MODERN FILIPINO KINSHIP: THE MANILA CORPORATION MANAGER AS A CASE IN POINT

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Conducted in July-September 1970, this study examines the kinship ideology and behavior of 60 managers employed in manufacturing corporations of Metro Manila. On grounds of birthplace and father's occupation, four categories are constructed: the geographically mobile and stable; the socially mobile and stable. The data do not support the hypothesis that socially or geographically mobile managers are less kin-oriented than their stable counterparts.

In the traditional Philippines, as in many similar societies, the element of kinship enters into most aspects of life, perhaps all of them. This is a behavioral pattern acknowledged by both those who live it and those who study it. One wonders, however, whether traditional values and behavior such as kin-orientedness can weather the modernizing influences of urbanization and industrialization which characterize all developed and developing nations today.

For it has been postulated that these twin processes necessarily result in some uniform end-product pattern of behavior found in all societies that have undergone them. Of particular interest is the generalization that there is in modernizing societies a trend toward fewer kinship ties with distant relatives and a corresponding greater emphasis on the nuclear family. The question therefore arises: Does such a generalization apply to a developing country like the Philippines? To find an answer to this question I made a study of a selection of corporation managers, a group demonstrably involved in the modernization process.

Significance of the Study

To date, most research on the modernization of the Philippines has been economic in nature, focusing on such variables as growth in Gross National Product, per-capita income, and the rate of industrialization. Relatively few studies have been made of the behavioral aspects of the modernization process.[1] However, it is obvious that the implications of industrialization for the entire social structure, value systems, and other relationships within a developing country like the Philippines are far-reaching. It is the aim of this study to discover to what extent changes have come about in kinship patterns among those who constitute an important segment of the Philippine modernizing elite.

This study should be of interest to both social scientists and laymen in another way. It may begin to do for the urban areas what Lynch (1973) has begun to do for the rural Philippines: confirm or modify stereotypes Filipinos hold with regard to their kin relations. However, it should be noted that whereas Lynch explicitly considers the relative importance of both kinsmen and nonkinsmen among the individual's social allies and voluntary action partners, my study looks only at differences in the use of kinsmen.

Finally, it is hoped that this study will contribute to an understanding of the process by which kinship behavior and attitudes are modernized. What I discuss should give us a picture of the kinds of adaptation that may occur in the urban sector of any rapidly developing country such as the Philippines.

Theoretical Orientation and Related Studies

Kinship has long occupied a prominent place in anthropology, but students of kinship behavior fall into two categories (Gibbs 1964). On the one hand, there are those who explain such behavior in terms of the inner dynamics within a particular kinship system. These are the kinship-centered theorists. On the other hand, there are those who explain kinship behavior in terms of some factor external to family and kinship. These are the matrix-centered theorists. The current trend has been to look at kinship in terms of matrix-centered elements, especially where the object of study is the changes that have occurred in family and other kinship relations. Given the nature of the study reported here, it is not surprising that its approach is matrix-centered.

Two aspects of the complex and singular process of change are modernization and kinship adaptation. Modernization has been defined as "the process by which individuals change from a traditional way of life to a more complex, technologically advanced and rapidly changing style of life" (Rogers 1969: 48). Two factors involved in modernizatio·i are urbanization — specifically an increase in urban agglomeration — and industrialization.

In an urban-industrial society certain pressures impinge on the kinship system. Industrialization calls for physical movement from one locality to another, thus decreasing the frequency and intimacy of contact among members of a kin network. An open class system, such as that found in the Philippines, allows mobility from one class to another and provides opportunities for advancement up the status ladder The presence of industry generally implies a multiplication of alternatives in the choice of occupation. Urban and industrial systems, insofar as they involve specialized organizations, can undermine large kin groups by handling problems which formerly were solved within the kin network. Based on these assumptions — that industrialization creates class-differential mobility and weakens extended kin relations — current formulations say that socially mobile individuals achieve freedom to move only if the extensive-

ness of their kin network is somehow limited (Goode 1963; Parsons 1951; Schneider and Homans 1955).

Contrary to this is the view that extended family kin ties are not incompatible with an industrialized bureaucratized society, despite differential rates of geographic and occupational mobility (Litwak 1960a, 1960b; Young and Willmott 1957). Studies of kinship in London (Firth 1956, 1969; Bott 1957), the United States (Adams 1968; Schneider 1968), and Canada (Garigue 1956) have expressed the same view. While there may be a world trend toward urbanization and industrialization there is little evidence for the disappearance of kinship awareness.

