male members were present. A woman who behaved in this manner inevitably would become the object of malicious gossips. For this reason the researcher sometimes had to cut short her observation or postponed it to a latter time.

C. Problems unique to the observer as a per-

son:

1. *Lack of formal training in the use of the method:* This was felt most keenly at the start of the observation phase. The difficulty was further intensified because of the absence of literature on the use of observation in fieldwork research in the Philippine setting. Some foreign materials were consulted such as Gellert (1955), Honigman (1950), and Sewel (1949). Practice observations with the researcher's husband as a co-observer proved to be very helpful in overcoming the initial difficulties. These practice observations were done in their house on the children who came to play with their two-year-old daughter. Simultaneous observations were made and discrepancies were discussed afterwards. While these practice observations did not foresee all the problems that were later encountered, it served to heighten the sensitivities of the researcher-observer in recording on-going behavior.

2. *Conflict of roles in the field:* Besides being a researcher-observer, the investigator was also a wife and the mother of a two-year-old girl. While she had a helper whose main task was to take care of her child when she was busy with her study, there were certain child-rearing tasks which remained her sole responsibility to her own child, namely: feeding, bathing, and putting her to sleep. For this reason, there were certain child-rearing situations which she observed only vicariously among the participants.

4. *Mother Interview:*

The purpose of the mother interview was to get a measure of how the nine behavior patterns were socialized among the children. The mothers' verbal description of their child-rearing practices were assumed to be identical with their treatment of the behavior in their day-to-day interaction.

In order to get a full measure of the socialization of these nine variables, the mothers' responses should be as complete and as frank as possible. In order to obtain this kind of data, a high level of rapport had to be established between the interviewer and the respondent. This was done by first establishing preliminary contacts with the mothers and only when the researcher (who was also the only interviewer in this particular phase of the study) felt confident that the interviewee was at ease with her did she start the interview session.

The interview schedule⁶ was pre-tested on three mothers outside of the PSU whose characteristics were similar to the respondents of the study. Pre-testing was primarily done to check the ease of transition from one question to another. As in the actual mother interview, these three mothers were informed that the interviewer was collecting data on child-rearing practices in the barrio.

The approximate length of time of the interview was from 45 minutes to one and a half hours.

Scheduling the interview sessions:

The mother interviewees were informed in advance (at least one day before) about their interview session. In most cases they were asked about their preferred time. However, most were willing to have the interview anytime they were scheduled. The interviewer saw to it that they were scheduled at a time when they were not busy. This could easily be observed by the researcher since the interviewees were her neighbors.

All of the mothers were very cooperative.

Problems Encountered:

The most frequent problem encountered was the digressions of the responses of the mothers rather than the scantiness and poverty of their responses. On several occasions, the responses drifted to long rambling stories that

⁶The final interview schedule used with mothers appears as Appendix A.

were not relevant to the variables being investigated.

When these digression occurred, the interviewer listened to them attentively, took them down as additional information but gradually and subtly recurred the discussion back to the interview guide. Since almost invariably the mother was the only adult around, recouring back to the schedule was not difficult to do.

5. *Child Interview:*

The purpose of the child interview was to gauge the reactions of the child-interviewee to particular situations relevant to the forms of behavior studied.⁷

A set of 14 situations were presented to each child-interviewee. The original plan was to present them in a standardized order. During the pre-test of the interview schedule, it was found that this was not feasible. Rather than present the interview schedule in a standardized order, the interviewer tried to "relate" the first interview question with whatever the child happened to be doing at the time.

The interview questions were first presented to six children whose characteristics were similar to the child interviewees of this study. After conducting the practice sessions during the pre-test, there were certain considerations that were found to be important in conducting these child interviews:

1. *The necessity of integrating the interview questions with whatever the child was doing at the moment of the interview.* It was impossible to stop a child of this age range and make him sit for an interview session. Therefore, the interviewer had to find ways of relating her questions to the child's activity.

2. *The necessity of being familiar with the child's manner of speech and other modes of communication.* The interviewer familiarized

herself with the peculiarities of the speech of each child before the interview was conducted. This was found to be important because some of the children still used "baby talk."

3. *The necessity of making the situations cited as concrete and as relevant as possible to the child's sphere of experience.* It was found that children of this age range had difficulty in responding to a hypothetical situation. For this reason, it was noted that it was important for the interviewer to be aware of the nature of the existing relationships among the interviewee and his peers in order to make the situations relevant to the child.

4. *The necessity of conducting the interview at the child's pace and not to hurry him with insistent probings.*

A total of twenty-two children completed the interview. The children completed the schedule in two to three sessions which were made as close to one another as possible. The age range of the interviewees was from 39 to 80 months. The criterion of communicability rather than chronological age was the determining factor in the choice of child interviewees. The interview setting was varied: in their homes, in the play area in front of the chapel, in the researcher's home, etc. The sessions were not pre-scheduled, rather, they were dependent upon the availability and the communication "mood" of the interviewees.

6. *Child Verbal TAT:*

Doll playing was used as a research method following the same principle as Murray's *Thematic Apperception Test*. The purpose of the child verbal TAT was to get at the fantasy reactions of the child to the dolls as they were presented to him. It was assumed that he would feel more free to talk about the social interactions of the doll than if he were to talk about the situations as they applied to him.

1. *The Situations:*

Due to time limitations only peer-

⁷For the child interview schedule, please refer to Appendix C.

group interactions were sampled in the doll play. A total of seven situations were presented to each child respondent.⁸ For each of the situation, the child was asked to tell a story suggested by it, including what had happened and what would happen.

Depending on the productivity of the respondent, the seven situations were presented either in one or two sessions. Some of the children responded readily and spontaneously while the others seemed to be rather inhibited.

2. *The Materials for Doll Play:*

The play kit contained six dolls, two small clay pots and an earthen stove (*palayuk-palayukan*), a *hila-hila* (a small box with a piece of string attached to it containing small pebbles — a common toy in the barrio), an infant doll (distinguished from the others by its small size, commonly called *nene*), four white plates (take note: no spoons), one ladle (*sanduk-sandukan*), small squares of flannel and muslin cloth which could serve as blankets or diapers for the infant. All the materials were made as similar as possible to what was commonly found in the community. The dolls were six inches tall, their faces were of stuffed cloth, their features were outlined by stitches and their hairs of black thread. Their limbs were of movable pipe cleaners and their clothes were similar to the common attire of children in the barrio. All of the dolls were propped erect by means of wires. They were made by the researcher.

3. *The Setting:*

The original plan was to conduct the doll play in one of the rooms of the researcher's house. The room was "homey" in atmosphere and all the participants were familiar with it. Twelve of

the twenty-two participants took the doll play in this room; the ten others took it in their own homes. The setting for the doll play was far from satisfactory; it was not well controlled. A number of children kept on following and insisting in joining the doll play, which was to be an individual session.

There were a number of reasons for this behavior of the children, one of which was the construction of the rooms used. In many cases, there were no doors to keep out the other children and even if there were (like the room in the house of the researcher), it was easy to see through because of the bamboo slats. The more difficult problem to tackle, though, was the effect of the relationship previously established between the researcher and the child-participants. Previously, in many occasions, the researcher and her daughter had been their playmates. They could not conceive why they could not play with the researcher now that she had some interesting playthings. The researcher tried to cope with the situation by having a game of chance (*palabuntan*) in choosing who would play with the dolls. Despite the agreement to abide by the rules, some of the children were insistent on playing together. This was not allowed and the restriction might have affected the responses of the participants.

Doll play was pre-tested on three children outside of the PSU whose characteristics were similar to the participants of the study.

Initial Interaction:

The sessions started with this introduction: "Here are some dolls. You may play with them in any way you want." (The introduction and the subsequent presentations were in colloquial Tagalog.)

After sitting herself beside the child-participant, the researcher recorded the child's

⁸For a complete list of the situations presented, please refer to Appendix B

behavior with regards to the following points:

1. Initial behavior with the dolls including remarks about them, how they were handled (gently, aggressively, indifferently, etc.), whether all the items were handled or only some of them;
2. The arrangement of the dolls, especially their spatial distances from one another;
3. Initial fantasy about the dolls or any doll in particular.

When the initial fantasy was finished, the researcher started presenting the situations for story-telling. A standard arrangement was made for each situation and the children were encouraged to "tell what [had] happened, what was happening and what [would] happen". Some of participants gave apperceptive responses with enthusiasm while a few simply handled the dolls. In cases like this (this happened to three of the participants), the researcher repeated her instructions and showed them the possibilities of making up a story. This was done only as a last resort.

The foregoing discussion on methods and procedure might have seemed rather detailed. The reason for giving this detailed discussion was the observation of the researcher that there was hardly any written report on fieldwork methodology in the Philippine setting. The researcher hopes that this report on fieldwork experiences in Cruz-na-Ligas will be a modest contribution to the literature on fieldwork research in the country.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this part of the paper, a section is devoted to the focus of authority in the family in Cruz-na-Ligas in order to place in a clearer view the role of the mother as a figure of authority in the family. An understanding of the role of the mother is important because this study deals with child-rearing practices mainly from the point of view of the mother. Intensive data on the fathers' role had been left out for the main reason that the care of the children

belonging to this age range was mostly in the hands of the mothers. Furthermore, it was not feasible to interview the fathers due to their working schedule and the limitations of the fieldwork situation.

The subsequent section in this part will deal with a description of the findings and the corresponding analysis. The mothers' rearing practices were correlated with the child measures: observation, interview, and child verbal TAT (doll play). The child measures were also intercorrelated. The relationships were analysed through the application of contemporary learning theory and some statistical methods. Specifically, the relationships were summed up through the use of the correlation ratio, also known as eta correlation, which has the advantage of being distribution-free. It does not assume linearity of regression (unlike the more commonly used Pearson's product-moment coefficient of correlation), an assumption which is not always satisfied in distributions regarding attitudes, values and behavior, with which this study is concerned.

THE FOCUS OF AUTHORITY IN THE FAMILY

In Cruz-na-Ligas, authority over a child was equally shared by the mother and the father. Grandparents on both sides also exercised the same degree of authority over the child. Siblings of the parents (uncles and aunts of the child whom he called *kaka*, a common term for both) and the child's own elder siblings (if he had any) had a smaller but still significant degree of authority over him.

The care of the child belonging to this age range usually fell on the mother. The task of seeing to it that he behaved acceptably was also her responsibility. In the same degree but less frequently, his father also saw to it that he behaved acceptably. Reprimands from the father were less frequent because he spent less time with the child. The severity of the punishment usually given by the father plus the fact that it tended to come far between maintained a high level of submission towards him. An evi-

dence, however, that authority was not centrally focused on the father was the fact that reprimands given by the mother and even by other members of the family were rarely, if ever, made in the father's name. Reprimands were usually made in the name of the one giving them.

An important feature of the role of relatives among families in Cruz-na-Ligas was that relatives on both the paternal and maternal sides influence the actions of the children. Closeness of relationship was evenly spread. This pattern of exercise of authority was in consonance with what anthropologists had termed *bilateral extended family system*.⁹ The degree of relationship did not affect the authority of a relative over a child. Rather, it was the nature and frequency of interaction of the relative with the child which determined the authority of the former on the latter.

The child's family tended to be close both to the maternal and to the paternal grandparents. Proximity or distance of abode did not seem to affect the closeness of the children to their grandparents. The grandparents were usually strict about adherence to barrio customs and practices. While they were strict, they also tended to be nurturant and warm towards their grandchildren. The researcher noted very little difference and conflict between the rearing practices of the grandparents and the parents of the children. Opinions of the grandparents regarding child care were considered important by the parents of the children.

AGGRESSION

The people of Cruz-na-Ligas regarded aggressive behavior, especially in the form of assault, as highly undesirable. They took pride in the peacefulness of the community — of how strangers could come and go unmolested and unharmed. People from the barrio remarked that if a stranger came to the community as a friend, he would find the people hospitable and friendly. However, if he unjustly attacked or

molested anyone in the community, he would receive in kind the wrath of the people as a whole. Generally, therefore, the people were friendly rather than hostile to others.

In their relationship with one another, the people tended to be close and personal. This was partly because they tended to be related to one another by blood ties and partly because, due to the relative isolation of the barrio, they had to depend upon one another in times of need. They treated each other as siblings (*parang magkakapatid*).

Some measures of aggression would inevitably get involved in their relationship. But when this occurred, open retaliation rarely happened. Instead, there was the common practice of gossiping. Retaliation in the form of similar gossips frequently occurred between the parties concerned without ever coming to an open encounter. Another common form of aggression was teasing, which was aimed at getting the "gut" of the person teased. If the person teased responded aggressively, he was branded as "*pikon*" or a bad sport.

Quarrelling among children was considered quite inevitable but undesirable. Children quarrelled over a number of differences and because the very young ones had not yet learned the more subtle manifestations of aggression, their differences often resulted in more open clashes.

The process of quarrelling was considered unpleasant: firstly, it tended to create noise that could raise tension among those present, especially the elders; secondly, there was always the fear that the children might hurt themselves in the process; and thirdly, the parents were apprehensive of the long term effects of quarrelling, i.e., they might grow up used to hurting each other rather than dealing with each other as siblings. The parents, therefore, usually tried to prevent quarrelling among the children.

Some of the parents tried to prevent the occurrence of aggression by separating the two children who were about to quarrel. This was done especially to the young children, who

⁹From Human Relations Area File's (HRAF-16) The Philippines Vol. 1

because of their verbal inadequacies, could not yet explain the reason for their conflicts. The older ones were generally told in no uncertain terms that quarrelling was wrong. Sometimes the children were spanked so that they would not forget this misbehavior.

In this process of scolding and spanking, the parent, usually the mother, assumed the role of an aggressor towards her children. It was probable that the children might retaliate by hitting and answering their scolding parents. This was also highly undesirable.

In this community, honoring one's parents was considered as one of the highly accepted values. A child was expected to respect his parents. One way of showing disrespect to one's parents would be to manifest aggression towards them even if their spanking had hurt the child. It was a firmly held belief that a parent's scolding and spanking was done in order to teach the child, not to hurt him. In fact, a number of parents expressed that if they did not love their child, they would not bother to scold or spank him for his misdeeds; they would not care what kind of person he became.

This study endeavored to estimate and to classify the degree of aggression which mothers generally permitted their children to express towards three groups of people: the children's parents, their siblings and close relatives, and their peer groups.

The mothers' rearing practices concerning aggression were ranked on a three-point scale: from "completely permissive" to "not at all permissive". By permissiveness was meant that the mothers allowed the overt expression of aggression to a certain degree. The degree to which the mothers allowed this overt expression of aggression was the basis of the scale construction. The opposite of permissiveness was punishment for a given behavior. Thus, a mother did not permit the expression of aggression if she punished her child for it.

Permissiveness for Aggression towards Parents:

Permissiveness for aggression towards pa-

rents, specifically the mother was rated on a three-point scale:

Scale Point No. 1: Not at all permissive:

These were the mothers who would not permit any expression of aggression towards themselves. They immediately put a stop to any expression of this behavior and told their children in no uncertain terms that hitting, answering back, and shouting at one's parents were definitely wrong.

Scale Point No. 2: Moderately permissive:

Mothers who were judged as moderately permissive allowed some measure of aggression to be expressed towards them by their children. They resorted to correction and punishment only when their children were "doing it too much". Sometimes they chose to ignore their behavior. These mothers sometimes simply smiled inwardly when their children attempted to answer them back in berating terms. Usually, these children were just starting to talk and their mothers were amused at the way they answered back.

