THE URBAN FILIPINO WORKER IN AN INDUSTRIALIZING SOCIETY

AMARYLLIS TIGLAO TORRES

This study is an inquiry into the social psychological features of work in a Philippine factory setting. Essentially, it attempts to answer the following questions: What are the personality features, values and aspirations of workers in an industrializing society? Do their orientations typify the characteristics of most Filipinos who have been shown to adhere to *kapwa*-orientations? What are the influences of socialization on these characteristics? How do psychological characteristics affect work performance and values, if at all?

Results of the study show that, during this period of transition of Philippine society from agriculture to industrial production, the personality of workers is influenced by both orientations. Thus, some of their traits appear highly influenced by *kapwa* values while others seem to be breaking away from this traditional mold. The influence of prevailing values is highly evident, however, in the social relations between workers. Rules of reciprocity underlie their behavior at work, while positive experiences in social interaction within the factory become the basis for expressing job satisfaction. Performance and productivity were found to be largely uninfluenced by psychological characteristics.

Broadly speaking, therefore, the study describes a continuity in the values and traits of agricultural and industrial workers, although aspects in these expressions are apparently undergoing changes. Socialization fails to become a good predictor of these orientations, pointing to the need to explore other cultural influences over personality development in an industrial setting.

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Since 1973, Dr. Torres has been conducting researches, which include projects on Group Processes in Small Group Interaction, a study of Labor Disputes Settlements, a three-phased Social and Economic Impact Assessment of the Aquaculture Production Project, evaluative studies of various population program strategies, two national studies on Primary Health Care, studies on women, and studies of community organizing processes.

In recognition of her contributions in research, Dr. Torres was named one of the Outstanding Young Scientists in 1985 by the National Academy of Science and Technology. Another work, entitled "The Filipina in Focus: A Book of Readings," a revised version of her project for the UNESCO on an Anthology of Studies on the Filipino Woman, is soon to be published. Her present academic concerns are in the area of women's studies.

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Preface

This study explores the continuities and discontinuities in the characteristics of individuals within a society which is moving towards industrial development. More particularly, the study focuses on the influence of prior socialization within either a rural-agricultural or urban-industrial milieu on the formation of individual values, orientations and aspirations.

Four major questions are posed: Is there a difference in the personality of workers with pre-industrial or industrial origins? What are their work orientations, values, and attitudes? How do these psychological features relate to one another? And more importantly, how do they relate to job performance?

The workers whose psychological characteristics are described herein belonged to the rank-and-file in a garments factory located near Metro Manila. They were selected primarily because, in the seventies, the garments industry was one sector which absorbed mostly semi-skilled and unskilled workers. Statistics available at the time of the study showed that a large percentage of such workers came from rural-agricultural communities. Thus, an investigation into the psychology of individuals with either pre-industrial or industrial backgrounds was ideal in such an enterprise. Apart from this, the particular factory which we call Alpha was chosen because both the union officials and the management were amenable to the research.

The inspiration for this research came from my husband, Ruben, whose exposure to the situation of Filipino workers emanated from his vast experience as labor official, labor organizer, and University lecturer. Our discussions revealed that there were no significant local studies dealing with the subject matter. Hence, it seemed opportune during the time the research problem was conceived to obtain empirical evidence concerning the influence of industrial activity on individual members of Philippine society.

The research itself was made possible by the unstinting cooperation extended to us by the workers of Alpha Company. I especially acknowledge the assistance of the officers of their labor union, without whom we would not have been able to obtain entry into the factory and the homes of the workers. We also extend our thanks to the management of Alpha for facilitating our efforts to reach and talk with the workers.

THE URBAN FILIPINO WORKER
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I

Introduction

The Changing Society

The Philippines in the eighties is moving toward industrial development. The global economic situation, changes in technology, and national socio-political considerations propel the country unrelentingly toward radical changes in its production relations.

The expected shift of the labor force from agriculture to industry was planned by an industrial dispersal program which hoped to situate key industries in regional centers nationwide and by the prioritization of industrial projects which would "process indigenous raw materials, produce intermediate goods, and enhance the country's technological capabilities. . ." (Sicat, n.d.)

Serious reverses in the economy were experienced by the country from 1982 to 1984, thus retarding national projections for industrialization within this decade. Nonetheless, present strategies of government continue to support industrial development (Medium-Term Philippine Development Plan, 1987-1992). Industry is expected to grow at an annual average rate of nine percent, with emphasis on labor-intensive activities which will generate an increase in industrial employment at an annual average rate of 8.3 percent.

