

differ from the Tagalog elite, it seems to me. The whole question demands more discussion than is possible within the limits of a review, but the sharp conflict Larkin sees between the two historiographical approaches to the Revolution — as a predominantly Tagalog affair or as a national uprising — would seem to be a largely false dilemma. Though Larkin says as much at the end of his discussion (p. 127), the apparent attribution of Pampangan participation to “their own social and economic interests and needs for survival,” in contrast with the political aims of the revolutionary government, still seems unsatisfactory.

The lack of a broader frame of reference likewise makes difficult proper evaluation of other events and factors in Pampangan life. The fact that Archbishop Harty (not Hardy) came to Pampanga in 1905 to administer confirmation has little significance for documenting the statement that “the church hierarchy in Manila actively supported parish functions in the province,” when it is recalled that normally all bishops went regularly to the various parts of their dioceses to administer confirmation. Likewise, that priests found themselves harassed by members of Protestant and Aglipayan congregations by 1910 indicates almost nothing of the strength or weakness of Catholicism in Pampanga without some comparison with the known facts concerning other provinces. Other examples of this kind occur.

The length of the criticisms made here do not reflect the overall value of the book which has brought together and analyzed a great deal of data on Pampanga to an extent not yet achieved for any other province or region of the Philippines. It is because this study will undoubtedly serve as a model for similar ones in the future that it has seemed useful to make extensive observations on the methodology used. It is especially hoped that Dr. Larkin's analysis of the available data on land transfer may serve as a model for similar research for other regions, given the dominant significance of land ownership for social status, at least till the end of the nineteenth century. Equally worthy of serving as models are the excellent and informative maps of various types, numerous statistical

tables, and the well-chosen photographs. The author has not been served well by his editors, however, as the errors in transcription of Spanish manuscript or book titles and Spanish and Filipino proper names are rather frequent, with not a few English misprints as well. Quite a few proper names are likewise missing from the index. Finally, there are a certain number of minor errors of fact: Russell, Sturgis and Company went into bankruptcy in 1876 rather than 1893 (p. 206); Martin Sancho became a Jesuit brother in 1593, but was never ordained (p. 58). It is not correct that Pampangan (or other native Filipino) secular priests were ordained in the seventeenth century; probably not before the 1720s. Nor is the argument from silence concerning the quality of the Pampangan clergy in the period 1773–1854 of much force in the light of numerous well-supported general denunciations during this period of the clergy of the Archdiocese of Manila, of which Pampanga formed a part. These defects, however, are minor blemishes in a work which should prove valuable to historian and social scientist alike.

Filipino Student Reactions to Fertility Control, by J. Ross Eshleman, Western Michigan University (Paper prepared for The Association for Asian Studies Meeting, Washington, D.C., March 29–31, 1971).

WILHELM FLIEGER

December 4, 1971

The Philippines, a predominantly Catholic country with a population of approximately 37 million in mid-1970 and an annual population growth rate in excess of 3 percent, is experiencing an acute population problem. While this problem has been officially recognized, as evidenced by the establishment of a Population Commission, it is not so clear as to whether people in general are aware that such a problem exists and, if so, know what they can do about it. Eshleman investigates these questions for a

particular segment of the Filipino population: college students.

The objectives of Eshleman's paper is threefold: (1) to determine whether or not Filipino college students are aware of the existence of a population problem in their country, (2) to indicate the extent to which Filipino college students accept various measures of fertility control, and (3) to suggest some alternatives to fertility control in addition to the present emphasis on individuals, contraceptives, and family planning clinics.