With the data on hand, there was no means of comparing what was "too much" for each of the mothers. Rather, it was assumed that there was for every mother a threshold beyond which she called the child's behavior "too much". What was common for all the mothers was that beyond this threshold, all of them put a stop to their children's aggression against them. Their means of control varied from merely telling the child (in a gentle way) not to do it to a severe spanking.

Scale Point No. 3: Completely Permissive:

These were the mothers who allowed aggression to be directed towards them by their children. Not one of the mothers interviewed could be categorized under this heading.

TABLE 2

Degree of Permissiveness
Regarding Aggression
Towards Parents

Scale Point No.	Number	Percent
3. Completely Permissive	0	0%
2. Moderately Permissive	11	29%
1. Not at all permissive ¹⁰	27	71%
Total	38	100%

Of the mothers who reported aggression being expressed towards them by their children, those who were not at all permissive exceeded those who were moderately permissive. Most of the mothers interviewed, however, stated that their children manifested no aggression towards them. When asked a hypothetical question as to whether they would permit such a behavior, all of these mothers responded that they would not permit it. This group, therefore, was included in the *not at all permissive* category, making it the most predominant group. Seventy-one percent (27 out of 38) of the mother-respondents were non-permissive about aggression towards parents.

Mothers' Permissiveness and Child Observation of Aggression towards Elders:

What was the relationship between the mothers' rearing practices and the day-to-day observation of the children's behavior? In order to answer this question, the children's observed responses to the situation "an elder or parent reprimands a particular child" were ranked on a five-point scale.¹¹ The distribution went as follows:

¹⁰This category included those mothers who stated that their children expressed no aggression towards them. When they were asked a hypothetical question as to what their reaction would be should their child express aggression towards them, all of them stated that they would not at all be with it. This group constituted 40% of the entire sample.

¹¹The scale was constructed according to the percentage of aggressive responses of a particular child to the situation cited. The different categories were arbitrarily set in the following manner.

5. High Aggression 81 - 100%

TABLE 3

Degree of Overt Aggression
Responses Given to Punishment Situation

Scale Point Number	Number	Percent
(5) High in aggression	2	5
(4) Relatively high in aggression	2	5
(3) Moderate in aggression	4	11
(2) Relatively low in aggression	12	32
(1) Low in aggression	18	47
Total	38	100

A look at the distribution indicated that 79% of the children belonged to the two lowest categories. Most of them thus expressed very little aggression towards their mothers and elders when they were scolded by them. The relationship between the mothers' permissiveness for aggression towards parents and elders and the actual manifestation of such behavior was very small (eta correlation $n = .20$). Irrespective of the mothers' permissiveness, most of the children, from the youngest to the eldest in the study, expressed very little aggression towards them.

How can we account for this trend of responses from the children? For one thing, most of the mothers were not at all permissive with regards to aggression towards parents and elders. Furthermore, a child in this community usually dealt with other elders (grandparents, uncles, aunts and elder siblings) most of whom did not also permit expression of aggression towards themselves. Thus, the children learned to inhibit aggression towards their parents and elders.

Being low in aggression towards this group did not mean that the children were highly acceptant of reprimands from their elders. The children manifested other ways of reacting to

4. Relatively high	61 - 80%
3. Moderately high	41 - 60%
2. Relatively low	21 - 40%
1. Low in aggression	0 - 20%

A similar categorization was followed in the other scales that dealt with observed responses of the children.

the scolding of their parents and elders without fully accepting them. Such reactions as being quiet, leaving the reprimanding parent, or muttering to themselves when alone were sometimes utilized by the children. These responses were classified as low in aggression but could not be classed as acceptant of reprimand, if we took acceptance to mean that the children would refrain from repeating similar offenses in the future.

If they manifested little aggression towards their reprimanding elders, did the children displace their aggression towards others? A further investigation of the protocols showed that for slight reprimands, very little displaced aggression was observed. With severe reprimands, however, which included spanking and/or frustration of a desire, displaced rather than direct aggression was found. For example, some of the children were observed hitting themselves against a wall or hitting their thighs with their clenched fist after a severe scolding or frustration. For example, there was one boy who tore his kite to pieces when he was not allowed to go out kiting with the bigger boys. Another girl threw out her basin (*batya*) of clothes when her mother did not allow her to go out washing clothes in the public faucet because she was suffering from colds and cough. These were some of the observed instances of displaced aggression.

Mothers' Permissiveness for Aggression and Child Interview:

When the mothers' range of permissiveness was correlated with the range of aggressiveness towards elders as stated by the children in the interview, it was found that the relationship was definitely positive¹² (eta correlation $n = .47$) but not statistically significant.¹³ Mothers

¹²Although the computation for the eta correlation does not indicate the positiveness or the negativeness of the relationship, the researcher affixed the sign of the relationship depending on the array of distribution.

The statistically trained reader will readily note that a great number of the correlations cited here were not large enough to be considered statistically significant. They are large enough nevertheless, to demon-

who were not at all permissive tended to have children who reported in the interview that they did not react aggressively to their reprimanding parents. It was found that although the response of the child-interviewees varied from highly aggressive to low in aggressiveness, the responses were concentrated mostly in the lowest category (61% of the 21 child-interviewees belonged to this category). Only one of the interviewees said that she would answer back her mother when scolded. Being quiet when their mothers scolded them did not mean that they refrained from committing similar offenses in the future. An apparently typical reaction to a scolding was given by one of the child-respondents during the interview. "When Mother is away in the market, I will go there again." (Going to a certain place was the offense for which he was scolded).

Mothers' Permissiveness for Aggression towards Siblings and close relatives:

There was no intention to make a separate

trate that the mothers' rearing practices did have some amount of influence on the behavior of their children.

In the study by Sears et al (1957) a similar problem was encountered and they had this to say regarding the matter, "we feel that we have made some progress, nevertheless, when we can uncover any real influence, however, small. If our assumption is correct, i.e., that any given behavior is the product of many influences, it would seem quite impossible to obtain high correlations between child rearing dimensions and the measures of child behavior".

Furthermore, in spite of the highly inefficient statistical tool that was used - the correlation ratio - converging data from the different measures pointed to similarly close but not statistically significant relationships. This indicated strongly that the mother's rearing practices did have some influence on the behavior of the children. However, to have more conclusive findings, further verification and notably better controlled investigations would be necessary.

Caution should be taken when we deal with child rearing practices as an influence in the behavior of children. There are a host of other influences that are known to affect children's behavior, some of which we are aware of; the child's physical constitution, his level of development at the time of rearing, his environmental set up, the quality of relationship he has with significant people in his life, and the stability of his culture. Some of the other variables remain to be discovered.

measure of the mothers' permissiveness for aggression towards siblings and close relatives. Most of the mothers, however, elaborated on their methods of treating aggression towards this group.

TABLE 4
Mothers' Permissiveness
for Aggression Towards
Siblings and Close Relatives

Scale Point Number	No.	Percent
3. Completely permissive	0	0
2. Moderately permissive	1	5
1. Not at all permissive	20	95
Total	21	100

From the above data, it would appear that the mothers were highly non-permissive for aggression towards siblings and close relatives. This practice of "nipping off the bud" while the children were still young, whatever aggression they might have for one another could be explained by their way of life of mutual interdependence. As one mother-respondent explained: "If I don't discourage aggression (*pag-aaway*, as she termed it) while they are still young, what will happen to them when they grow up? From whom else will they turn for help when they are in need if they have been allowed to grow up fighting and hurting one another?"

Mothers' Permissiveness for Aggression Towards Peers

Scale Point No. 1: *Not at all permissive*: In this category were included the mothers who did not permit their children to manifest any form of aggression. Most of the mothers told their children to withdraw when provoked. If their children were still too young to understand instructions, these mothers separated the quarrelling children before any further aggression could take place.

Scale Point No. 2: *Moderately permissive*: In this category were included the mothers who told their children to retaliate when

provoked, provided the fight was fair. The usual concept of a fair fight emphasized that the opponents be similar in size and strength. If a small child tried to provoke a larger youngster into a fight, the mother of the larger one would oppose the fight lest her child appear as a bully, even though the smaller one initiated the hostilities. On the other hand, a mother likewise opposed fights between her child and a larger opponent because her own offspring would likely suffer a humiliating defeat. Mothers who defended their children when provoked by others were also included in this category.

Scale Point No. 3: *Completely permissive*: In this category were included the mothers who told their children to go ahead and fight when provoked. No interference were forthcoming from them. This did not mean "complete" in the literal sense of the word. If, for example, the children involved were coming to severe blows, the mothers were expected to put a stop to it.

None of the mothers in the sample seemed to fall into this category.

TABLE 5

Mothers' Permissiveness for
Aggression towards Peers

Scale Point No.	No.	Percent
3. Completely permissive	0	0
2. Moderately permissive	13	34
1. Not at all permissive	25	66
Total	38	100

Compared with the mothers' permissiveness for aggression towards parents, more mothers were permissive for aggression towards peers.

The overall picture of child-rearing practices regarding aggression indicated that majority of the mothers presented a common stand against the expression of aggression towards the three

groups mentioned: They were not at all permissive for it. As was mentioned earlier, the people of Cruz-na-Ligas looked upon the manifestation of aggression as undesirable unless a justifiable reason could be given. Aggression was justified only for limited instances. Non-aggressiveness was a value that the mothers were teaching their children.

Mothers' Permissiveness and Child Observation:

The mothers' permissiveness for aggression towards peers yielded a positive although not significant correlation with the observed aggressiveness of the children towards this group (eta correlation $n = .47$). By taking a third variable into consideration, namely, the age of the child, it was found that the older the children were, the more they tended towards the expression of aggression to a playmate initiating it. The distribution of the children's observed behavior was as follows:

TABLE 6
Distribution of
Children's Observed
Aggression According to Age

Scale Point No.	Ages of the Children in Months			
	12 to 36		37 to 78	
	No.	%	No.	%
5. High in aggression	0	0	1	4
4. Relatively high	0	0	4	19
3. Moderately	0	0	10	37
2. Relatively low	3	27	8	30
1. Low in aggression	8	73	4	15
Totals	11	100	27	101
	Grand Total N = 38			

The trend of responses indicated that the older children in the group tended to treat an instigating playmate more aggressively than the younger ones. The younger ones tended to cry or ask for help from an older companion when they were attacked or provoked by a playmate. The older ones, on the other hand, were more physically able to deal with an opponent. Hence, they reacted more aggressively than the

younger ones.

The Mothers' Permissiveness and Child Interview:

When the children's responses in the interview were correlated with their mothers' permissiveness for aggression towards peers, it was found that the two measures were positively correlated (eta correlation $n = .91$, $p = .01$). The children tended to indicate in the interview what their mothers said regarding aggression.

The Mothers' Permissiveness and Child Verbal TAT:

The mothers' permissiveness for aggression was correlated with the degree of aggression shown by the characters in the stories of the doll play as related by the children. The correlation between the two measures was almost nil (eta correlation $n = .16$).

Child Observation and Child Interview:

The correlation between the two measures was significant (eta correlation $n = .66$, $p < .05$), indicating a close relationship between what the children did and what they said regarding their responses to aggressive instigations from their playmates.

Child Observation and Child Verbal TAT:

The relationship between the two measures was positive but not significant (eta correlation $n = .42$).

Child Interview and Child Verbal TAT:

The two measures showed very little relationship with one another (eta correlation $n = .26$). Doll playing and story-telling seemed to serve different purposes for the children. For some individuals, it served as an outlet for re-living his experiences. For others, it served as an outlet for the expression of their wishes not otherwise allowed in their social environment.

Discussion

On the whole, most of the mothers were not at all permissive for aggression towards the

three groups investigated: parents and elders, siblings and close relatives, and playmates or peers. This attitude could be closely linked with the fact that respect for one's elders was highly valued in this community. The practice of mutual interdependence among the *barriomates* could also be a significant factor in discouraging aggression among the children. This practice of discouraging aggression was not found to vary with the ages of the children nor with the ages of the mothers themselves.

Child observation and interview (two of the measures of child behavior) indicated that most of the children expressed very little aggression towards their parents and elders when they were scolded by them. A study of the protocols for the possibility of displaced aggression showed that for very slight reprimands, displaced aggression was hardly expressed by the children. However, with severe scoldings, displaced aggression was observed to be directed towards the self and objects that might be near the child.

Regarding aggression towards other children, all of the mothers said that they were not at all permissive if the fight was started by their children. Initiating a fight with children was considered highly undesirable, since it might bring harm to the children involved. Most of the mothers said that if the other children would initiate the fight, they would tell their children to withdraw rather than fight back. Withdrawal was preferred over retaliation by most of the mothers in order to prevent their children from being hurt and from bringing home any "trouble". Some of the mothers of the older children in the group allowed their children to fight back provided that the fight was fair, i.e., the two opponents were of similar size and strength so that their chances of winning would be almost equal.

There was a positive relationship between the mothers' permissiveness for aggression towards other children and the observed aggressiveness of their children towards this group, the relationship was not, however, statistically

significant. By taking a third variable into consideration, namely, ages of the children, it was found that the older they were, the greater was their tendency towards the expression of aggression to a playmate initiating it.

The relationship between age and aggressive behavior could be linked to other conditions. It might mean that the older a child was the bigger and more physically able he was to tackle an instigating playmate. It might also mean that the older he was, the wider was his learning experience regarding aggression and, hence, the more chances he had of acquiring effective skills relevant to the situation. It might also mean that the older he was, the more objectively he could look at the situation promoting aggression and, hence, be in a better position to manipulate the situation such that his chances of winning over his opponent could be maximized. Considering these implications, it was not surprising to find that the older children tended to react more aggressively than the younger ones.

It was thus found that two variables, namely, the mothers' permissiveness for aggression towards other children and the ages of the children were related to the children's aggressive behavior as measured by observation and interview of the children. Child verbal TAT, on the contrary, showed a more unwieldy trend of responses with very little relationship to any of the other measures.

DOMINANCE

The people of Cruz-na-Ligas had been exposed and trained for two types of dominance: family dominance and social dominance. Dominance within a family was definite; the parents and elders occupied the most dominant positions, followed by elder siblings with the youngest child occupying the lowest status in the hierarchy. Direction, therefore, proceeded from the parents down to the younger children. Dominance over the younger children, however, was never meant to take the form of exploitation. The family frame of reference was what was generally considered as "good" for everyone.

Social dominance, usually in the form of leadership, emerged as a result of social interaction with people outside of one's immediate family. In his social interactions, a person was usually reminded to do "good" for his fellows so that no one could say anything against him or his family. In this community, the criterion of a successful leader was how well he and his group members got along with one another. People in this community believed that a leader was acceptable only if he knew how to get along with his members (*marunong makisama*) and if he was sensitive to the feelings of others.

This study investigated the children's attempts to dominate two groups of people: their parents and elders and their peers. The mothers discussed their child-rearing practices regarding the socialization of dominance towards the child's parents, specifically the mother, and towards the child's peers.

The Mothers' Treatment of Dominance Towards Parents .