The specific interest of my study is to test the association between kin relations and mobility within the Philippine setting. Are mobile managers more or less kin-oriented than stable managers? This will involve an analysis of the respondents' kinship ideology, available kin, and interaction with extra-familial kin. On grounds of this study I should be able to determine which of the two frequently stated propositions is more descriptive of the sample of managers in this developing country, the one which says that the accompaniments of urbanization and industrialization (specifically, mobility) must weaken extended kin ties and emphasize the nuclear family, or the one stating that urban-industrial society can flourish in the presence of extended family ties.

Research Hypotheses and Concepts

To investigate the problem of kin-orientedness among managers the following general hypotheses were formulated for testing.

1. Middle managers who are socially mobile are less kin-oriented than middle managers who are socially stable.
2. Middle managers who are geographically mobile are less kin-oriented than middle managers who are geographically stable.

By kin-orientedness I simply mean the tendency to interact, as manifested by actual face-to-face interaction, with kin. As indicators of the

kin-orientedness of the managers the following behavioral variables were studied: (1) size and range of available kin recalled; (2) household composition; (3) kin awareness; (4) kin bias; (5) frequency of contact with kin; (6) kinds of contact with kin; and (7) range of kin in contact.

The mobility variables may be defined in the following manner. By social mobility I mean the movement, either upward of downward, between higher and lower occupational groupings. Geographic mobility refers to the transfer of residence from the rural areas to the city, specifically to Manila and suburbs, or Metro Manila.

For these definitions I used the following operational concepts. For social mobility a generational concept of mobility was applied in the study (Westoff et al. 1960): a socially stable individual is one whose occupation is equal in status with that of his father; a socially mobile individual is one whose occupation is higher or lower than that of his father. A geographically mobile individual is one who was born in the rural areas and has moved to Metro Manila. A geographically stable individual is one who was born in Metro Manila and has remained here to the present.

Research Procedures

To study the association between mobility and kin-orientedness a survey methodology was used. Four samples of middle-level managers, defined as those below vice-president but above supervisor, were chosen from the respondent population of Alfred B. Bennett's (1971) Filipino corporation managers study. Bennett had chosen 200 middle-level production and sales managers from 24 companies in the Metro Manila area. By applying the additional selective criteria of geographic and social mobility I chose four subsamples for my study.

Sixty managers, not necessarily representative of Bennett's sample, were selected. Figure 1 shows the sampling design by means of a two-by-two matrix (S means *socially;* G means *geographically*).

	Stable-G	Mobile-G
Mobile-S	15	15
Stable-S	15	15

Fig. 1 – Sampling matrix employed in the study

The choice was made as follows. Each of the 200 managers was classified by social mobility, the latter being determined by comparing his present occupation with that of his father when the respondent was 16 years old.[2] After this social mobility classification, each manager was crossclassified by geographic mobility. On grounds of his residential history from birth to the present, he was classified as either geographically mobile or geographically stable.[3] Having placed the 200 managers in these four mobility categories, I then randomly chose 15 from each as my 60 respondents. In the following pages I shall refer to socially mobile managers as "Mobile-S," to socially stable managers as "Stable-S," to geographically mobile managers as "Mobile-G," and to geographically stable managers as "Stable-G."

The respondents are all males, with a median age of 45. With only two exceptions, all are married and have children. The managers are currently residents of Metro Manila, living in various localities scattered throughout the area.

Data were collected by means of a standardized personal interview. Interviews were generally conducted in English, though one manager preferred to use Tagalog. The length of the sessions ranged from one to two hours and were taperecorded throughout, with the informant's permission. Appointments for these interviews were arranged by telephone calls to the managers, suggesting the date for the meeting and inquiring whether the respondent preferred to be interviewed in his office or at home. In all but three cases, the office was chosen as the place of interview.

Limitations of the Study

The first observation that might be made about this study is the size of the sample used.

For a study using the survey method the sample is admittedly small, a limitation that became especially obvious during the analysis of the data. However, from the statistician's viewpoint, the size of the subsamples (15) is acceptable.

Stemming from this first limitation is another, the question of just how valid generalizations will be which are drawn from such a small sample. In other words, with a sample of 60, can one draw any conclusions regarding the process of modernization in a developing country like the Philippines? The reader should further be warned that, because the respondents represent only the modernizing segment of the population, generalizations must be limited at most to this sector.