To meet the first two objectives, the author follows typical KAP-study (knowledge, attitudes, practices) procedures, using direct questions concerning the respondents' perception of the existence of a population problem, perception of ideal family size, acceptance of birth control information and contraceptives, and acceptance of sterilization and abortion as means of population control. More specifically, the author tries to test the following hypotheses derived from KAP studies previously undertaken in the Philippines or elsewhere: (1) population is perceived to be a problem by a majority of both male and female college students; (2) the perception of the existence of a population problem varies among students of different schools; (3) ideal family size as viewed by students is smaller than that found in non-student studies but larger than that desired in more developed countries; (4) ideal family size is smaller than actual family size; (5) males desire larger families than females but are more willing than females to accept most types of fertility control; (6) birth control information is desired by a majority of students of both sexes but contraceptives are not; (7) sterilization and abortion are not acceptable means of birth control but variations in the acceptance occurs by sex; (8) acceptance of abortion varies greatly depending upon the circumstances surrounding pregnancy.

The data on which the study is based were collected during school year 1968-69 from 2,476 students enrolled in eight universities and colleges. No attempts were made to obtain a representative sample of all college students. Schools involved in the survey, however, were

purposely selected to include the three major regions of the country: Luzon, the Visayas, and Mindanao, as well as the various types of schools, i.e., public schools, private Catholic and Protestant schools, and private non-sectarian schools. The survey population came from the following schools: De La Salle College, St. Scholastica's College, University of the East, and University of the Philippines, all located in the Greater Manila area; Northwest Visayas College and Silliman University in the Visayas; and Mindanao State University and Zamboanga State College in Mindanao.

Of the respondents, 1,004 (40.5 percent) were males, and 1,472 females (59.5 percent). Three-fourths of these listed their rank as junior or senior. The overrepresentation of upperclassmen is explained by the conscious efforts to select older students who had already completed several years of college. Approximately half of the students were 19 or 20 years old, three-fourths were between 18 and 21, and close to 95 percent were between the ages of 16 and 23. Slightly less than four percent of the respondents were married, another four percent engaged, approximately 25 percent stated that they were going steady, 25 percent indicated courtship, and one-third of the respondents reported no permanent male-female relationships. Of the students, 78 percent were Catholic, 12 percent Protestant, 3 percent Muslim, 2 percent Aglipayan, and the rest listed "other" or did not respond.

Before presenting his findings, Eshleman points out two types of limitations which may be inherent in his data. The first of these arises from the kind of respondents used. Because of the often found inverse relationship between education level and family size, students may tend to understate rather than overstate the magnitude of the population problem. The second limitation is related to Filipino behavior patterns which call for politeness first, and, consequently, may lead to courtesy responses toward the interviewers rather than statements of conviction.

Most of the hypotheses listed by the author are borne out by his data. Two-thirds of all respondents perceived a population problem in

the Philippines, with virtually no difference between males and females (66 vs. 64 percent), while close to one-third of the males and more than one-fourth of the females stated either that there was no such problem or that they were not sure about it. Some among the latter group pointed toward extensive amounts of non-populated land, the fertility of the soil, and advances in science and technology as mitigating factors. Silliman University, a Protestant institution, had the highest proportion of students perceiving a population problem (77.2 percent). Least awareness existed among students at Zamboanga State College, and surprisingly, De La Salle College (less than 60 percent). Unlike St. Scholastica's College, a high-class girls' school, De La Salle, which caters to upper-class male students, does not fit the often found pattern that the higher the social status, the smaller will be the number of children born or desired and the greater the consciousness of a population problem. Eshleman hypothesizes (1) that the relationship between class and perception of a population problem either does not exist, (2) that De La Salle cannot be used as crude index of higher-class students, or (3) that other factors like religion modify the relationship. He suggests that the high degree of awareness in Silliman is a result of the deliberate efforts of the school administration to expose students to the population issue through lectures and debates, and the concentration of family planning services at Silliman Medical Center as well as in Dumaguete City.

Forty-four percent of the males and 48 percent of the females suggested birth control, family planning, the rhythm method, or the pill as remedies for a solution of a population problem. Approximately 15 percent of all respondents stated that solutions could be found through increased food production, better utilization of natural resources, more jobs, or through economic progress, industrialization and education.