The mothers' treatment of dominance towards parents was ranked on a three-point scale: ranging from high to low tolerance for dominance for parents, specifically the mothers themselves. Some of the mothers were highly tolerant of their children's demands on them. Such demands were in the form of being carried about or played with or, for the older ones, being allowed to go to places which might be quite far from their homes. Others, however, expressed the belief that children should never be allowed to have their way.

Scale Point No. 1: *Low in tolerance for dominance:* In this category were included mothers who punished their children when their children insisted on having their way with them. These mothers expressed the belief that the children should not get used to having their way with their parents. On the contrary, they should obey their parents.

Scale Point No. 2: *Moderate in tolerance for dominance:* In this category were included the mothers who set certain limits to the

attempts of their children to dominate them. If they felt that what their children wanted would be "good" for them (*makabubuti sa kanila*), they let their children have their way; otherwise, the mothers did not allow it. Sometimes the mothers would explain to their children why their demands could not be met; others simply ignored the children or, occasionally, the mothers might even whip their children if they became very insistent.

Scale Point No. 3: *High in tolerance for dominance:* In this category were included mothers who allowed their children to have their way with them.

TABLE 7
Mothers' Tolerance for their Children's
Dominance Towards Parents

Scale Point No.	No.	%
3. Highly tolerant	8	21
2. Medium in tolerance	14	37
1. Little tolerance	16	42
Total	38	100

It was found that most of the mothers were rated as low in tolerance for their children's dominance towards parents. (42% of the mothers belonged to this category). They expressed the attitude that children should obey their parents rather than the latter giving in to their children's demands. All of them further elaborated that they physically punished their children when they insisted on having their own way.

The smallest group (21% of the sample), on the other hand, was composed of mothers who were highly tolerant of their children's attempts to dominate them. These mothers might voice their objections at first but eventually, they usually yielded to their children's demands.

The Mothers' Tolerance for Dominance Towards Parents and Child Observation:

The relationship between the two measures

was almost nil (eta correlation $n = .19$). Irrespective of the mothers' degree of tolerance for dominance towards parents, most of the children (55% of the sample) were observed to be "low" and "relatively low" in dominance towards this group. Most of the time they were observed to follow their parents. Thus, instead of directing their parents' actions, the children were directed by their parents.

The Mothers' Treatment of their Children's Dominance Towards Their Peers:

The mothers' treatment of their children's dominance towards their peers was ranked on a three-point scale, ranging from "high emphasis" to "no emphasis" regarding dominance of the children towards their peers.

Scale Point No. 1: *Little emphasis for dominance:* In this category were included the mothers who were passive in regard to whether or not their children led their playmates, for them, their interest was to see to it that the children got along well.

Scale Point No. 2: *Moderate emphasis on dominance:* In this grouping were included the mothers who manifested their approval when their children led for the "good" of the group. When these mothers noticed, however, that their children were directing the group in a way that could result in an undesirable consequence for all or for some of them, these mothers intervened. The concept of what was "good" or "bad" depended upon the mothers' judgments.

Scale Point No. 3: *High emphasis on dominance.* In this division were included the mothers who approved whether subtly or openly their children's attempts to lead their group. These mothers said that they were happy to see their children lead.

Most of the mothers placed little emphasis on dominance as a behavior pattern among their children in their interaction with their peers. For them, it was not important who took the lead in their children's play. All of them

TABLE 8

Mothers' Treatment of Their Children's Dominance Towards Their Peers

Scale Point No.	No.	%
(3) High emphasis	4	11
(2) Moderate emphasis	10	26
(1) Little emphasis	24	63
Total	38	100

expressed the idea that the important thing was that the children would get along well without too much quarrelling.

It was quite apparent that these mothers did not emphasize leadership to their children. What they constantly reminded their children was that they should not quarrel and that they should play well together. Avoidance of aggression and the promotion of sociability were emphasized rather than dominance over their peers.

The minority of the sample was composed of mothers who manifested open or subtle approval of their children's dominance over their playmates. These mothers stated that they observed their children leading their playmates in their activities. They were, however, subtle in their approval of their children's attempts at dominance. Open approval of attempts at dominance was frowned upon in this community.

Some of the mothers (26% of the group) trained their children to be moderate in dominance. These mothers stated that they felt glad when their children took the lead in activities for the "good" of their group. Such activities included making arrangements for a make-believe play or arranging a competitive game to the satisfaction of the group. However, if their children took the lead in activities that might result in adverse consequences (such as anyone of them getting hurt), these mothers put a stop to the activity. These mothers also expressed the idea that they would not mind at all if their children would also follow the wishes of their

playmates, provided the activity would be "good" for them.

The Mothers' Treatment of Dominance Towards Peers and Child Observation:

The two measures showed little relationship with one another (eta correlation $n = .17$). Irrespective of the mothers' treatment regarding dominance towards peers, most of the children (68% of the sample) were observed to be "relatively high" and "highly" dominant in their interaction with their playmates. When a playmate would attempt to direct a child's action, this child usually refused to be directed and instead would attempt to direct the other child.

The Mothers' Treatment of Dominance and Child Interview:

Although not statistically significant, the two measures showed a close relationship with one another (eta correlation $n = .45$). This showed that the children tended to repeat what their mothers said regarding dominance.

Child Observation and Child Interview:

The two measures showed little relationship with one another. While most of the children gave responses in the interview similar to those approved by their mothers, most of them were observed to be dominant in their interactions with their peers.

Discussion:

The children's dominance towards two types of persons were studied: dominance towards parents and elders and dominance towards the children's peers or playmates.

It was found that most of the mothers expressed little tolerance for their children's attempts to dominate them. These mothers expressed the attitude that children should obey their parents rather than the children imposing upon their parents. Some of the mothers allowed some measure of dominance to be expressed by their children towards them.

Their criterion of whether they would allow their children to dominate them was the "goodness" or "badness" of their children's demands on them. Only a small group of the mothers generally allowed their children to have their own way with them.

It might be expected that the children of the last of group of mothers would be observed as being highly dominant towards their parents since most of the time they were allowed to express this behavior towards them. However, the observed attempts of the children to dominate their parents showed little relationship with their mothers' tolerance for dominance towards this group. Irrespective of the mothers' tolerance for dominance, most of the children were observed to be "low" and "relatively low" in dominance towards their parents, i.e., in most of the situations observed, they obeyed rather than directed their parents and elders.

This trend of response could be related to minimal demands placed upon the children by the mothers, which in turn could be due to the simple and familiar way of life that they led. Furthermore, because of the close relationship between mother and her child, there was less tendency to place excessive demands on her.

Regarding the children's dominance towards their peers, the mothers who manifested approval for their children's dominant behavior towards their peers constituted a minority in the group. These mothers tended to express subtle rather than open approval for their children's attempts at dominance over their playmates because praising the children for this behavior was censured in the barrio.

A larger group was composed of mothers who let their children dominate their playmates provided they did not engage in activities that would bring adverse effects on any of them. These mothers felt that dominance was acceptable only if it was used for the "good" of those engaged in the undertaking. Most of the mothers, however, did not care whether or not

their children took the lead among their playmates. For them what was important was that they could get along well.

When the mothers' emphasis on dominance towards peers was correlated with child observation data, it was found that there was little relationship between the two measures. Irrespective of the mothers' treatment, most of the children were observed to be "relatively high" and "highly" dominant in their interaction with their playmates.

Dominance is a form of behavior that is intrinsically reinforcing. A child who can make his playmates obey him tends to derive benefits for himself. On the other hand, giving or being obedient to the demands of another child tends to be intrinsically punishing because demands made by children belonging to this age range tend to be for their own benefits. At this age (one to six years), these children had not yet assimilated the concept of directing for the benefit of a group or another person. As a result, giving in to one's peer at this age was intrinsically punishing. Furthermore, a child who yields most of the time tends to occupy a lower status in his social milieu. It is not surprising then to find children refusing to be dominated by their peers. The fact that most of the mothers were passive regarding dominance might have contributed to this pattern of responding.

Child interviews showed a closer relationship with the mothers' treatment for dominance towards peers than child observation. The children tended to state in their interviews the pattern of behavior approved by the mothers. When confronted with the actual situation of other child attempting to dominate the particular child under observation, the responses of the children tended to vary. It was quite apparent that there were other factors, other than mothers' rearing practices, which determined a child's responses towards dominance of peers.

SOCIABILITY

The people of Cruz-na-Ligas enjoyed being together. Most of them shared the feeling that if work was done in the company of others, the burden was lessened even if the actual volume of work remained the same. According to them, if work was done in the company of others, times passed and the work got accomplished without one even noticing the difficulties of the task. Doing their tasks together meant parallel working as in women doing their daily laundry side by side near the public faucet or coordinated work as when a group of farmers took turns in hauling each other's harvest and, finally, in making their respective haystacks.

Their high level of sociability was further noted in their frequent neighborly conversations. A stranger to the community would be likely attracted to groupings of people engaged in friendly discussions. This was particularly evident in the evening after the day's work. These people usually sat on benches around the acacia in the *patio* (a courtyard in front of the chapel) or in the *lamyaan* (a shed with a platform; literally meaning a place for rest) where they listened to the community radio. *Sari-sari* stores (variety stores) in the community also provided bamboo benches in front for these *impromptu* gatherings.

An infant in Cruz-na-Ligas then grew up in an atmosphere of friendly "togetherness". He was introduced to this way of life as soon as he was born. When neighbors heard about his birth, they would come to visit him and his mother. They usually brought fruits which they had picked from their own trees. As soon as he was big enough (about six months old), his mother usually carried him wherever she went and barriomates noticed and played with him. Other teased him by attempting to carry him away from his mother but no one dealt with him in a hostile manner.

Mothers' Treatment of Sociability towards Peers:

The mother's treatment of sociability was rated on a five point scale from highly sociable (scale point no. 5) to highly unsociable (scale point no. 1).

Scale Point No. 1: *Highly Unsociable*. In this category were included the mothers who told their children to stay at home and play alone or with their siblings. These mothers insisted that their child went out only if they were with them,

Scale Point No 3: *Moderate in Sociability*

This category included mothers who preferred that their children stayed at home so that they could be constantly watched. These mothers tended to give their children interesting playthings to keep them preoccupied at home. However, if their children would like to go out to play, these mothers allowed their children to go out.

Scale Point No. 5: *Highly Sociable*: In this category were included the mothers who encouraged their children to establish friendly relations with their playmates. They encouraged their children to bring home their friends and to play with them at home. They also allowed their children to go out and play with their friends outside of their house. These mothers placed a high value on social interaction and maintained that sociability was "good" for their children.

immediate supervision so that they could avert any quarrel that might arise among them. This was the modal practice. The third group was composed of mothers who made negative efforts regarding their children's sociability. They tended to restrict their children within their immediate supervision.

The main concern of the mothers during the social interaction of the children was the possibility of aggression arising among them. Since these young children still lacked the verbal ability to settle their differences amicably, they generally resorted to physical aggression when conflicts arose. For this reason, some of the mothers preferred to be around so that they could manage any misunderstanding that might arise among them. They allowed their children to go out and play with specific instruction that they should not engage in any quarrel.

In the mother's view, sociability *per se* did not need immediate supervision. When the children got along well, they expressed that no adult intervention was necessary. It was only when conflict arose that mothers intervened. This was done to prevent the occurrence of aggression among the children.

TABLE 9

Mother's Treatment of Sociability
towards Peers

Scale Point Number	N	%
(5) Highly sociable	8	21
(4) Relatively sociable	4	11
(3) Moderately sociable	14	37
(4) Relatively unsociable	9	23
(5) Highly unsociable	3	8
Total	38	100

A little less than one-third of the sample positively encouraged sociability. A little more than one-third of the sample let their children go on with their social interaction although they preferred that their children play within their

TABLE 10

Mothers' Description of Undesirable
Playmates for their Children

	N
(1) Playmates who hurt children	11
(2) Playmates whose mothers took part in the children's quarrels	10
(3) Playmates with whom their children had frequent conflicts	8
(4) Playmates who took their children's playthings	1
(5) Playmates who talked of "cheap" things	1
(6) Could not ascertain	
(a) Child still too young to have his playmate	8
(b) Child had no constant playmate	1
Total	40

Stereotypes did not play any role in the choice of playmates for their children. The practice of ascribing a particular trait to a child simply because he belonged to a particular category was not found in the sample. For example, not one of the mothers mentioned about telling their children to refrain from playing with children of strangers or newcomers to the barrio. The mothers' basis for disliking a playmate for their children was previous interaction with the child. Hence, mothers whose children were still very young remarked that they could not yet describe undesirable playmates for their children because they were not yet interacting on their own.

The slight discrimination for a playmate was noted only in cases when the playmates' mothers were known to take part in their children's quarrels. In this way, the basis for non-preference was the undesirable characteristic of the mother rather than the child himself. Most of the mothers refused to get involved in such quarrels with other mothers. To avoid this trouble, they usually told their children to refrain from playing with children of such mothers.

TABLE 11

Mothers' Description of Preferred Playmates for their Children

	N
(1) Playmates with whom their children got along well	24
(2) Playmates whose mothers did not take part in children's quarrels	10
(3) Could not ascertain	
(a) Child still too young	5
(b) Child did not have a constant playmate	1
Total	40

The playmates most preferred for their children were those with whom they got along well (meaning, playmates with whom their children rarely, if ever, quarreled). As in their dislike for playmates, the basis of choice was the children's previous interactions with their playmates. If their children got along well with them, they were the preferred playmates for their children. Again, stereotyped ascription of a trait was not found in their choices of playmates for their children.

Mothers' Treatment of Sociability and Child Observation:

It was found that there was a close relationship between the mothers' treatment of sociability and the observed sociability of their children (eta correlation $n = .47$), suggesting that mothers who trained their children to be highly sociable tended to have children who behaved accordingly.

Setting aside their mothers' training practices and considering only the ages of the children, most of them (81% of the sample) were observed to be "relatively high" and "highly" sociable. This observation could be due to the rewarding nature of the children's social interaction and not mainly due to the mothers' rearing practices.

The Mothers' Treatment of Sociability and Child Interview

Although not statistically significant, the mothers' treatment of sociability was found to be closely related with child interview (eta correlation $n = .57$). In the interview, most of the children (81% of the sample) were judged as "medium in sociability". Children belonging to this category expressed that they did not respond indiscriminately to a sociable invitation from a playmate. According to them, their basis for interaction was the previous sociable behavior of their playmate.

The Mothers' Treatment of Sociability and Child Verbal TAT

A close relationship was obtained between the two measures. The characters in the stories related by the children were generally sociable.

Child Observation and Child Interview

It was found that these two measures showed little relationship to one another (eta correlation $n = .31$). Although most of the children were observed to be "relatively high" and "highly sociable", they stated that they reacted sociably depending on their previous interaction with the playmate initiating it. The fact that most of the children were observed to be "highly" and "relatively high" in sociability in their day-to-day interactions would suggest that their social interaction must have been followed by favorable consequences. Hence, sociability was maintained at a high level.

Discussion

It was found that the main concern of the mothers with regard to the social interaction of their children was not sociability *per se* but rather their concern about the possible aggression that might prevail among the children if some conflicts should arise among them as they played with one another. So long as the interaction remained on the sociable level, the mothers felt that everything was all right. No immediate adult intervention was needed.