This study was designed to gather empirical data on the managers' kinship behavior and to determine the latter's relationship to mobility. The research aimed to find out whether or not there exists such an association. The question of *why* such an association exists, if it does, is not within the scope of the study. Nor do we here compare dealings with kinsmen with dealings with nonkinsmen. We merely ask whether and to what extent kin-orientedness is characteristic of various mobility groupings among managers of Metro Manila.

Dimensions and Importance of Kin Relations

Kinship denotes the set of ties socially recognized to indicate genealogical connections between individuals. The social component of kinship is important in two respects: it determines who is related to whom, and it helps in deciding how various categories of relations are to be treated. For not all kinsmen are treated alike: there is a selection process involved.

Underlying this selection process is a kinship ideology, a set of ideas concerning kinship (Firth 1969). For purposes of this study I was interested in the managers' concepts of family, relatives, and the importance of relatives. In discussing their ideas on these subjects I will relate them to their kin network, in particular to their available kinsmen, and to the composition of their households.

Concept of family

In general, the managers consider their *families* as extending beyond their own wife and children. Only one-third of the respondents confine their concept of family to the family of procreation. Most include other kin, especially members of the family of orientation. Parents are almost invariably included, and when they are not it is because they are either dead or residentially separate. Siblings are not included so often as parents, an exclusion explained in part by their residing separately from the respondent.

Besides the consanguineal kinsmen mentioned, another group included in the concept of family are affines. Almost one-third of the respondents include them, generally the parents and siblings of the wife. Those who take this position argue that their having married into the wife's family makes them a part of her family. On the other hand, those who do not include affines in the family reason that they only married the daughter and not her family. No spouses of siblings (brothers-in-law, sisters-in-law) are considered family.

Concept of relatives

The question of whom to consider *relatives* elicited more varied responses. In general, however, the managers think of relatives as those kin who are outside the family of procreation. One manager says that when he thinks of family he thinks of his "immediate family," but when he thinks of relatives, "It's outside of my house already, outside of my wife and children." The extent of inclusion under such a classification is immense: in theory, the respondents recognize people as relatives if any genealogical connection at all can be traced.

The managers divide their kin outside of the family into close and distant relatives, both consanguineal and affinal. However, only three out of five respondents (58 percent) consider affinal relations their kinsmen.

Household composition. In terms of Eslao's (1966) classification scheme, the managers' modal household is nuclear, more than one-half of managers' households consisting only of the manager, his wife, and their children (Table 1).

This high incidence of independent nuclear households conforms to what may be the culturally preferred domestic arrangement (Carroll 1968). Of the three non-nuclear types in the sample most were nuclear-lineal households, most often composed of the respondent's nuclear family and his wife's parent(s). The nuclear-lateral households generally included unmarried siblings of the manager or of his wife. The few nuclear-joint households in the sample included the nuclear families of a respondent and his sibling.

Table 1

Managers classified by household composition (Metro Manila, July-September 1970)

Household composition	Number	Percent
Nuclear	32	53%
Nuclear-lineal	15	25
Nuclear-lateral	10	17
Nuclear-joint	3	5
Total	60	100

The importance of relatives. In the selective process involving kin relations, most respondents think relatives are important; only one-third maintain the contrary. Those who consider relatives important give as their main reason the fact that if an emergency arises one can always call on them for help and they will not refuse, in spite of differences that may exist. Relatives are also important in one's social life. Because they are relatives, they cannot be avoided. Many managers say they feel an obligation to keep in touch, even if only occasionally.

For most of the managers the circle of kin that 's important revolves around siblings. For some, however, first cousins, aunts, and uncles are significant. But the emphasis is clearly on primary kin.

Availability of kinsmen. Another indicator of the selective attitude toward kin is the awareness of available kin; certain kin are remembered more than others. The managers were asked to recall (by household) the number and kinds of kinsmen they had in Manila and suburbs. In general, more cousin households were recalled than other types. These were predominantly first cousins, no cousins beyond the third degree being remembered. The greater number of cousin households recalled indicates that more of this type of household are available for interaction than are sibling, aunt/uncle, or affinal households. Nonetheless there is a wide range of kin available from whom managers may select for interaction.

Managers compared

Comparing the four subsamples of managers along the various dimensions of family and kin relations mentioned above I find that the managers do not differ significantly among themselves. In thinking about their families Mobile-S managers tend to think beyond their immediate families just as often as the Stable-S do. When geographic mobility is considered the Stable-G confine themselves to the immediate family more frequently than do the Mobile-G (37 vs. 23 percent), but the difference is not significant. When relatives are defined, mobile individuals (Mobile-G and Mobile-S) tend to exclude affines more often than stable individuals do, but again the tendency is not significant.