The average number of children perceived as ideal for a family was 3.56. Less than 10 percent of the respondents mentioned six or more children as ideal, while 15 percent gave two or less as ideal. Considering that 78 percent of the

respondents identified themselves as Catholics, the author sees these low figures as repudiation of the often cited stereotype that "good Catholics want all the children God sends." The low average number of children perceived as ideal by college students stands in sharp contrast to the ideal number of five found among the general Philippine population by other researchers (Hill, Corrales, Concepcion and Fliieger). On the other hand, the proportion of respondents wanting five or more children (20.3 percent) is greater than the proportion which was found by Mauldin among all Japanese women (8 percent).

Concerning the fourth hypothesis, which states that ideal family size is smaller than actual size, Eshleman points to the difference existing between the present total fertility rate of 6.8, estimated for the Philippines, and the low average number of 3.56 children considered ideal by his respondents. He speculates that the desire of young people to have fewer children than completed families have today may suggest an awareness even among those who seem not to perceive a population problem or who are uncertain about it owing to the inertia of cultural norms which encourage children. The hypothesis that men want more children than women is substantiated by the difference in the proportions of male and female students who consider four or more children as ideal (42 vs. 29 percent). The reasons behind this sexual differential in ideal family size are unclear, however.

The survey discovered little opposition to information and education about birth control. Four-fifths of the respondents said that it should be made available. Sexual differences regarding this opinion were minor. While most students were in favor of information on birth control, relatively few (41 percent) agreed to the use of birth control means other than rhythm, abstinence, or other "natural" methods; and, even fewer wanted to see such "other" means available to anyone who wants them (34.6 percent). Eshleman hypothesizes that the wide gap between approval of birth control information and birth control means may stem from an interest of the students to learn about rhythm.

or other methods acceptable to the Catholic Church. Regarding approval of and free access to "other" contraceptives, differences between the sexes were substantial. Males showed a greater similarity of response between accepting both information and contraceptives than did females. Fifty-six percent of the males as compared to 31 percent of the females agreed to "other" methods, and 47.9 percent of the males did not object to the availability of these means against only 25.5 percent of the females.

Sterilization and abortion, as hypothesized, found relatively little acceptance. Only one respondent in five favored sterilization for either sex, while 52.3 percent rejected it altogether. Of the 13.4 percent who expressed acceptance of sterilization for either the males or females only, more agreed to it for the opposite sex than for their own. In contrast to the finding that males are more willing than females to accept all kinds of contraceptives, opposition to sterilization was greater among males than among females.

Rejection of abortion by both males and females was found to be highly correlated with the circumstances surrounding pregnancy. While 31.4 percent of the respondents considered abortion unjustifiable under any circumstance, 46.3 percent expressed approval if it was necessary for the health of the mother, and 17.5 percent did not object for cases in which rape was involved. Incest, illegitimacy, and unwanted pregnancy were rejected as legitimate reasons for abortion by an overwhelming majority of the students.

In view of the acute population problem in the Philippines of which large portions of the general population apparently are still unaware, Eshleman believes that population control via

family planning with its emphasis on "methods" directed toward individuals is inadequate. More specifically, he points out that individuals do not plan population size for their community or nation, but make decisions consistent with their personal concerns and interests. In addition, preoccupation with medical aspects of conception ignores important determinants of reproductive behavior such as male-female roles, family decision-making processes, authority patterns, and legal and normative conditions operating in society, to name only a few. To overcome existing deficiencies in population-control activities, a shift is needed away from a solely biological orientation to a social-science orientation. The author suggests a shift from placing sole responsibility on the medical and health professions to an increasing role for social-change agents; a shift from dealing with persons to dealing with families, communities, or the nation as a whole.

The suggested shift assumes that population growth can be socially regulated. Eshleman believes that such regulation is possible (1) through a reversal of pronatalist policies advocated in the past, which included tax exemptions for large families, maternity leave benefits, and tax strictures on unmarried earners, (2) through greater availability of jobs for women, paying of wages to women equal to those of men, compulsory education up to a certain age, family-life education in schools, and the establishment of youth corps whose members can be engaged in social work and thereby be kept away from the marriage market, and (3) through efforts to create more population-problem awareness among today's community leaders and among students who will be the community leaders of tomorrow.