It was also found that the nature of the previous interaction with a particular playmate determined the social reciprocation of a child as well as the acceptability of the playmate to his mother. Thus, if a particular child had had a rewarding history of interaction with a particular playmate, i.e., if they had been playing well, there was a greater likelihood that the child would respond to him sociably and his mother would prefer this playmate for him. If, however, previous interactions with the playmate had not been satisfactory, there was a great probability that the child would refuse to play with him. He might manifest non-social responses such as ignoring him or even refusing him. Very likely, the child's mother would not also like him as a playmate for her child.

In the interview, the children further reiterated the importance of previous interactions with a playmate. Most of them stated that they responded sociably depending on the nature of their previous interactions with the playmate.

If, however, the child initiating the social interaction was a new child in the neighborhood, how would the child respondent react to him? This question was posed to the child interviewees in order to ascertain how they would respond to a situation where they had no previous interaction with the social initiator. Almost invariably, the children responded: "I will play with him if he looks good" (*kung mukha siyang mabait*). How would the child know that the new playmate looked "good"? Again, the child fell back on his previous experiences with his other playmates. He tried to see if this stranger had characteristics similar to those of his "good" playmates (The most common response was: "*Basta, kung mukhang mabait siya katulad ni...*" (here a preferred playmate was specified).

Most of the children were observed to be "relatively high" and "highly sociable" in their interactions. From this it could be inferred that the children had found their social interactions usually rewarding. This could be linked to the high level of sociability generally found in Cruz-na-Ligas. Even the stories related in the Child Verbal TAT showed a distinct sociable trend. The sociable interaction of the children as reflected in the various child measures showed a close relationship with the mothers' rearing practices regarding sociability.

ACHIEVEMENT-ORIENTATION

The people of Cruz-na-Ligas considered achievement-orientation important. Overtly, they favored self-improvement, i.e., trying to improve one's performance over the previous ones. Trying to get ahead of others as a means of achieving was not, however, considered acceptable although, covertly, it was probable that some of them desired it. Instead of trying to get ahead of one's peers as an individual, the

approved behavior was to help one another in the process of improving one's performance. The common saying was: "Let's improve ourselves together" which, when translated, was expressed in the dialect as: "*Magsama-sama tayo sa ating pag-unlad*".

Social synergy as described by Honigman (1950) appeared to some extent in this community. Synergy, according to Honigman, appears where people are ready to allocate prestige generously, where they expect to help and be helped by kins and neighbors and where the community is seen as a friendly place. Thus a person who improves his lot and shares the bounty of his efforts is viewed as an accomplished person and is thus accorded a high rating in their social hierarchy. This description applied to the notion of achievement in Cruz-na-Ligas. A barrio boy, for example, who made "good" (usually measured by his position in his occupation and the amount of salary he got from it) and who shared with others, especially his kins, was considered "successful" and "good". On the other hand, another fellow who performed as well but who did not share his bounty and/or did not even acknowledge his past community linkages might be considered "successful" but an "ingrate" and his success would be predicted as "not to last long". There was a common barrio saying which went this way: "*Ang taong hindi marunong lumigon sa pinanggalingan ay hindi makararating sa patutunguhan*" which literally, when translated, meant: "A person who does not look back from where he comes will not reach his goal."

How were the children in this community trained to be achievement-oriented? The training for achievement-orientation in this community tended to be task-oriented, that is, they dealt with chores that the children had to learn as part of their responsibilities at home. For example, the others were concerned about how well they washed the dishes, swept the floor and wiped off their spillings when they ate on their *dulang* (low table). Even the small ones (less than two years) were sometimes asked to

wipe off their urine on the floor. The training described by the mothers could be reflective of the training given to pre-school children because when other informants were asked what they would like their children to achieve when they grew up, most of them said they wanted their children to get a good education. From the viewpoint of the informants, the motivation for education was extrinsic rather than intrinsic. Thus, motives for education as expressed were: "to get a good job," "to be able to help us when we grow old", and "to be able to build a good house".

The mothers' rearing practices regarding achievement-orientation were categorized under three scale points from "Highly achievement-oriented training" to "Low in achievement-oriented training".

Scale Point No. 1: *Low in Achievement-Oriented Training*: Mothers in this category stated that they were satisfied with whatever efforts their children made. Their main concern was simply to make the children do a task, not necessarily to do it well, thus rewarding any effort exerted by the children. The children of these mothers tended to be the younger (one to four years) sector of the sample.

Scale Point No. 2: *Moderate in Achievement-Oriented Training*: This category included mothers who were tolerant of their children's performance when it did not come to their standard of excellence. They tended to administer less punishment for performances that were not well done, but they did not necessarily give more instructions. Some of these mothers preferred to postpone giving instructions to a time when their children would be older and, hence, more capable of executing and understanding instructions. Like the mothers who belonged to scale point No. 3, these mothers were responsive to performances that were well done; they praised their children for jobs well done or, at least, let them know in some other ways that they appreciated their performance.

Scale Point No. 3: *High in Achievement-*

Oriented Training: In this category were included the mothers who were most demanding for excellence in their children's performance. These mothers tended to use two methods of directing their children's behavior: punishment for changeworthy behavior (such as asking a child to re-wash the dishes when it was not well-done) and direction by instruction and example (such as showing the child by demonstration how to wash the dishes). These were mothers who tended to have older (4 to 6-1/2 years) children in the sample.

TABLE 12

Mothers' Treatment for Achievement-Oriented Performance

Scale Point No.	No.	%
(3) High in achievement training	13	34
(2) Moderate in achievement training	11	29
(1) Low in achievement training	14	37
Total	38	100

Of the mothers belonging to categories 3 and 2, 92% were referring to children within the age range of 3 to 6-1/2 years. At this age range, the mothers were starting to reward only those performances that approximated their standard of excellence. These mothers tended to reinforce selectively only those performances that were well done. For the younger ones, any effort on their part was "good enough"

Irrespective of the mothers' training practices regarding achievement-orientation, not one of them rigidly imposed their standard of excellence on their children. When the mothers saw that their children were making efforts to do well, although they might not be satisfied with their performance, they did not insist any

further. If a task really needed to be done well, the mothers themselves did the task. Thus for the children, the responses that were reinforced were the children's efforts *towards* excellence in performance, not necessarily the achievement of the standard itself. In the main, therefore, the mothers' child-rearing practices regarding achievement-orientation was flexible rather than rigid and gradual rather than abrupt.

The Mothers' Treatment for Achievement-Oriented Performance and Child Observation

The mothers' treatment for achievement-orientation was found to have little relationship with the observed performance manifested by the children in their day-to-day interaction (eta correlation $n = .36$).

Setting aside the mothers' training practices, the trend of responding showed that the older children in the sample were observed to be high and moderately high in their achievement-oriented performance. The younger ones were observed to be low in achievement-oriented performance.

Mothers who were moderate in their training practices tended to have children who were "highly" and "moderately" achievement-oriented while those who were "high" in their achievement training tended to have children who were observed to be low in their achievement strivings. When the children of these mothers were observed to be doing their tasks, they tended to do it fast and haphazardly or else to leave their task altogether.

The Mothers' Treatment for Achievement Orientation and Child Observation

Although not statistically significant, the correlation presented a close relationship between the two measures (eta correlation $n = .42$). The children tended to report responses similar to those approved by their mothers.

Child Observation and Child Interview

The relationship between the two measures was negative (eta correlation $n = -.41$) but not statistically significant.

Discussion

Training for excellence in performance was found to start by giving reinforcement to young children for any performance that they made, irrespective of whether it was done according to their standard for excellence or not. At this point, any effort on the part of the children was considered "all right". As the children grew older, however, the mothers selectively reinforced only those performances which approximated their standard for excellence. As the mothers selectively reinforced these performances, it was found that some of the mothers also punished their children for doing things in a haphazard way while the others showed no such negative reactions. The latter group of mothers was simply receptive to the performance of their children although they did not necessarily give more instructions.

It would be interesting to compare the achievement strivings of the children of these two slightly differing groups of mothers. Most of the children of the mothers belonging to the "high" category (i.e., mothers who tended to reinforce their children for "good" performance but who also punished them for tasks not well done) tended to have children who were observed to be low in achievement strivings. These children were observed to do their tasks quickly and haphazardly, seemingly unwilling to be involved in their chores. These children also showed a tendency to leave their tasks unfinished. On the other hand, mothers belonging to the second category (those who were receptive to well-done performance but who did not impose punishment) tended to have children who were observed to be "moderately" and "highly" achievement-oriented.

The mothers' treatment for achievement-orientation and the children's interview res-

ponses were closely correlated indicating that the children tended to report responses similar to those approved by their mothers.

Child interview and child observation, however, showed a negative relationship. Children who were observed to be low in achievement strivings tended to state that they did well while those who were observed to be "high" in achievement strivings tended to state in the interview that they did not try to perform well.

It would be interesting to analyze this finding in the light of the value of the community regarding achievement and competition.¹⁴ In this community, an individual was censured by his peers when he reported of his efforts or strivings to perform better than this peers. He was branded as "boastful" (*hambog*) when he expressed a desire to do better than his peer. As explained earlier, the form of achievement striving that was approved in this community was achievement strivings done in the spirit of "togetherness". In order to avoid peer censure, many of the children refrained from verbalizing their desire to perform better than a playmate. Actually, in the observation, these children were found to be doing well, whether in their tasks at home or in their games in their play area.

On the other hand, some of those who were observed to be low in achievement strivings (such as doing their tasks haphazardly or leaving the tasks unfinished) stated that they performed very well and strived to be better than their playmates. These children also tended to have mothers who punished them when they did not perform well. By expressing their high strivings in the interview, it was possible that they derived some assurance that their performances approximated the standards imposed by their mothers.

¹⁴Competitions was included in this analysis because the interview question asked of the child-respondents on achievement-orientation dealt largely on achievements in a competitive manner. Please refer to Appendix C.

RESPONSIBILITY TRAINING

In this community, there was not much difference between adult activities and child play. In their make-believe play, the children tended to imitate adult roles, especially the roles of their parents. It was not uncommon, thus, to find a little girl, not yet three years old, washing beside her mother. This little girl washed, not because she was asked by her mother to "help", rather, she was doing it in her attempt to imitate her mother. She played with actual equipments (such as laundry soap and water and her own little *batya*) The activity was well within her capacity to perform because she was usually given only the small pieces such as handkerchiefs and the like. There was an apparent enjoyment in her activity and it was not unlikely that by doing so, she must have felt "grown-up".

It was not also uncommon to find little boys going with their fathers or elder brothers as they tended their carabao herd in the fields. These little boys imitated the ways of a carabao herder and they did this essentially, not to do the task as a chore, but for the sheer enjoyment of directing and controlling the animals.

Fetching water from the public faucet also started in this manner. At the beginning the little children accompanied their parents as they fetched water for home consumption. These children brought little cans with them, fashioned similarly as their elders' cans carried across their shoulders by means of a bamboo pole called *pingga*. They carried water like their elders.

These experiences preceded their mothers' assignment of household chores as part of their family responsibility. Before being assigned to these chores, the children had had some relevant experiences about them and had enjoyed the tasks for their own sake.

The mothers' training for responsibility was ranked on a five-point scale, ranging from heaviest and regular expectations to no expectations at all.

Scale Point No. 1: *Least Strict Training for Responsibility*: These mothers had no expectations of their children by way of responsibility.

Scale Point No. 3: *Moderately Strict*: These mothers did not give regular chores; she simply asked her children to do certain chores with punishment for non-performance.

Scale Point No. 5: *Most Strict Training for Responsibility*: This category included mothers who assigned regular chores to their children with punishment for non-performance of their chores.

TABLE 13

Mothers' Training for Responsibility

Scale Point No.	N	%
(5) Several chores with punishment for nonperformance	2	5
(4) Started to give regular chores with tolerance for non-performance	1	3
(3) No regular tasks, simply asked child to do certain tasks with punishment for non-performance	12	32
(2) No regular chores, simply asked child to do certain tasks with tolerance for non-performance	18	47
(1) Nothing expected of the child	5	13
Total	38	100

It was found that mothers who assigned regular chores to their children with a threat of punishment if they did not do it regularly constituted a minority in the sample. The most common practice was to ask the children to

help when the occasion necessitated it. They were not expected to do the chores regularly. Regular chores were usually assigned to older children. Running errands to buy one or two things was the most common chore assigned to the children in the sample. Mothers who did not at all expect any responsible performance from their children constituted another small group in this sample. These mothers planned to give responsibilities later on because they reasoned out that the children were too young to be relied upon.

The Mothers' Training for Responsibility and Child Observation

Although not statistically significant, the mothers' training for responsibility was found to be positively correlated with the observed responsible performance of duty by the children ($n = .49$). The mothers who were more strict about responsibility training tended to have children who were observed to be more responsible in their performance of duty.

The Mothers' Training for Responsible Performance of Duty and Child Interview

The relationship between the two measures was positive although not statistically significant.

Discussion

The mothers who gave their children regular responsibilities at this age range (1 to 6-1/2 years old) tended to be a minority in the sample. Most of the mothers explained that they planned to give responsibilities to the children but within this age range they felt the children were still too young to assume responsibilities. Occasionally, the children were asked by their mothers to help around the house or to run errands for them. Some of the mothers demanded strict compliance from their children while the others were more tolerant. Mothers of children whose ages ranged from 3 to 6-1/2 years tended to be more strict than the mothers

of the younger children. The latter group of mothers tended to be more tolerant of non-compliance from their children.

The mothers who gave their children regular responsibilities and who demanded strict compliance whenever they asked their children to do a task, tended to have children who were observed as highly responsible. Strictness regarding the assignment of responsibilities seemed to produce the desired effect on the children. Performances of responsibility were made spontaneously by the children without any instigation from anyone. Examples of these performances were wiping their feet before they entered their houses, returning things that they borrowed or going home to give their mothers the things that they were asked to buy.

The children who were observed as highly responsible in their day-to-day interaction tended to state in the interview that they would not leave a task assigned to them even if there were other interesting activities that were presented to them. Significantly, these children expressed concern about the adverse effects that their irresponsible acts might bring to those concerned, rather than a fear of the consequent punishment that might be inflicted upon them. For example, a boy who was asked to go to a nearby store to buy lard said that he would give it first to his mother rather than stop and play with his playmates *because his mother needed the lard and she could not cook without it.*

NURTURANCE

Helping one who was in need was a highly valued behavior among the people of Cruz-na-Ligas. They believed that as barriomates they were duty-bound to help one another like siblings. They also believed that helping should be spontaneous and should never be given for a fee. In fact, a person who helped and afterwards was given a fee by the recipient of his help oftentimes would feel insulted by the gesture. This behavior might indeed seem incomprehensible since people in the community

were practically short of cash all the time. People in the community explained that if one helped and accepted payment for his gesture, then he had allowed his "face to be plastered with money" (*natapalan ng pera*) and thereby lost his honor.

Instances of helping one another covered a wide variety of situations. In fact, we could say that mutual interdependence was a way of life in Cruz-na-Ligas. Rice lending and borrowing was commonly practiced; asking a neighbor for some of the vegetables in his backyard was also very common. Giving free labor during house constructions was also practiced; helping in the house of a newly delivered mother and giving her some cooked viand were also frequently done by the neighbors.

In their interactions, mutual interdependence was fostered rather than dependency. Help was extended with the expectation that a similar help would be rendered by the receiver. Constant dependency was frowned upon by the barrio people. If an individual constantly asked for help without being able to respond in kind later, people tended to help him grudgingly. He might realize his omissions when he heard gossips about this.