Neither do managers differ significantly in their household composition, although some trends may be noted. Stable-S managers show a greater tendency toward nuclear-family households than Mobile-S managers do. Among the extended households, Stable-G managers have fewer nuclear-lineal households than Mobile-S do.

Differences in the perceived importance of relatives do not emerge among the four mobility groups. Almost equal numbers of mobile and stable managers consider their relatives important. For available kin recalled, however, the stable managers have a higher median number than mobile managers. This fits with the assumption that residentially mobile people tend to have fewer kinsmen available for interaction. Testing the possible association between the estimate of the importance of one's relatives and the number of available kin produced no significant correlation.

Primary Kin Interaction

I mentioned above that under the term "fam-

ily" most managers included not only spouse and children (family of procreation) but also parents and siblings (family of orientation). In discussing interaction with primary kin I here limit myself to parents and siblings, viewed in terms of frequency and categories of interaction, and reasons given for it.

Interaction with parents

The managers see their parents frequently, almost half seeing them at least once a week. Examining the relation of mobility to frequency of interaction I find that there is a significant tendency for Stable-G managers to have more frequent interaction with their parents than mobile-G managers do (Table 2). Having moved away from their parents, Mobile-G managers see them less often than managers see theirs. Whereas social mobility does not affect relations with parents, geographic mobility certainly does tend to cut down interaction with them.

Categories of interaction. Frequent visits, social occasions, assistance, and recreation constitute the kinds of interaction that go on between the managers and their parents. Visiting is the most frequent form of contact. When this does not occur on a daily basis, it usually takes place on weekends, when parents and managers see one another for a family get-together which generally includes the managers' brothers and

sisters. It is during these visits and get-togethers that assistance is given.

All of the respondents whose parents are still alive visited them in the past year, regardless of residential distance. Those with parents who live in the provinces usually time their visits to coincide with the Christmas season or their annual vacation leave. Sometimes it is the parents who come to Manila to visit their children.

Less frequent than visits are social occasions and recreational activities. Interactions of this kind are especially characteristic of managers who have parents living with them or relatively close to them. Mutual assistance between the managers and their parents is another occasion for interaction. About 40 percent of the managers mentioned giving some kind of regular aid, usually financial, to their parents. However, few managers mentioned receiving any help from their parents.

The data on kinds of interaction with parents afford little basis for significant differences among the four mobility groups. It is only in the giving of assistance that a trend is noticeable. Mobile-G managers are more likely to give tangible aid to their parents than the Stable-G. Although this is not statistically significant, it does give some indication of the contact pattern of these managers with their parents, compared to that of the Stable-G.

Reasons for interaction. Because of an in-

Table 2

Managers classified by frequency of interaction with parents,
crossclassified by geographic and social mobility
(Metro Manila, July-September 1970)

Frequency of interaction	Stable-G		Mobile-G	
	Stable-S	Mobile-S	Stable-S	Mobile-S
Weekly or more often	6	10	1	4
Monthly or more often but not weekly	3	2	2	4
Several times a year but not monthly	1	0	7	4
Both parents dead	5	3	5	3
Total	15	15	15	·15

Association is significant at the 0.05 level (Chi-square test), using the row categories "monthly or more" and "less than monthly."

terest in the manager's conscious reasons for keeping in touch with his parents, I asked the managers whether they felt it important to keep in contact because of an obligation to do so, because they enjoyed it, or because of parental need for help. The managers felt that their reason for keeping in touch was a mixture of obligation and enjoyment: 93 percent considered enjoyment an important reason; 81 percent considered obligation an important reason; only 47 percent considered parental need of help an important reason for contact with parents. When those who consider both obligation and enjoyment important are separated from those who think either obligation or enjoyment alone to be important, 60 percent fall into the former group and only 40 percent into the latter group. No significant results were produced in examining the relationship between mobility and reasons for keeping in contact with parents.

Interaction with siblings

To have a concrete idea about sibling relations I focused on one particular sibling of the manager, the brother or sister with whom the manager came into contact most frequently. The results show that the managers have more contact with siblings who are older than they, female, and occupationally of the same level.

Examining the possible influence of mobility on frequency of interaction with siblings reveals no significant association. Regardless of their mobility status, most managers frequently contact the brother or sister they discussed. Thus more than half (51 percent) interact with this sibling at least once a week, while 40 percent interact at least monthly. Moreover, frequency of interaction with siblings other than this favorite is also much the same among the four mobility groups.

The general tendency for residentially close kin to interact more often than others, noted in the relations with parents, is also characteristic of sibling contact. If siblings are to continue their companionship in adulthood, they must live reasonably close to one another. For 76 percent of the managers, the sibling with whom they interact most often lives in the neighborhood or in a nearby district of Metro Manila; for

the rest of the managers this sibling lives in the province.

Categories of interaction. Among the four kinds of contact (visiting, social occasions, casual meetings, assistance) visits dominate the relations between the managers and their siblings. Next to visits the most frequent form of interaction is the exchange of assistance. Siblings, like parents, are rarely encountered in social activities.

Visits are augmented by the coresidence of a parent with either the respondent or his sibling. When they live by themselves, parents are also the focal point for meetings among siblings. The usual occasion for the meeting is a weekend get-together among the siblings and their parents, each sibling bringing his family to the parents' home.

Assistance, whether given, received, or exchanged, is engaged in with siblings by 78 percent of the managers. This help involves financial and material aid, as well as services such as legal assistance, business advice, and moral counsel. Aid reportedly comes from the managers more often than from their siblings, particularly in financial matters. Twenty-nine percent of the managers say they *received* some kind of help from a sibling within the past year, while 78 percent say they *gave* some assistance to siblings in the same period. No significant differences in kinds of contact with siblings distinguish mobile from stable managers.

Reasons for interaction. A feeling of obligation and enjoyment are the apparent reasons for frequent contact between the respondents and their siblings. The kind of obligation the managers feel toward their siblings is an obligation to help, and not just an obligation to see them. Sixty-four percent of the managers consider the former an important reason, while 48 percent give importance to the latter. Enjoyment is invariably another important reason for contact with siblings, as it is with parents, 90 percent of the managers considering it so. As in the analysis of the reasons for contact with parents, so here I found no significant differences between the mobile and the stable managers.

Summary

Briefly, contact between the respondents,

their parents, and siblings is a continual and frequent phenomenon. In spite of residential distance, managers have not lost contact with their primary kin. Contrary to the assumption that the nuclear family becomes isolated when its head is socially or geographically mobile, there is clear evidence of a continuing relationship between the managers, their parents, and siblings.

Secondary Kin Contact

By secondary kin I here refer to all non-primary kin related to the manager by blood or marriage. As in the previous section, my discussion is concerned with some dimensions of social contact with these kin, specifically the number of kin interacted with, kinds of kin in contact, and the frequency and categories of contact.

Number of kin interacted with

The managers reported a total of 483 households of kinsmen (142 siblings and parents, 341 secondary) whom they had contacted in the five months before the interview. Of this total, Stable-G managers reported 305, while Mobile-G managers reported 178. Grouping the same data according to the social-mobility variable, I found that the Stable-S managers had slightly more kin

(247) with whom they interacted than did the Mobile-S (236). Table 3 shows the distribution of these kin according to the four mobility groups.

The number of kin with whom managers reported they were in contact in Manila represents 56 percent of the 822 kinsmen they recalled as living in the Manila area (their "available" kin). If the proportion of contacted kin to available kin is considered, the Stable-G comes into contact with a greater percentage of his available kin than does the Mobile-G. The same relationship holds when the Mobile-S and Stable-S are compared, the latter having a higher percentage of contacted kin than the former. Earlier I reported that stable managers had more available kin than mobile managers. From these data we may conclude that the more kinsmen one has available, the more he tends to interact with them, while the fewer his kin the less is his tendency for contact. Mobility influences availability. Availability influences the percentage of kin interacted with.

In addition to asking about the kin from Manila and suburbs with whom the managers maintained contact, I also inquired about contact with kin from the provinces, kin outside of Metro Manila. A group-by-group comparison of the four mobility categories was made. The accompanying diagram (Fig. 2) shows the comparisons which revealed significant differences,

Table 3

Managers classified by number of kin interacted with in previous five months, crossclassified by social and geographic mobility : (Metro Manila, July-September 1970)

Number of kin interacted with	Stable-S		Mobile-S	
	Stable-G	Mobile-G	Stable-G	Mobile-G
0– 3	2	4	2	6
4– 7	7	5	8	4
8–11	4	6	2	3
12–15	0	0	1	1
16–19	1	0	1	0
20 or more	1	0	1	1
Total number	156	91	149	87

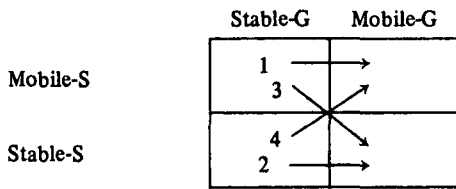the arrow pointing in each case to the group that reported greater interaction.