For the people of Cruz-na-Ligas, such interdependence was useful. They lived in a community which was fairly isolated from other communities. Transportation between this community and other communities was difficult since there was no regular transportation in the area. Hence, they had to depend upon one another in times of emergency. Furthermore, because of the instability of their income sources, borrowing from one another helped them tide over their difficulties. The fact that most of the people living here were related by blood ties further strengthened this practice of mutual dependency.

Nurturance training in this community started within the family constellation. As a young child, he was taught to help his younger siblings and to share his food and toys with them. As his sphere of social contact expanded, he

learned how to share with his playmates. He learned that his social acceptability was enhanced if he occasionally gave. His playmates tended to be more willing to give him what they had, to share things with him, and to help him in his difficulties when he had shown his willingness to help them in their needs.

Nurturance is an intrinsically punishing form of behavior. A child who gives food to a sibling or to a playmate automatically lessens his own food supply, more acutely so, if it is limited. One who spends time caring for a younger sibling automatically lessens his time for playing. One who protects a friend in danger automatically exposes himself to it. The first two examples were especially true in this community.

Most of the mothers trained their children early (at about one year or as soon as a fairly effective verbal communication could be established with them) to help others and share their things with them. When they tried to alleviate a need of another, the mothers showed appreciation of their effort. There was an instance when a toddler affectionately patted the shoulders of her crying elder sister. Upon seeing this, the mother hugged her and turned to the researcher, "Look at her, such a young child and she's already trying to soothe her crying sister." Obviously, the mother showed her appreciation for her daughter's nurturant act. The absence of such behavior, however, was rarely punished by the mothers.

The mother's treatment of nurturance was ranked on a five-point scale: ranging from training for high nurturance to a training for non-nurturance. In between the two extremes was passivity or complete tolerance for whatever response their children made towards a needy companion. If their children helped, these mothers simply let them; if not, the mothers did not press them to help.

Scale Point No. 1. *Low in Nurturance.*

Scale Point No. 3: *Moderate in Nurturance Training:* In this category were included

mothers who were passive about their children's nurturance towards those who might be in need. If their children helped, these mothers simply let them; if not, they did not press their children to help.

Scale Point No.5: *Highly Nurturant*: In this category were included mothers who told their children to help their playmates when they did some difficult tasks, to share their goodies with others and to help others when they were hurt.

TABLE 14

Mothers' Training for Nurturance

Scale Point No.	N	%
(5) Highly Nurturant	15	39
(4) Relatively Nurturant	1	3
(3) Medium in Nurturance	11	29
(2) Relatively Non-Nurturant	4	11
(1) Highly Non-Nurturant	7	18
Total	38	100

It was found that most of the mothers were training their children to be nurturant to the needs of their companions, especially the younger ones. These mothers taught their children to help when they noticed that their playmates were in difficulties. Although these children were being taught to help, any absence of nurturance when relevant situations were present was not punished by the mothers. Most mothers were tolerant about this. Positive reinforcement, however, followed the children's nurturant responses.

Within this age range, anxiety due to punishment from parents for the absence of nurturant behavior was not yet present because most of the mothers did not insist upon nurturance. Anxiety due to social rejection because of the children's unwillingness to help or share their goodies, however, might develop as the child dealt with his peers. A child who did not share or help would probably receive similar reactions from his playmates.

Mothers' training for nurturance and Child Observation

Although not statistically significant, the mothers' training for nurturance was found to be positively correlated with the observed nurturance behavior of the children ($n = .46$).

The mothers' training for nurturance and Child Interview

Although not statistically significant, a positive relationship was found between the two measures, ($n = .42$).

The mothers' treatment for nurturance and Child Verbal TAT

Although not statistically significant, the two measures were positively related ($n = .42$). A closer scrutiny of the data showed that irrespective of the mothers' training regarding nurturance, most of the children (68% of the sample) described heroes who were highly nurturant to the crying infant in the setting. There was one little boy in the sample, though, who related a story of an infant being "roasted" (*nalechon*). His story, which was atypical in the group, could be related to a recent experience of his infant brother who was almost burned to death when their mosquito net caught fire one evening.

Child observation and child interview

The two measures showed little relationship with one another ($n = .36$). Although the children varied in their observed nurturance towards their playmates, most of them stated in the interview that they helped those who were in need.

Child observation and Child Verbal TAT

Although not statistically significant, the two measures showed a close relationship ($n = .55$). The children who were observed to be highly nurturant tended to describe heroes who were highly nurturant towards the crying infant

in the story setting. They related stories in which the heroes not only attended to the crying infant but also saw to it that the infant's needs such as food and sleep were satisfied. Their theme almost invariably ran like this: the hero attended to the crying infant (by carrying him, singing to him, etc.) and together they looked for the infant's mother so that she could breast-feed him and put him to sleep. If the infant's mother could not be found, the hero himself sang the infant to sleep, soothed him and/or offered him a nursing bottle.

Discussion

All of the mothers stated that they were teaching their children to be nurturant towards their siblings, especially the younger ones. Regarding help towards other children, most of the mothers stated that they were also teaching their children to be nurturant towards their playmates who might need their help. Some of the mothers, however, were passive about helping, while a few others told their children not to get involved with any difficulty involving their playmates.

Observations of the children regarding nurturance towards siblings and playmates showed a close relationship with their mothers' training practice. On the other hand, mothers who were passive regarding nurturance and those who were teaching their children not to get involved tended to have children who were observed to manifest little nurturance to those asking for their help. They either ignored or refused to help, irrespective of whether those asking for help were their siblings or their playmates.

As was mentioned previously, nurturance is intrinsically punishing. It is difficult to maintain this behavior unless the positive consequences offset the negative results. If the behaviors were maintained by the mothers' approval and the social acceptance gained by the children in their interaction with their peers, tended to be highly nurturant. However, children whose mothers were passive about nurturance or who expressly told their children to avoid

getting involved in the difficulties of their playmates, were observed as low in their nurturance.

Interviews with the children showed a slight relationship with the mothers' training practices. Several of the child interviewees revealed that their basis for helping was their previous interaction with the playmate asking or needing their help. If the playmate had been friendly and helpful to him, the child would likely help him in return.

The stories related by the children showed a distinct trend towards nurturance. Most of the children described heroes who reacted nurturantly to the succorant infant in the setting. Their nurturant story might have been largely due to the helplessness of the infant in the story. Probably their reactions would have been different if the succorant figure in the story was their agemate.

SUCCORANCE

In Cruz-na-Ligas, much of the care of an infant was furnished by his own mother. He spent most of his time with his mother and she usually carried him wherever she went. This infant-mother intimacy was heightened by the fact that in most cases the infant was breast-fed by his mother. Whenever he showed some uneasiness, his mother would dole out her breast to him, regardless of time and place. His mother believed that the best way to pacify a fretful baby was to give him the breast. Thus his mother's breast meant for him not only a source of nourishment but also a source of comfort.

His mother usually arranged her working schedule so that she could keep a close watch over him. The common belief was that a baby was fragile and needed constant care in order to grow well. The infant was usually placed in a hammock made from a blanket, tied to two posts by means of abaca ropes. This hammock was detachable so that his mother could trans-

fer it from place to place, depending on where she planned to do her work. While the infant slept, the mother carried on with her chores. Every now and then, she would pull a string that was attached to it on the side, thus lulling the infant into a deeper sleep. Mothers in this community believed that an infant who had a good sleep would be a happy one. As soon as he was awake, his mother would offer him the breast again before he was put down to play by her side.

This maternal indulgence usually continued until the mother became pregnant again. Spacing usually occurred from eighteen months to about two and a half years. Some of the mothers prolonged breast-feeding in the hope that it would prevent pregnancy. Pregnancy was the most common reason given for weaning the child.

The mothers' manner of handling infancy succorance was judged on a five-point scale: from "most responsive" to "least responsive."

Scale Point No. 5: *Most responsive*: In this category were included the mothers who immediately attended to their crying infants irrespective of whether they were busy at the time or not.

Scale Point No. 3: *Moderately responsive*: In this category were included the mothers who attended to their infants according to their apparent need for care. If she felt that he was hungry or wet, she attended to him immediately. If he was just fretting, she let him cry for some time. She did not let him cry for long periods, however.

Scale Point No. 5: *Highly unresponsive*: In this category were included the mothers who allowed their children to cry for lengths of time and who attended to their work first before turning to their crying children.

Most of the mothers indicated that they were responsive to the succorant appeals of their infants. A few of the mothers were,

TABLE 15
Mothers' Responsiveness to Succorance of Their Infants

	N	%
(5) Most responsive	16	42
(4) Relatively responsive	4	11
(3) It depends	8	21
(2) Relatively unresponsive	7	18
(1) Highly unresponsive	3	8
Total	38	100

however, relatively unresponsive. A closer investigation of the explanations offered by the mothers who were ranked as *most responsive* indicated that sympathy for their infants made them respond to them immediately. "It's a pity to hear him cry", most of the mothers explained (*Kawawa naman kung umiiyak siya*). On the other hand, the mothers of the three children who were ranked as unresponsive were widows (the only widows in the sample), who were also the main support of their respective families. Their lack of responsiveness could be due to the pressure of their outside work rather than lack of sympathy for their children.

The Mothers' Responsiveness and Child Observation

There was very little relationship between the mothers' responsiveness to their children's dependency behavior when they were infants and the observed dependency of the children in their current day-to-day behavior ($n = .09$). Regardless of their mothers' responsiveness, most of the children (76% of the sample) were observed to be moderately and relatively low in succorant behavior. Attention, therefore, to the succorant behavior of the children during infancy did not seem to have produced highly dependent children.

The Mothers' Responsiveness to Their Infant's Succorant Behavior and Child Interview :

Although not statistically significant, the two measures showed a trend towards being closely related to each other ($n = .48$).

A closer investigation of the data showed that the mothers who were moderately responsive to their infant's succorant behavior tended to have children who reported in the interview that they asked for help only when they could not work out a solution to their difficulties. The children stated in the interview that their first reaction to a difficult situation was to attempt at a solution. When they were not successful, they turned to others for help. These children were categorized as "relatively low in succorance" since they attempted to solve their difficulties and they asked for help only when they could not solve their problems.

The second measure of the mothers' treatment of succorance of their children was the manner in which they treated their children's appeals for help. Data on this were taken from the main question, "What do you usually do when P (the particular child referred to) asked for help or reassurance?" Their current treatment of succorance was found as follows:

TABLE 16

Mothers' Current Treatment of Succorance

Scale Point No.	N	%
(5) Most responsive	10	26
(4) Relatively responsive	12	32
(3) It depends	8	21
(2) Relatively unresponsive	6	16
(1) Highly unresponsive	2	5
Total	38	100

The mother's treatment of succorance at the time of the interview was still quite responsive (58% belonged to the two highest categories). When current treatment was correlated with their treatment of succorance during infancy, the two measures showed a close correlation ($n = .46$), this indicating a trend among the mothers to treat succorance during

infancy and currently in a similar manner. Most of the mothers, during infancy and currently, tended to be responsive to their succorant children.

A closer investigation of the data showed that in the earlier treatment (during infancy), the mothers generally responded out of sympathy for their helpless infants. On the other hand, for the current treatment, some of the mothers (37% or 7 out of 19) belonging to the responsive group explained that they attended to their children immediately because they could not stand the noise that their whining children made. According to them, they responded immediately because they might become angry or punitive towards their crying children.

The Mothers' Current Treatment of Succorance and Child Observation:

The two measures showed very little relationship with one another ($n = .19$). Irrespective of the mothers' responsiveness, most of the children (76% of the sample) were observed to be moderately and relatively low in succorant behavior.

By taking the children's age as a third variable, it was found that there was no difference between the children's dependency behavior in relation to their ages. Even the younger ones made attempts to solve the difficulties which confronted them.

The Mothers' Current Treatment of Succorance and Child Interview:

The two measures were positively correlated at the .01 level ($n = .97$). There was a definite trend for the mothers and the children to give similar statements regarding succorant behavior, i.e., mothers who were most responsive tended to have children who reported that they asked help from her when difficulties arose. On the other hand, mothers who were least responsive tended to have children who said that they solved their own difficulties.

Others, however, said that they just left a difficult situation.

The Mothers' Current Treatment of Succorance and Child Verbal TAT:

Although not statistically significant, the two measures showed a positive and close relationship ($n = .64$). There was a tendency for children of the most responsive mothers to relate stories of heroes who manifested dependency towards the characters present in the setting. These children further described heroes who even went home to seek the help of their mothers even if mother-dolls were not provided in the setting. Recall at this point that doll play dealt only with peer group interactions.

Child Observation and Child Interview:

The two measures showed little relationship with one another ($n = .23$).

Child Interview and Child Verbal TAT:

The two measures showed little relationship with one another ($n = .12$).

Discussion

The mothers showed only a little variation in their responsiveness towards the dependency behavior of their children. In their treatments of succorance, most of the mothers were judged to belong to the two highest categories of responsiveness. Unresponsive mothers constituted a minority in the sample. In most cases, thus, a child in Cruz-na-Ligas tended to have a mother who was highly responsive to his dependency behavior.

A comparison of the mothers' treatments of succorant behavior in these two phases showed a close relationship between the two. This indicated that mothers who were most responsive to their children during infancy tended to be just as responsive to them currently. A

few of the highly responsive mothers during infancy were found to be less responsive in their current treatment of their 3 to 6 year-old children. The change in responsiveness, however, was not abrupt; it was just a change from the highest point on the scale to the next one. Although weaning from the mothers' breast was abrupt, there was no sudden shift in the mothers' responsiveness to the succorant appeals of their children.

The children's observed dependency on their mothers and on their individuals around them showed little relationship with their mothers' responsiveness. Irrespective of their mothers' responsiveness, 76% of the children in the sample were observed to be moderately succorant and relatively low in succorant behavior, i.e., more often than not, they tended to deal with their difficulties although occasionally they asked the help of those around them.

How do we explain this finding? Why was it that these responsive mothers did not tend to have dependent children? Let us consider this finding within the context of the growing abilities of the child. A growing child is constantly discovering his abilities as he deals with his environment. He discovers what he can do with objects around him. He tries to overcome some of the difficulties that he encounters with them and, in some instances, he discovers that he can overcome them. This increases the probability of dealing with these objects successfully. In some instances, he does not succeed and when this happens he turns to his mother for help and his mother immediately gives him attention. From this constant attention, the child gets the assurance that when things get too tough for him, mother is there to give him help. However, self-reliance is intrinsically reinforcing; for one thing, he does not have to depend on others to accomplish his goal. Hence, we observed the children doing things for themselves rather than depending upon others.

OBEDIENCE

A child in Cruz-na-Ligas lived in a setting with comparatively little restrictions. Let us consider their house: their flooring was usually made of bamboo slats which had some open spaces between them. Thus, small particles such as bits of food easily slid between these slats and did not leave any clutter on the floor. Most of their furnishings were simple and homemade (such as their *bangko* or bench and *dulang* or low table) and easily replaceable. Their more expensive furniture (such as the *sala* or parlor set) were not usually set out for daily use and were usually placed away from the reach of children. Hence, there was no need for the constant restriction about being careful of the furniture as was commonly practiced in middle-class homes.