Fig. 2 – Comparisons (numbered) which revealed significant differences. Arrows point to the cells (groups) which had more frequent interaction with kin in the provinces

As the diagram shows, the significant comparisons all involve Mobile-G managers.[4] It is these respondents who have more contact with provincial kin. This finding indicates that those who moved from the rural areas to the city of Manila have not lost contact with their provincial kinsmen. The fact that Mobile-G managers have more contact with the provinces than the Stable-G do is understandable since, being from the provinces themselves, the Mobile-G probably have more kin there than do the Stable-G, who, because of their origins, should have more of their kin in the city. Once more, availability influences the number and kind of kin interacted with.

Categories of kin interacted with

Analyzed by structural category, secondary kin interacted with turn out to be mostly cousins. Thus of the 341 nonprimary kinsmen reported as contacted by the managers, 182 (53 percent) are cousins, 80 (24 percent) are aunts or uncles, and 79 (23 percent) are affines of various kinds, mostly spouse's primary relatives. Moreover, of the managers who had cousins available for interaction, 87 percent had contact with at least one of them, while only 29 percent of those with aunts or uncles available had contact with even one of them. From this we conclude that there is a generational bias in the kinship interaction of the managers; they tend to interact with kinsmen of their own generation.

Comparing the four mobility groups according to the number of kin interacted with in each of the three kin types, only one significant difference emerges: there are significantly more Stable-S-cum-Stable-G managers than Mobile-S-cum-Mobile-G managers who have contact with aunts or uncles.[5] From a comparison of the interactions of each of the subsamples with the three kin types another significant difference emerges: Stable-S-cum-Mobile-G managers have more contact with cousins than with aunts or uncles.[6]

Frequency of interaction

The managers interacted more *frequently* with affines than they did with either cousins or uncles and aunts. Fully 48 percent of all managers had direct contact with their affines on a monthly or more-than-monthly basis, while only 17 percent did so on a less-than-monthly basis. While many managers maintained contact with their cousins at least monthly (43 percent), more than a third (35 percent) kept in touch less frequently. The percentage of managers who interacted frequently with uncles and aunts was small (27 percent), as was the percentage of those who interacted with members of the same kin category less frequently (22 percent). Among the four mobility groups there were no significant differences in frequency of contact with these secondary kin.

Categories of interaction

Compared to their interaction with primary kin, the managers' interaction with secondary kin is more varied. This is due to the more intentional nature of contact with primary kin and the respondents' less intense relationships with secondary kin. In other words, contact with secondary kin is not so regular or frequent as contact with primary kin.

Cousin contact among the managers tends to be a mixture of visiting, social gatherings, and incidental interaction. Visiting with cousins is most common, with 50 percent of the managers having visited at least one cousin in a period of five months. More than half of that percentage reported having had monthly or more visits with cousins. Next to visiting are casual meetings such as coincidental contact at another relative's house, running into each other at the plant or office where both manager and cousin are working or playing through the other's foursome at the fairway. Only 18 percent of the managers

mentioned seeing cousins on such occasions, and fewer managers (13 percent) reported meeting cousins on social occasions.

Assistance, social occasions, and such "forced" visitations as when a relative is hospitalized or dies seem to play only a minor part in the contact pattern of the managers and their cousins. Among the four mobility groups, significantly more Mobile-S-cum-Mobile-G managers visit with their cousins than Stable-S-cum-Stable-G managers do.[7] The other groups do not differ significantly from one another in their types of contact with cousins.

Contact patterns with aunts and uncles are similar to those with cousins, although the frequencies differ. Visits are the most common form of contact, with 32 percent of the managers visiting at least one aunt or uncle. Next to visits are social occasions (13 percent) and casual meetings (11 percent). Contacts because of emergencies and the need of assistance are rare. No significant differences were found among the four mobility groups in the kinds of interaction they had with aunts or uncles.

As in the contact patterns with cousins. uncles, and aunts, visiting is the most common form of interaction between managers and their affines. Of the 60 managers, 55 percent reported visits with their affines, 20 percent said they had met affines on social occasions, while 10 percent had contact with affines to give or to ask for some kind of assistance. Comparing the four mobility groups, there were more Stable-S-cum-Stable-G managers who had visits with affines than there were Stable-S-cum-Mobile-G managers.[8]

I said that in the total sample there was no particular pattern of interaction discernible for a particular kin type. However, when I compared the interaction of the groups with each of the three kin categories, some trends emerged. Stable-S-cum-Stable-G managers tend to visit with affines more than with cousins.[9] Stable-S-cum-Mobile-G managers tend to visit with aunts or uncles more than with cousins.[10] The visits are also more frequent.

Reasons for interaction

From the kinds of contact mentioned and the number of managers engaging in each of them, it may be concluded that the interaction of the managers with their secondary kin is functional mainly for emotional support. The major activity linking the managers with their kin network is visiting. Very few managers mention having engaged in other forms of interaction. It also appears from the data that both mobile and stable managers have kept in contact with secondary kin. Although interaction with secondary kin cannot be characterized as intensive, there is no appreciable evidence to support the hypothesis that socially or geographically mobile managers have shallower relations with secondary kin than do stable managers. Neither the number of kin in contact nor the frequency of contact indicates in clear-cut fashion that mobile managers have lost touch with these kin. If there is any difference at all, it is in the *quality* of contact. For example. contact with provincial kin seems to be more characteristic of the Mobile-G managers than of the Stable-G managers. In terms of generational contact, managers who are socially stable and are originally from Manila have more interaction with aunts and uncles than do the socially mobile managers from the province. Finally, visiting with cousins seems to be more characteristic of the socially mobile managers from the province than of the socially stable managers from Manila.

Summary and Conclusion

There is a popular assumption that in an urban-industrial milieu the close kinship ties typical of a rural-agricultural society will weaken or break down, a development attributed to the social and geographic mobility characteristic of urban-industrial society. In this study I was interested in finding out if this assumption were true for a developing country like the Philippines. I examined the kinship behavior of a group of managers in order to study the association between kin-orientedness and social and geographic mobility.

In general the findings indicate that in an urban-industrial area like Manila and suburbs, kinship relations flourish and continually func-

tion in the lives of the managers. Each manager in the study reported a network of extrahousehold kin in Manila and suburbs with whom active social relations were maintained. This network is composed of kin variously related to the manager.

Primary kin relations dominate the kin involvement of the managers. Interaction with parents is typically frequent, usually through weekly visits. Such frequent contact is made easier by the residential proximity of the parents, some of whom live with the respondents. An underlying sense of obligation, mixed with a certain enjoyment at seeing the parents, motivates these interactions. Relations with siblings are also characterized by frequent contact through visits, as well as the reciprocal exchange of aid. Assistance is more characteristic of the relations with siblings than of relations with parents. Aid is usually reciprocal between siblings and one-way with parents, with the parents as recipients. Sibling relations may be characterized as involving interest and concern; the managers express not only enjoyment at seeing their siblings but also concern for them, more than a perceived obligation to keep in touch.

Interaction with secondary kin is not so intense as that with primary kin. Nevertheless, contact is maintained. Among the various secondary kin, contact occurs more frequently with affines than with cousins or uncles or aunts. However, more cousins are interacted with because a greater number of cousins are available. Once more the most frequent form of contact is incidental.

Throughout the study I was interested mainly in trying to find some association between social or geographic mobility and kin-orientedness. I hypothesized that mobile managers would be less kin-oriented than stable managers. But the data do not support the hypothesis. The similarities among the four groups are especially clear in the frequencies of interaction with secondary kin and attitudes toward kin. In terms of the absolute number of available kin, the geographically stable managers are more abundantly provided than the mobile managers are. Nevertheless, in spite of the in-

fluence of geographic mobility on availability of kinsmen it does not totally break down contact with kin who are not residentially proximate.

I ask myself: In an urban-industrial area like Greater Manila where the possibility of forming social relations with nonkin is so great, are there still strong ties with extrahousehold kin? On the basis of the findings in this study, and bearing in mind what has been said about Filipino kin behavior, I draw the following conclusions.

The traditionally valued ties with extrahousehold kin have not been severed by the high social and geographic mobility characterisitc of urban-industrial society. Judging from the frequency and kinds of interaction with kin reported by managers, I can say that managers whose fathers had occupations of lower status than they are not less kin-oriented than managers whose fathers had occupations similar to their own. Furthermore, managers who were born in the province and are now living in Manila are not less kin-oriented than managers who were born in Manila and are presently living there. Movement from one social class to another, like movement from the rural to the urban area, does not seem to deter interaction with extrahousehold kin. Still active, it seems, is the folk morality behind the Tagalog proverb, *Ang hindi marunong lumingon sa pinanggalingan ay hindi makararating sa paroroonan* ('He who does not remember where he came from will not reach where he is going'): no matter how high or far one travels he should keep in touch with those he left behind.