In their manner of eating, simplicity and non-restriction also prevailed. The family usually ate around a low table (*dulang*) with the child squatting or sitting on one side. The constant restriction of mothers elsewhere about movements for fear of falling was not present at all. Furthermore, in eating, they used their hands in conveying food to their mouth and this practice was another simple procedure. Even their food was usually simple. The family usually had one viand for each meal so that children did not have the opportunity to reject one course or be forced to take another. If they were not hungry, they were not forced to eat. However, since food was generally available only during mealtimes, the children were generally too hungry to refuse what was placed before them.

A child was not forced to take a nap in the afternoon when he did not want to. If he felt sleepy, he slept; otherwise, he simply played in their yard or even in the *patio* in front of their chapel. The only restriction about their play area was that they should not go "too far" for fear that they might be bitten by snakes, ants, or an occasional mad dog.

Toilet training was also very simple with minimal restrictions. A child usually moved about without pants until about the age of four

or five years. If he would like to defecate, he was simply cautioned to move away from people or squat between the bamboo floor of the *batalan* (scullery). If he had "lapses" especially when he was younger, his mother usually made very little fuss as it was relatively easy to clean up the "mess".

The main street (which was actually a dead-end street) and the two alleys (*pasillo*) in the community were rarely visited by vehicles probably because of the nature of their construction. As a result of this, the children could play freely in the barrio without being restricted to the immediate vicinity of their respective houses for fear of being run over by itinerant vehicles.

All of these cited conditions pointed to the fact that children in Cruz-na-Ligas grew up with minimal restrictions.

Directing a child's behavior and training him to obey was the task of his mother. Obedience training generally started when effective verbal communication was established between the mother and her child and the latter could understand that he had a choice of whether or not to obey.

The mothers' training for obedience was ranked on a five-point scale ranging from most strict about obedience to very little obedience expected.¹⁵

Scale Point No. 1: *Very little obedience*: In this category were included the mothers who allowed their children to dawdle. If the children would not obey their directions, they simply did the task themselves.

Scale Point No. 3: *Moderately strict about obedience*: This category included mothers who demanded obedience right away depending upon the urgency of what they were asking their children to do. If the task

¹⁵No mother responded by saying that she did not expect any obedience at all from her child; hence scale point no. 1 was labelled very little obedience.

needed immediate attention, these mothers expected their children to obey immediately under pain of punishment; if not, they allowed the children to dawdle.

Scale Point No. 5 : *Most strict about obedience*: This category included mothers who expected their children to obey them immediately. If their children would not obey them immediately, then these mothers tended to scold and punished their children.

TABLE 17

Mothers' Strictness for Obedience Training

Scale Point No.	N	%
(5) Most strict	3	8
(4) Relatively strict	5	15
(3) It depends	15	40
(2) Relatively little obedience	4	11
(1) Very little obedience	11	29
Total	38	100

It was found that mothers who were very strict about obedience constituted a minority in the sample. Most of the mothers required obedience only during situations that needed immediate attention from their children. The mothers commonly remarked that their children were still too young to be expected to obey consistently. The mothers said that they would be more strict when the children were older (at about 10 years and above) because by then they could understand instructions better.

TABLE 18

Methods Commonly used by the Mothers in Training their Child to Obey

	N	%
1. Giving orders	32	84
2. Requesting	4	11
3. Arranging the situation	2	5
Total	38	100

In directing the actions of their children, most of the mothers (84% of the sample) gave orders to their children. Most of these orders were given in the positive form, such as "do this", "come here", etc. Ordering was done in a gentle but highly authoritative manner. Requests were distinguished from orders by their use of the prefix "*paki*" and the softer tone of their voice. These requests usually gave the children much leeway whether or not to obey. The smallest group was composed of mothers who usually arranged the situation in order to get compliance from their children. For example, instead of asking the children not to play with knives, the mothers merely kept these objects away from the reach of their children. This practice was generally used by the mothers whose children were still very young. In the strict sense, this method could not be considered a form of obedience training since the children were not given the option to comply or not to comply. However, we could say that this could be one form of directing the behavior of the children.

When these mothers gave orders, they did not generally give positive reinforcement (such as praises, goodies, etc.). They simply kept quiet when the children manifested compliance. Silence, then, meant that all was well with their children's behavior.

The Mothers' Training for Obedience and Child Observation:

The two measures showed some positive relationship ($n = .43$). A closer examination of the data showed that, irrespective of the mothers' strictness for obedience, most of the children (42% of the sample) were relatively high in obedience towards their parents and elders.

Discussion:

The mothers who were strict about obedience constituted a minority in the sample. Most of the mothers demanded obedience from their children only in situations urgently neces-

sitating it. Otherwise, they expressed that they tolerated some measure of non-compliance from their children.

Setting aside the mothers' strictness regarding obedience, most of the children were observed to be relatively high in obedience towards their parents. This trend of responding was observed to be closely linked to the simplicity of life in Cruz-na-Ligas and the minimal restrictions placed upon the children. It was thus relatively easy for the children to obey their parents and elders.

Another probable contributory factor to obedience to parents was the close relationship between the mothers and their children. The children were not likely to disobey their mothers since they were highly rewarding. A similar relationship existed between the children and their other elders.

DISCIPLINING TECHNIQUES

The previous discussions dealt largely with what the mothers were teaching their children regarding the nine behavior patterns under study. These discussions focus on what can be called the *substance* of child-rearing. This section, on the other hand, focuses on the *how* of child-rearing. It attempts to answer the question: How did the mothers socialize their children regarding the behavior patterns studied?

Disciplining techniques, as used by the mothers, were classified into two: positive and negative techniques. Positive techniques were used by the mothers in order to increase the probability of "good" or "noteworthy" behavior. Examples of such behavior patterns were obedience and nurturance. The negative techniques, on the other hand, were intended to eliminate or at least inhibit "bad" or "change-worthy" behavior. Aggression was one example of such behavior.

A. Positive Techniques: The following techniques, as mentioned by the mothers, were ranked from the most frequent technique used

(no. 1) to the least frequent (no. 4):

1. Praising
2. Granting privileges
3. Rewarding:
 - a. with food
 - b. money
4. Making no comments

Praising and granting privileges were the most common techniques used by the mothers. Usually, the mothers' praises were made without reference to the particular task that the child happened to be doing. For example, a child who helped his mother sweep the yard or look after his younger sibling would be praised as a "good boy" without referring to his particular action. This way of praising had the advantage of giving the child a generalized feeling of well-being.

Granting privileges was also commonly reported by the mothers. Among the common privileges given were: allowing the child to play at his playmate's house, letting him go with his mother to their *bayan* (or town, particularly to Marikina) or going to the movies with his father.

Giving rewards was another common disciplining technique. The most common rewards given were food and money. Most of the mothers, however, objected to the use of these rewards to their children. The reason for their objection was that money and food were not always available and if the children got used to this practice, they might not do things anymore without this rewards. ("*Baka hindi na mauutusan itong mga batang ito kung walang premyo*", these mothers countered.) In effect, they felt that giving these rewards looked as if they were "paying" their children for their "good" deeds.

A few of the mothers chose to remain silent when their children did some noteworthy behavior. For the children of these mothers, therefore, one of the meanings of silence was that everything — including what they were doing at the moment — was well.

These four techniques mentioned were not used in a mutually exclusive manner. The mothers made use of all of them, differing only in the frequency of their application.

B. *Negative Techniques*: The mothers made use of these techniques for eliminating or inhibiting changeworthy behavior. The following negative techniques were ranked according to their frequency as mentioned by the mothers:

1. Scolding
2. Spanking
3. Warning about supernatural beings such as "kapre", "musang", etc.
4. Referring to God
5. Not letting the child have something that he wanted
6. Isolation: such as sending him to a *silid* (closet) or putting him inside a sack
7. Warning the child about big animals, snakes, etc.
8. Threatening to send the child away
9. Threatening to leave the child

Scolding and spanking were the two most common disciplinary techniques used by the mothers. Scolding usually preceded spanking. For example, a child was scolded for scattering the palay left to dry in the *patio* by his mother. If he would not heed his mother's scoldings, she might spank him. Spanking and scolding usually went together, although spanking was the more extreme measure.

Children who cried incessantly were frightened by such supernatural beings as *kapre* (or giants who generally live in big trees), *momo* (or ghosts), *aswang* (or witches) and *musang* (or large imaginary cat). The mothers who used this technique made these supernatural objects as frightful as possible so as to obtain immediate compliance from their children. Some of the mothers objected to the use of such fearful anecdotes because they said that they sometimes observed some untoward side-effects on their children. For example, some of the mothers observed that their children developed

fever after being frightened. Others reported that their children became frightful of unknown objects and of the dark.

Some of the mothers stated that they denied their children some privileges or things that they enjoyed if they did some "undesirable" behavior. For example, two children might quarrel over a plaything and their mother would then confiscate the disputed plaything as a form of punishment.

Referring to God as a dispenser of reward and punishment was also commonly done by the mothers. The mothers pictured God as a benevolent being who could also be terribly cruel. God was said to cut off the hands of children who hit their elders and playmates.

Sending a child to a *silid* (or closet) or putting him inside an empty sack was used by a few of the mothers. The mothers who used this technique reasoned out that this method of punishment was better than giving the child a good thrashing. According to them, after one such experience, the mere mention of *silid* or showing an empty sack was usually sufficient to stop them from doing an undesirable behavior. The children were thus spared the pain that they would have suffered if they were spanked.

For children who were very fond of going far from their barrio into the surrounding fields, a few of the mothers frightened these children with stories of big carabaos that might trample on them or of lightning that might hit people in the fields. There had been cases of deaths due to lightning so that such stories were really credible.

A few of the mothers also threatened to send their children away (*palulayasin*) when they kept repeating behavior which their mothers disliked. Sending the child away, however, did not mean expelling their children without any support because when they were sent away, they were usually sent to their grandparents' home where they tended to receive more strict treatment.

Instead of sending the children away, one of

the mothers stated that she threatened to leave her children if they kept repeating their undesirable behavior. These last two techniques were the least used means of directing the children's behavior.

Intercorrelation of the Training for the Nine Behavioral Patterns

The final problems considered in this study were the intercorrelations of the training for one behavioral mode with the training for the others. Was the training for a high value in one behavioral pattern accompanied with similar values for the others?

The description and analyses of the training for the nine behavioral patterns was presented previously. The relationship between the training for one pattern and another is summarized in Table 19.

Table 19 shows that the training for the nine behavioral modes showed varying relationships. For example, the mothers' permissiveness for aggression and the strictness for obedience showed absolutely no relationship to one another. On the other hand, the training for two of the behavioral patterns showed a significant relationship, i.e., the training for sociability and the strictness for obedience. Mothers who emphasized the value of sociability also tended to stress the significance of obedience towards elders. Incidentally, sociability and obedience were two highly valued patterns of action among the people in this community.

The training for most of the other patterns, however, showed close relationships which are not statistically significant. Nevertheless, as had been mentioned repeatedly in the text of this study, these correlations were indicative of some relationship which could be proved conclusive only through further investigation. These relationships suggested that the mothers tended to emphasize similar values for some of the behavioral modes that were studied.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Our composite data indicated that in Cruz-na-Ligas the mother-child relationship could be described on the whole as satisfying. The mother was warmly responsive to the needs of her child and was generally solicitous over his needs. She tended to adjust her working schedule so that she could easily minister to his needs and she usually took him along with her wherever she went. The infant then grew secure with the feeling that his mother would attend to him whenever he needed her. His feeling of security was thus adequately satisfied and his energy was not wasted by the anxiety that his mother might not attend to him or give him attention. Instead of chronic dependency on his mother, the child's energy tended to be directed towards other activities, notably those activities that had to do with reliance on the self. Secured in the feeling concerning his mother's affection, he tended to channel his energy towards overcoming his difficulties. This growth in self-reliance could be illustrated in the young children's attempts to do things for themselves such as reaching out for a toy and making their own playthings. We found that in this community the mothers were gradual in their training for self-reliance and the children, secured in the contancy of their mothers' attention and care, tended to be self-reliant.

To a certain extent, this observation seemed to be a validation of what Maslow (1954) discussed as functional autonomy. According to him, an individual who has had a long history of gratification regarding a need becomes independent of the gratification of this need. In Cruz-na-Ligas, the children had had a history of being loved and being satisfied in this aspect, they tended to be able to forge on by themselves with only minimal assistance from their mothers.

Obedience towards parents was one behavior pattern which was considered important in this community. The mothers, however, were observed to be quite liberal in their obedience training, i.e., they tended to require immediate submission from their children in exceptional cases only. In most instances, the mothers

TABLE 19
Intercorrelation Table for the Nine Behavioral Patterns For
the Child-Rearing Practices of the Mothers

BEHAVIORAL PATTERN	Socia- bility	Self Reli- ance	Nurtu- rance	Responsi- bility	Dominance (peers)	Obedience (Peers)	Achieve- ment Ori- entation	Aggres- sion
Succorance	.51	-.40	.34	.10	.34	.59	-.29	.39
Sociability		.31	.26	-.43	.66*	.17	.39	.44
Self-Reliance			.37	.21	.50	.31	.26	.14
Nurturance				.47	.41	-.22	.32	.18
Responsibility					.36	.68	.46	.25
Obedience						.13	.11	.16
Achievement Orientation							.43	.00
Aggression (Peers)								.22

* Significant at the 5% level

allowed their children to dawdle, feeling that eventually the children would do what they were being asked to do. There was hardly any tendency on their part to hurry their young children. Despite this liberality, most of the children, including the very young, were observed to be obedient to their parents and elders. Their obedience was not characterized by hostile submission but rather by affection, indicating their desire to please their parents.

On occasions when the mothers reprimanded their children, it was observed that the children rarely, if ever, manifested any overt aggression towards the parents. It must be noted, however, that the mothers, on the whole, were not at all permissive of any form of aggression towards themselves and other elders. In fact, aggression towards anyone was, on the whole, considered undesirable. Instead of aggression, the mothers emphasized the value of friendly interaction.

A descriptive word which described child-rearing practices in Cruz-na-Ligas was *gradualness*. Gradualness pervaded the whole range of child-rearing practices as noted in this study. Gradualness was mentioned in connection with responsiveness to dependency behavior of the children and with the training for self-reliance. As was noted, the mothers tended to be similarly responsive to the succorant appeals of the children currently as during their infancy.

In their training for responsibility, gradualness was also noted. As a member of his family, the child was first exposed to the chores without necessarily taking any part in it. As the child grew older, he tended to imitate his elders in doing these tasks and this imitation was usually part of his play. When he became more familiar with the task, he gradually assumed them as part of his responsibility in the family. The transition between play and actual assumption of responsibility was almost imperceptible.

In cases of failure to perform responsibly, most of the children expressed concern towards those who might be affected by their lack of responsible behavior rather than a fear of the

consequent punishment. This concern for others rather than a fear of the consequent punishment could be traced to the satisfying mother-child relationship.

A similar characteristic gradualness was noted in the training for achievement-orientation. Although doing well was a valued behavior, the mothers were not anxious about their children doing well at this early age. They conveyed the attitude that in due time, they would learn to do their tasks well and at this stage of development, any effort towards the accomplishment of the task would be welcomed.

A conjecture could be made at this stage that the tendency among the people of Cruz-na-Ligas to be relatively anxiety-free could be traced to the gradualness of their training. This anxiety-free tendency was evidenced by their hopefulness despite their precarious economic situation; their means of livelihood was not stable and their debts tended to accumulate. Despite this situation, their common outlook was: "Eventually, this will get solved."