Urbanization theory suggests a disruption in the intensity of kin ties. My findings indicate otherwise. With urbanization we do not necessarily find a severance of those kin ties which are such an important factor in patterns of behavior in rural areas. When theorists speak of the breakdown of extrahousehold kin ties they cannot be referring so much to the total loss of such ties as to the tendency to cut down on some kin ties in favor of interaction with nonkinsmen. As the process of industrialization advances and more people live in urban centers, old ways of working are disturbed, traditional consumer habits change, and established social relationships undergo radical modifications. Each of these

changes tends to alter ways of thinking and behavior, and in social relationships give rise to problems that can only be met by the provision of new social mechanisms. Because of the greater number of nonkin than kin and the need to balance the efforts made in interacting with both, people prefer to limit close ties to primary kin while maintaining shallow ties with secondary and more distant kin.

Modernization is affecting Filipino society. As it does, some aspects of culture are radically altered, others slightly, and still others not at all. Changes of an abrupt nature are best exemplified by modern technology in industry, business, and even agriculture, in response to the demands of a growing population. In individual behavior we see the pressure for punctuality in keeping business appointments and in the payment of debts, the desire to save, and the greater freedom demanded in the choice of a marriage partner. In contrast to these are aspects of Filipino culture which seem to have remained the same. This is particularly true with respect to basic values. Filipinos still have high concern for the feelings of others, strong loyalties based on personal ties, and the recognition of obligations to the nuclear family, such as support for aging parents.

Attention shown to extrahousehold kin relations is somewhere in between. In has changed in part. Although secondary kin are no longer of great importance when compared to the nuclear or household kin, relations with them remain matters of concern to the managers, at least in certain circumstances. This is one response to the callenge of modernization.

Notes

1. Probably the most concentrated collection of such behavioral studies is to be found in the series entitled *Modernization: Its impact in the Philippines*, which contains reports on the Ateneo-Penn State Basic Research Program (1966—69). See Bello and Roldan 1969; Bello and de Guzman 1968, 1969; Guthrie, Lynch, and Bello 1967; Lynch and de Guzman 1971. Also see Guthrie 1971 and Szanton 1971.

2. To make such a comparison I had to have a uniform classification of occupations. Since such a classification was not available, a panel of 15 raters was chosen to represent a range of social statuses which previous studies of occupational ranking in the Philippines would designate as wide (Tiryakian 1958; Castillo 1962). This panel sorted the 93 different occupations of the managers' fathers into six categories, ranging from highest status (category I) to lowest (category VI). The raters were a security guard, a college student, a noncommissioned officer of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), a college professor, a colonel in the AFP, a medical doctor, a domestic helper, a high school teacher, a corporation manager, a corporation supervisor, a gas station attendant, and a cashier.

From the ratings a system of social-status classification was devised. An occupation was assigned to an upper or lower status by an agreement of at least 10 raters that the occupation belonged to categories I or II for the Upper and V or VI for the lower. All occupations not assigned by at least 10 raters to either of these four groups were assinged to the middle social status.

In this rating system, "middle-level manager" was assigned to the Upper status. That is, the present occupation status of the managers was placed in the highest category. By this system, then, any manager whose father's occupation was placed in a category other than "Upper" was considered upwardly mobile, or socially mobile, by my definition, relative to the father's occupation. Managers whose fathers' occupations were rated "Upper" were considered stable.

3. A manager was classified as geographically mobile if he had been born in areas other than Metro Manila and lived there till the age of 16 or older. A manager was classified as geographically stable if he had been born in Metro Manila and lived there up to the present. By Metro Manila is here understood the adjoining administrative units of Manila, Caloocan, Quezon City, Pasay, San Juan, Mandaluyong, Makati, Malabon, and Parañaque.

4. Using a point-biserial correlation, comparisons 1, 2, and 3 are significant at the 0.01 level, while comparison 4 is significant at the 0.05 level.

5. Significant at the 0.05 level using a point-biserial correlation.

6. Significant at the 0.01 level using Fisher's Exact test.

7. Significant at the 0.02 level using Fisher's Exact test.

8. Significant at the 0.01 level using Fisher's Exact test.

9. Significant at the 0.01 level using Fisher's Exact test.

10. Significant at the 0.02 level using Fisher's Exact test.

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