Since the child in Cruz-na-Ligas had had a satisfying relationship with his mother, he was generally sociable in his interaction with others. The mothers emphasized the importance of getting along well. Quarreling among the children was considered by the mothers as a changeworthy behavior. Even in dominance training, the emphasis was on seeing to it that the leader and his members got along well.

In interacting with others, the mothers furthermore taught their children to be sensitive to the needs of those who were with them. They were taught to help those who were in need and to share their goods with them. Giving away and helping might be quite difficult for the younger ones to comprehend since these were intrinsically punishing behavior. Nevertheless, it was found that the older children of the group tended to be nurturant to the needs of those around them. These children's nurturant behavior could be an expression of their identification with their mothers. Their mothers' nurturant behavior towards them

became their model for being nurturant to others.

Self-reliance

The final goal of child-bearing could be seen as the development in the child of maximum reliance on the self for meeting physical needs as well as for interpersonal relationship with others, especially his peers. For the purposes of our study, a child belonging to the age range of one to six and half years showed self-reliant behavior when he attempted to dress himself, bathe himself, fashion his own playthings and generally manage his own affairs, particularly his interpersonal relationship with his peers without asking help from adults around him.

At the beginning a newly born infant is a helpless individual. In order to survive, he needs the care and attention of others. He has, however, inherent tendencies to mature and become more reliant on himself. As he grows older, he gradually depends more and more on himself. Part of this tendency is a result of his learning experiences. For example, he learns to reach out for a toy instead of crying for his mother to give it to him. His mother, sensitive to these growing capacities, responds to her child, either knowingly or unknowingly, by enabling him to be successfully self-reliant. In this manner, the mother gradually weans the baby from her nurturant care and replaces this dependency with behavior related to the child's reliance on himself.

In Cruz-na-Ligas, succorance and self-reliance co-mingled to some extent with one another. Although the goal for the child was to be able to depend upon himself as much as possible, he was not abruptly pushed into it. His mother provided him with an assurance of a constant attention and helped him with whatever he could not do. This relationship may extend even up to adulthood. An adult in this community was expected to depend upon his resources, but if his resources were not enough to sustain the minimum needs for living, asking for help was acceptable. This

pattern of relationship could be illustrated in the practice of constructing individual dwelling places for every married couple rather than have the young couple live with their parents. In times of need, the young couple asked for some help from their parents and expected some measure of assistance.

The Mothers' Manner of Rearing Regarding Self-reliance

The mothers' manner of socializing their children towards self-reliance was ranked on a three-point scale ranging from "most severe" to "least severe". The three tasks related to self-reliance which were studied were feeding, dressing and playing away from the house.

Scale Point No. 1: *Least Severe*: This category was composed of mothers who waited until their children initiated the learning of a task. If their children did not initiate learning these tasks, the mothers reported that they continued to attend to them.

Scale Point No. 2: *Moderately Severe*: This category included mothers who taught their children self-reliance by instruction and example as well as gradual withdrawal of their help. These mothers were more tolerant of deficiencies in the performance of their children.

Scale Point No. 3: *Most Severe*: This category included mothers who reported this pattern of socialization: the training (for example for feeding) was started abruptly with minimum instructions from the mothers; the children were left to themselves and they were scolded when they failed to attend to their own needs as expected or when they waited until they were prodded by their mothers.

The modal practice among the mothers was moderately severe. Mothers initiated the learning process for self-reliance and then gradually withdrew their assistance.

TABLE 20

Mothers' Training for Self-Reliance

Scale Point No.	N	%
(3) Most severe	6	15
(2) Moderately severe	19	50
(1) Least severe	13	36
Total	38	101

The Mothers' Training for Self-Reliance and Child Observation:

The mothers' severity in training for self-reliance was found to have little relationship with the observed self-reliant behavior of the children ($n = .17$). Irrespective of the mothers' training for self-reliance, most of the children were observed to be "moderately" and "relatively" high in self-reliance. Observations of the children indicated that they tended to their own needs such as eating, dressing, toileting and the like. In the play area, they tended to manage their own affairs among themselves, make their own rules with minimal adult interferences.

The Mothers' Training for Self-Reliance and Child Interview

Little relationship was found between the two measures ($n = .23$). Irrespective of the mothers' treatment for self-reliance, most of the children stated in the interview that they usually depended upon themselves for their personal needs or when they encountered difficulties.

The Mothers' Training for Self-Reliance and Child Verbal TAT

The two measures showed little relationship with one another ($n = .11$). Irrespective of the mothers' rearing practices, the hero most often described by the children was the one

who solved his own problem, i.e., the self-reliant one.

Child Observation and Child Interview

The two measures showed little relationship with one another ($n = .30$). The children who were observed to be moderately and relatively low in self-reliance tended to state in the interview that they were relatively high in self-reliance. The children tended to picture themselves as being more self-reliant than was noted in the observation.

Child Observation and Child Verbal TAT

The two measures showed little relationship with one another ($n = .26$). Irrespective of the self-reliant behavior of the children in the observation protocols, most of them described heroes who were judged as "relatively high" and "highly" self-reliant (87% of the stories related by the children belonged to these two divisions).

Child Interview and Child Verbal TAT

The two measures also showed a little relationship with one another ($n = .11$).

Discussion

The mothers showed some variation in training their children to rely on themselves. A few were severe in their training: they initiated the learning situation by teaching their children how to do certain tasks such as feeding and dressing themselves and then abruptly left their children to fare for themselves after a short period of instruction. They showed a tendency to manifest approval for any self-reliant task undertaken by their children. At the other end of the continuum were the mothers who were "least severe" in their training. These mothers preferred to postpone teaching their children how to rely on themselves until their children were "old enough". Most of these mothers waited until the children themselves initiated the learning situation. The modal practice for

training in self-reliance among these mothers, however, was for the mothers to initiate the learning situation, teach the child gradually how to do the task for himself, guide him in the process of learning, and then gradually to withdraw her help. Assistance to the child was extended whenever the mothers judged that they needed it.

The children's observed reliance on the self was found to have little relationship to the severity of training of their mothers. Irrespective of the mothers' degree of severity in training, most of the children were observed to be moderately and relatively high in self-reliance, i.e. more often than not, the children attempted to do things for themselves rather than ask the help of another individual. Child interview and child verbal TAT responses also showed a definite trend towards self-reliance.

Setting aside for a while the mothers' rearing practices on self-reliance, let us consider the socio-environmental conditions that favored the development of self-reliance in this community. From the discussions on succorance, we found that the mothers in Cruz-na-Ligas were generally responsive and solicitous towards their children. They usually brought their children with them wherever they went and thus the children grew up with the assurance that their mothers would not just suddenly abandon them. With this feeling of security, the children tended to channel their energies in exploring other possibilities in their environment. Maslow (1954) mentioned that when the "safety need" (in this case, the security regarding their mothers' predictive presence and attention) was well satisfied, other needs arose. Among these children, the need to be self-reliant was fostered. Their energies were channeled along these activities rather than wasted in the anxiety that their mothers might abandon them or not attend to them when they would need them.

Conditions in their play area also tended to foster self-reliance. In their interaction with their peers, the children were allowed to play if

they got along well. If they quarrelled, the mothers usually stepped in and told them to separate from one another. Thus, if the children wished to continue with their play, they usually tried to settle their differences among themselves.

Another condition which fostered self-reliance among the children in this community was their tendency to use self-fashioned toys. It was not uncommon to see children playing contentedly with such toys as a *hila-hila* made from an empty sardines can rolled by wheels from soft drink bottle caps. Little girls in this barrio usually cuddled rag dolls fashioned from worn-out socks and wrapped with old clothes they usually made or which were made for them by their elders. Making their own playthings or fixing them when they got out of order was another self-reliant behavior.

The simplicity of the facilities used by the children might have also contributed to the self-reliant behavior of the children. For example, in feeding, the children simply used their hands in conveying food to their mouth rather than use fork and spoon for the same purpose.

All these conditions cited above favored the development of self-reliant behavior among the children of Cruz-na-Ligas. Their combined effects tended to produce a predictable world in which the children were warmly responded to by their parents and where their things were simple enough for them to use, thus insuring the probability of being successfully self-reliant. The satisfaction that a child derived from accomplishing a task and the opportunities for doing similar tasks successfully later maintained self-reliant behavior. This tended to be especially so if the child felt secure about the acceptance of people who were significant to him.

REFERENCES

ESLAO, N. B. Child-rearing among the Samals of

- Marumbui, Siasi, Sulu. *Philippine Sociological Review*, 1962, 10, 80-90.
- GELLERT, E. Systematic observations: a method of child study. *Harvard Educational Review* 1955, 25, 1979-195.
- GUTHRIE, G. and JACOBS, P.J. *Child-reading and Personality Development in the Philippines*. University Park Pennsylvania and London. The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1966.
- HONIGMAN, J. J. *Culture and Personality*. New York: Harper and Bros., 1950.
- JOCANO, F. L. Maternal and child care among the Tagalogs in Bay, Laguna, Philippines, *Asian Studies* 1970, 8, 257-300.
- JOCANO, F. L. The Traditional World of Malitbog: *A study of Community Development and Culture Change in a Philippine Barrio*. Quezon City Community Development Research Council, 1968.
- LAGMAY, L. A. *Early Socialization in an Urbanizing Community: A Case Study*. Unpublished M. A. Thesis, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, University of the Philippines, 1974.
- MASLOW, A. H. *Motivation and Personality*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1954.
- NURGE, E. *Life in Leyte Village*. University of Washington Press, 1974.
- NYDEGGER, W. F. and NYDEGGER, C. Tarong: An Ilocos barrio in the Philippines In B. B. Whiting (ed.), *Six Cultures*. New York, Wiley, 1963, 697-867.
- PAUL, B. D. Interview technique and field relationship. In A. L. Kroeber, *Anthropology Today*. New York: Narcourt Brace and Co., 1933, 430-451.
- QUISUMBING, L. Child-rearing practices in the Cebuano extended family. *Philippine Sociological Review*. 1964, 12, 109-113.
- ROGERS, C. R. The non-directive methods as a technique for social research. *American Journal of Sociology*, 1950, 60, 279-283.
- SEARS R., MACCOBY, E. and LEVIN, H. *Patterns of Child-rearing*. New York: Roe, Peterson and Co., 1957.
- SEWEL, W. H. Field techniques in social psychology study in a rural community. *American Sociological Review*, 1949, 14, 718-729.
- SKINNER, B. F. *Science and Human Behavior*. New York: Macmillan, 1953.
- WHITING, J. W. M., and CHILD, L. *Child Training and Personality*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953.
- WHITING, J. W. M., CHILD, L. L. and LAMBERT W.W. *Field Guide for a Study of Socialization in Five Societies*. Human Development Laboratory, Harvard University, 1954 (mimeographed).

Appendix A

SCHEDULE FOR MOTHER INTERVIEW

Note: In addressing the mothers, the expression of deference *po* and *ho* may be used or omitted depending on the apparent age difference between the interviewer and the mother. If it is large, *po* and *ho* may be used in addressing her; if it is small they are preferably omitted. Caution should be taken not to use these expressions when there is little or apparently no age difference because it may give the interview session a formal "flavor" and may reduce the spontaneity of the mothers' responses.

1. Sino (po) ba ang kadalasang nag-aalaga ngayon kay P (ang batang tinutukoy)?
 - a. Noong bago siya mag-isang taon, sino ang kadalasang nag-aalaga sa kanya?
 - b. Noong bago siya mag-isang taon, inaalagaan ba rin siya ng Tatay niya? Ngayon, inaalagaan pa rin ba siya ng Tatay niya? Gano kadalang siya inaalagaan nito?
2. Karaniwan sa mga sanggol ang umiiyak. Noong bago mag-isang taon si P, ano ang kadalasang ginagawa ninyo upang pahintuin siya kung umiiyak?
 - a. Gaano katagal naman bago ninyo siya inasikasao?
 - b. Papaano naman kung sakaling marami kayong ginagawa?
 - k. Eh, kung gabi naman at umiiyak siya, ano ang ginagawa ninyo para siya huminto?
 - d. Naghahanda ba kayo ng mga paraan para huwag umiyak si P, gaya halimbawa: pinakakain ba ninyo siya kung sa tantya ninyo ay nagugutom na siya kahit hindi pa siya humihingi para lang huwag siyang umiyak?
 - e. Ano naman ang ginagawa ng ibang kasambahay ninyo kung siya'y umiiyak?

3. Ano naman ang ginagawa ninyo ngayon kung sakaling humihingi ng tulong o pagkalinga si P?
 - a. Gaya halimbawa kung siya'y nadapa o nagalusan ng bahagya?
 - b. Kung halimbawang may ipinagagawa siya sa inyo o kaya'y may ipinakukumpuneng laruan?
 - k. Papaano naman kung ang ipinagagawa niya sa inyo ay inakala ninyong kaya na niyang gawin?
 - d. Papaano naman kung marami kayong gawain?
4. Sa anong edad ninyo inaakalang dapat nang turuan si P na alagaan ang kanyang sarili?
 - a. Gaya halimbawa: Kailan ninyo inaakalang dapat nang matutong kumain ng mag-isa si P? Papaano? Tinuruan ba ninyo siya o hinayaan ninyo siyang matuto sa kanyang sarili? Kung tinuruan (o tuturuan), papaano ninyo siya tinuruan (tuturuan)?
 - b. Kailan ninyo siya inakalang dapat nang matutong magbihis ng mag-isa? Papaano? Tinuruan ba ninyo siya o hinayaan siyang matutong mag-isa? Kung tinuruan (o tuturuan), papaano ninyo siya tinuruan (tuturuan)?
 - k. Kailan ninyo siya inakalang dapat matutong lumabas ng bakuran at makipaglaro sa kanyang kapwa bata? Papaano? Tinuruan (o tuturuan) ba ninyo siya o hahayaan ninyo siyang matutong mag-isa? Kung tinuruan (o tuturuan:) Papaano ninyo siya tinuruan (o tuturuan)?
5. Isalaysay nga ninyo ang kahuli-hulihang gawaing natutuhan ni P para sa kanyang sarili?
 - a. Ano ang ginawa ninyo tungkol dito?
6. Mayroon (ho) bang tungkuling inaasahan ninyong gampanan si P? Gaanong kadalas niya kailangang gawin ito? Kailangan ba niyang gawin ito ng walang palya?
 - a. Papaano ninyo inatang ang gawaing ito kay P?
 - b. Ano (po) ba ang ginagawa ninyo kung hindi niya ginagampanan ito?
7. Inaasahan ba ninyong sumunod kaagad si P kung mayroon kayong inuutos sa kanya? O binibigyan ba ninyo siya ng pagkakataong sumunod kung kailan niya minamarapat gawin ito?
 - a. (Kung inaasahang sumunod kaagad): Papaano kung makupad siya sa pagsunod?
 - b. Ano ang ginagawa ninyo kung hindi siya sumusunod?
 - k. May pagkakataon bang hinhayaan ninyo siyang hindi sumunod?
8. Kahit na maliliit pa ang ating mga anak, kung minsan ay nagpapamalas sila ng kusang paggawa ng ilang gawain. Gaano ba kayo nasisiyahan sa ganyang paggawa ng trabaho ni P?
 - a. Ano ang ginagawa ninyo kung mahusay ang pagkakagawa ng gawain ni P?
 - b. Alin ang mas importante sa inyo: ang magawa niya ang kanyang gawain ng mahusay o basta matapos lang ito?
 - k. Ano (po) ang ginagawa ninyo kung siya'y bulagsak sa kanyang trabaho?
 - d. Papaano naman, ano ang ginagawa ninyo kung talagang walang kuwenta ang trabaho ni P kahit na siya ay nagsisikap?
9. Kayo (ho) ba ay nasisiyahan sa pakikipagkaibigan ni P?
 - a. Ano (ho) ba ang gusto ninyo: Maglaro si P ng mag-isa o makipaglaro siya sa kanyang kapwa bata?
 - b. Ano ang ginagawa ninyo tungkol dito?
 - k. Mayroon (ho) bang mga batang mas gusto ninyong maging kalaro ni P? Mayroon bang mga batang hindi hindi ninyo gustong maging kalaro niya?
10. Ano (ho) ba sa palagay ninyo ang tumpak: Tulungan ni P ang kanyang mga kalaro, lalo na yaong mga nakakaliit, kung ang mga ito ay nahihirapan o basta huwag na lang makialam?
 - a. Kung nangyayari ito kay X (ibang bata), ikuwento nga ninyo ang ginagawa ni P.
 - b. Kung mayroon bang pagkain si P at ang ibang kapatid niya ay wala at nanghihingi sa kanya, dapat bang bigyan niya ito? Sinu-sino pa ang dapat niyang bigyan? Papaano kung ayaw niyang magbigay?
11. Nais ba ninyong napapasunod ni P ang kanyang mga kalaro sa kanyang gusto? O sa palagay ba ninyo, nagmamalabis siya kung ang gusto na lang niya ang nasusunod?
 - a. Ano ang ginagawa ninyo tungkol dito?
12. Ano naman ang ginagawa ninyo sa kanya kung hindi niya kayo pinakikinggan at ang nagustuhan lang niya ang kanyang sinusunod? Halimbawa?
 - a. Ano ang ginagawa ninyo tungkol dito?
13. Ipagpalagay ninyo, si P ay nakikipaglaro diyan sa tabi-tabi at napasangkot siya sa basag-ulo, ano ang gagawin ninyo?
 - a. Ipinapayo ba ninyong lumaban siya kung siya'y sinasaktan ng kanyang kapwa bata?
14. Kung minsan ay nagagalit tayo sa ating mga anak at sila'y nagagalit din sa atin. Ano ang ginagawa ninyo kung kinagagalitan ninyo si P at siya'y lumalaban?
 - a. Kung siya'y sumasagot o umaangil?
 - b. Kung siya'y nananampal o naninipa?
 - k. Magbigay nga kayo ng halimbawa?

15. Ipagpalagay ninyo ng nanakit si P sa kanyang kapwa, lalo na sa isang batang maliit sa kanya, ano ang ginagawa ninyo tungkol dito?
 - a. Ano ang ginagawa ninyo kung siya ay nanunukso?
16. Sino ang kadalasang sumusupil kay P? Kung palagay ninyo, meron siyang ginagawang hindi mabuti at sa pagkakataong iyon ay nandoon ang Tatay niya, ang mga Lelong at Lelang niya, ang Kuya at Ate niya (kung meron) o kaya ang mga Kaka niya, sino ang susupil sa kanya?
 - a. (Kung ang Tatay): Eh, kayo naman?
 - b. (Kung ang Nanay): Eh, ang inyong Tao?
 - k. Yoong nakakatandang kapatid niya? (kung mayroon)
 - d. Ang iba niyang kasambahay?
17. Kung si Y (yoong kadalasang sumusupil sa kanya) ay wala, sino naman ang sumusupil sa kanya?
 - a. Ang ngalan ba ni Y ang binabanggit kung si P ay kinagagalan ng iba?
18. Kung may kapilyuhang nagawa si P, papaano ba siya kinakastigo?
 - a. Pinapalo ba siya? Papaano?
 - b. O kaya'y ipinagkakait ba sa kanya ang isang bagay na gusto niya?
 - k. Pinagtatawanan ba siya? Papaano?
 - d. Basta ba siya hindi kinikibo?
 - e. Kinukulong ba siya sa silid o sa sako? Papaano?
 - g. Tinatatakot ba siya sa aswang? Papaano?
 - h. Tinatakot ba siyang palalaysin? Papaano?
 - i. Sinasabi ba ninyong magagalit ang Diyos?
19. (Kung ang Ina ang kadalasang sumusupil): Anong pamamaraan ang kadalasang ginagamit ninyo?
 - a. Ang inyong Tao, anong pamamaraan naman ang kanyang ginagamit?
20. Mayroon ba kayong ginagawang espesyal kung si P ay mabait?
 - a. Binibigyan ba ninyo siya ng regalo gaya ng laruan, pagkain atbp.?
 - b. O kaya'y binibigyan ba ninyo siya ng higit na kalayaan, gaya halimbawa: pinababayaan ba ninyo siyang maglaro ng matagal-tagal o kaya'y sumama sa inyong pupuntahan?
 - k. O kaya'y binibigyan ba ninyo siya ng pera?
 - d. O kaya'y pinupuri ninyo siya?
21. Sa palagay ba ninyo tumpak na ibukas ng mga bata ang kanilang loobin o dapat nilang kuyumin ito?
 - a. Tungkol kay P, papaano ninyo ginagawa ito?
 - b. Ano ang ginagawa ninyo kung labis ang kanyang pagtawa?
 - k. O ang pagkagalit niya kaya?
 - d. O kaya'y malabis ang pag-iiyak?

Appendix B

SITUATIONS FOR OBSERVATION

1. *O (other individual) assaults P*: This includes any physical aggression such as hitting, kicking, biting, etc. which is judged by the observer to be intense enough to inflict at least mild pain to P.
2. *O insults P*: This includes any derogation of status such as insulting, teasing, exclusion from activities, etc.
4. *O hurts himself in the presence of P*: This includes both cases where the observer judges that O has been hurt but O does not show distress and cases where O shows distress over a mild hurt.
4. *O encounters appreciable difficulty in an activity in the presence of P*: This includes both those situations where the observer judges that O is having difficulty and those situations in which O shows signs of having difficulty regardless of the difficulty as judged by the observer.
5. *O asks for help from P*: This is defined as a verbal or gestural request for help. This should include only clear cases of requests for help.
6. *P hurts self in the presence of O*: (see No. 3)
7. *P encounters appreciable difficulty in an activity in the presence of O*: (see No. 4)
8. *O attempts to dominate P*: This includes trying to change P's set in accordance with the wishes of O rather than P. In general, this situation is designed to measure obedience.
9. *O reprimands P*: This includes any punishment, physical or verbal. It will be up to the observer to decide from the tone of the voice and other cues, what is punishment and what is simply correction.
10. *O attempts to initiate a friendly interaction with P*: This includes making a friendly approach on the part of O with the expectation of getting a response from P.
11. *P initiates an interaction*: This includes the initiation of any interaction on the part of P which is seemingly unprovoked by any specific external instigation.

Appendix C

SCHEDULE FOR CHILD INTERVIEW

1. *Nahirapan si O sa isang gawain sa presensya ni P*: Palagay mo magkasama kayo ni O. Eh, ngayon, nasira yoong kanyang (sabihin kung anong laruan) at nahihirapan siyang gawin ito, ano ang gagawin mo? Papaano kung sa tingin mo naman kaya niyang gawin ito kung talagang pagsisikapin niya? Eh, kung sa tingin mo talagang hindi niya kaya?

2. (*Nasaktan ni O ang kanyang sarili sa presensya ni P*): Palagay mo nagtatakbuhan kayo ni O. Ngayon, nadapa siya at nasaktan, ano ang gagawin mo? Eh, kung nagalusan lang naman siya ng kaunti? Kung malaki naman ang sugat niya, ano ang gagawin mo? Palagay mo, mas maliit sa iyo, si O (ibigay ang pangalan) ang nasaktan, ano ang gagawin mo?
3. (*Nasaktan ni P ang kanyang sarili*): Palagay mo, nagtatakbo ka doon (sabihin ang lugar) at saka nadapa ka, ano ang gagawin mo? Eh, kung nagalusan ka lang naman ng kaunti? Papaano kung nasaktan kang mabuti? Kung nandoon ang Nanay mo noong nasaktan ka, ano ang gagawin mo? Eh, kung kasama mo si O (pareho ang edad at kasarian), noong madapa ka, ano ang gagawin mo?
4. (*Nahirapan si P sa isang gawain*): Palagay mo, naglalaro ka at saka nasira iyong (sabihin ang laruan) mo. Tapos, nahhirapan kang kumponehin ito, ano ang gagawin mo? Eh, papaano kung sa tingin mo tila magagawa mo naman kung talagang sisikapin mo? Palagay mo, kung sa tingin mo naman, talagang hindi mo magagawa kahit na pagsikapan mo?
5. (*Ininsulto ni O si P*): Palagay mo (sabihin ang ginagawa ni P) at saka nasalubong mo si O (k edad na bata). Kagalit mo siya ngayon. Tapos tinukso ka niya, ano ang gagawin mo? Ano mararamdaman mo sa kanyang panunukso? Eh, papaano naman kung ang nanunukso sa iyo ay mas malaki sa iyo, katulad ni (sabihin ang pangalan). Eh, kung mas maliit sa iyo, katulad ni (sabihin ang pangalan)? Palagay mo naman si O (isang batang ka edad ni P nguni't kaiba ng kasarian), ano ang gagawin mo?
6. (*Nagtakang dominahan ni O si P*): Palagay mo meron kang ginagawang nagugustuhan mo (sabihin ang gawain) at saka lumapit sa iyo si O at sabi niya sa iyo: "Ito (isang gawaing hindi kinagigiliwan ni P sa ngayon) ang gawin mo". Ano ang gagawin mo? Ano ang mararamdaman mo tungkol dito? (Kung ang sagot ay hindi pasunod): Eh, papaano kung mas masarap gawin yoong pinagagawa niya? Papaano naman kung walang kuwenta? Eh, papaano kung piliit siya ng piliit sa iyo?
7. (*Humihingi ng tulong si O kay P*): Palagay mo mayroong ginagawang tila mahirap si O (k edad at kapareho ng kasarian) at saka humihingi siya ng tulong sa iyo, ano ang gagawin mo? (Kung ang sagot ay hindi pagtulong): Eh, kung sa tingin mo talagang kailangan niyang tulungan mo siya? (Kung ang sagot ay pagtulong): Eh, kung sa tingin mo hindi naman niya kailangan ang iyong tulong, bakit mo siya tutulungan?
8. (*Sinaktan ni O si P*): Palagay mo (sabihin ang isang gawain) at nilapitan ka ni O (k edad, kacing-laldi at kapareho ng kasarian) at walang abug-abog, binuntal ka niya, ano ang gagawin mo? Eh, kung bahagya lang naman ang buntal niya sa iyo? Papaano naman kung tinira ka niya ng husto?
9. (*Sumira ng isang patakaran si P*): Palagay mo, merong isang bagay na ayaw ipagawa sa iyo ang Nanay mo (magbigay ng isang patakaran). Sa isang pagkakataon, ginawa mo iyong ipinagbabawal sa iyo. Ano ang gagawin mo? Eh, kung sa palagay mo wala namang nakakalam sa pagsuway mong ito. Meron ka bang pagsasabihan tungkol dito? Eh, kung malaman ito ng Nanay mo o ng Tatay mo kaya, papaano? Ano ang gagawin nila sa iyo?
10. (*Pinagalitan ni O si P*): Palagay mo pinagalitan ka ng Nanay mo sa isang bagay na ginawa mo (sabihin ang pagkakasala). Ano ang nararamdaman mo tungkol dito? Nagagalit ka ba at sumasagot sa kanya? Tinatakbuhan mo ba siya? Nangangako ka bang hindi mo na uulitin? O kaya, ipinagkakaila mo ba ang ginagawa mo? Eh, palagay mo naman, pagsasabihan ka lang. Eh, kung pinalo ka naman niya ng husto?
11. (*Paggawa ng tungkulin*): Palagay mo inutusan ka ng Nanay mong bumili ng (ibigay ang ngalan ng isang bagay) sa (ibigay ang ngalan ng tindahan). Ngayon, nasalubong mo si O (isang kalaro) at niyaya niyang makipaglaro ka ng (ibigay ang ngalan ng isang gawing laro), ano ang gagawin mo? Ano naman ang nararamdaman mo tungkol dito? Eh, palagay mo wala naman ang Nanay mo sa bahay at hindi niya makalamang ang ginawa mo, ano ang itutugon mo?
12. (*Pagganap ng gawain*): Ano ang nararamdaman mo kung mas magaling kang (ibigay ang isang gawing gawain) kaysa iyong mga kalaro? Kung hindi ka naman mahusay sa gawaing (ibigay ang isang gawaing interesado siya), ano ang ginagawa mo? Kung ikaw ang pinakamahusay sa inyong magkakalaro, ano ang ginagawa mo? Ano ang nararamdaman mo?
13. (*Nakikipagkaibigan si O kay P*): Palagay mo si O (isang batang baguhan sa baryo nila) ay kinakaibigan ka at niyaya ka niyang makipaglaro sa kanya, ano ang gagawin mo? Kung si O (isang batang dating kalaro) naman ang magyaya sa iyo, ano ang gagawin mo?
14. (*Gawaing walang panimulan*): Sa lahat ano ang gusto mong gawin? Gagawin mo ba ito kahit wala kang kasama?

Appendix D

CHILD VERBAL THEMATIC
APPERCEPTION PLAY
(DOLL PLAY)

With the exception of the last situation, the following situations were presented through the use of dolls. The doll or dolls as well as the other components of the play kit were so arranged so as to suggest the situations presented. For each situation the child-respondent was asked to tell a story about it.

The following situations were given in one or two sessions depending upon the productivity of the child-respondent.

Pangunahing Sesyon:

1. Itong batang ito ay nahihirapang ikabit ang tali ng kanyang hila-hila. Nasa tabi naman niya ang kanyang mga kalaro.
2. Itong mga batang ito ay naglalaro ng lutu-lutuan. Ito namang batang ito ay gusto niyang sumali. Nilapitan niya ang isa sa mga naglalaro at sabi niya: Pasale naman sa lutu-lutuan ninyo.
3. Itong batang ito ay may kapilyuhang nagawa.

(Tukuyin ang ginawa, tulad ng: Nangurakot siya ng pera sa bulsa ng Tatay niya; nangurakot ng holen ng kalaro, atbp.)

Pangalawang Sesyon:

4. Kasama ng batang ito ang kapatid niyang bunso. Umiiyak ang kapatid niya.
5. Itong batang ito ay natatakot sapagka't napakalakas ng kulog at kidlat. Hindi malayo sa kanya nandoon ang kanyang mga kalaro.
6. Itong batang ito ay kinagalitan ng kanyang kalaro dahil sa isang bagay na hindi naman niya ginawa.
7. Kung ikaw sana ay makakapili ng iyong edad, ano sana ang mas gusto mo: mas matanda ka, mas bata ka o pareho lang ngayon?
Kung ikaw ay makakapili, ano sana ang gusto mo: maging Nanay ka, o Tatay kaya, o Kuya (o Ate) o kaya Nene? Bakit?