With increasing employment opportunities being generated in industry, there is a noticeable increase in the migration of rural-based individuals to urban industrial centers. In fact, an analysis of the migration streams in the Philippines within the past decade suggests that the rural to urban migration flow has become more prominent than the rural to rural migration stream (NEDA, 1980). Within the years 1965-1973, the rural to urban migration stream was 25.7 percent, the rural to Manila flow was 13.5 percent, while the rural to rural movement was only 19.7 percent. Provincial migrants largely found their way to Metro Manila and the nearby province of Rizal. In 1980, the province of Rizal and the City of Manila ranked highest among 10 cities/provinces all over the country receiving migrants (NEDA, 1980).

Pernia (1976) interprets this movement as being largely caused by the presence of industrial activities within Metro Manila. Urban industrial areas are expected to increasingly absorb entrants to the labor force. In 1976, it was reported that the employed urban work force had increased to 29.9 percent in comparison to only 26.2 percent in 1965, while the employed

rural labor force had remained essentially the same, 65.5 percent both in 1965 and 1976 (MOL, 1977).

Aside from industrial activities, developments in agrarian reform provide added impetus to increased employment in industry. Agrarian reform is expected to result in more finite employment possibilities in agriculture. Advances in farm technology reduce labor requirements. Land redistribution leads to more restricted use of land resources (NEDA, 1980). Already, it is found that landless agricultural workers need to find secondary income sources to support their families. The usual occupational pattern is to move continuously between barrios or between municipalities in search of agricultural income opportunities. For secondary occupations, these workers engage in either other types of agricultural labor (e.g., fishing) or hire themselves out for contractual wages in infrastructure projects and industry (*Proceedings*, Seminar-Workshop on Landless Rural Workers, 1979).

The Psychological Impact of Social Change

Incipient changes in economic life inevitably affect the population, and the industrial work force sits at the forefront of all sectors directly touched by economic innovation. Within this group, the impact of industrialization is most markedly felt by new industrial workers—the first-generation entrants to the labor force who move to industrial centers from rural communities.

Production systems entail set patterns of work relationships which influence the nature of social and personal experiences. For instance, economic relations arising in agriculture have evolved specific configurations of social stratification, role status and occupational prestige. Such structures, in turn, have led to patterns of behavior expectations, goals, cognitions, and attitudes. Together, these value-orientations, customs and structures typify the culture of so-called "traditional societies" or "folk societies."

Thus, any culture is characterized by those "rules that guide the way of life of the members of a social group. (It is) the common, learned way of life shared by . . . society, consisting of the totality of tools, techniques, social institutions, attitudes, beliefs, motivations and systems of value known to the group" (Foster, 1962). In this way, culture is seen to be a set of behavioral or psychological predispositions, and it develops in large part on the basis of the major type of work shared by the members of society (Anderson, 1971).

The question of how much behavior in our industrializing society reflects the prevailing culture arises within this context. An economy which plans on the rapid transformation of its production system leaves little time for the

members of society to slowly assimilate new motives and values suited to the requisites of the emergent production system. Behavioral expectations of the new social order are juxtaposed against values socialized within the prevailing culture, which is based on agricultural production.

Thus, it may be asked: To what extent do aspects of the prevailing culture continue to be manifested in workers' values and orientations? Are there visible differences in the outlooks of first-generation and second-generation industrial workers? Is work performance influenced by cultural orientations and degree of socialization in industrial values?

The following study describes some answers to these questions, within the context of social psychological factors.

The Study Objectives

The impact of industrial development on the values and work orientations of first and second-generation blue-collar workers is described in this study. Specifically, the following themes are discussed:·

First, a description of the personalities of first-and second-generation industrial workers.

Second, a description of the work orientations of blue-collar workers in terms of (a) the value of work, (b) job satisfaction and motivation, and (c) life and career aspirations.

Third, the interrelationships between personality, work orientations and work performance.

Fourth, a description of the influences of (a) sociodemographic status, and (b) socialization in industrial values on personality and work orientations.

The measures of "industrialization" included in this study are restricted to social variables. These indicators do not relate to economic aspects of the process, nor to gross social structural variables. Rather, they are measures of individual socialization experiences in industrial life. These indices are then related to observable measures of cognitive and behavioral attributes of workers.

The analysis employed is strictly psychological with the individual respondents serving as the units of analysis. The focus of interest is limited to the influence of socialization variables over the behaviors and cognitions of industrial workers. This is not to negate, however, that economic and social structural factors also play their parts in inducing psychological changes among individuals.

Variables and their Definitions

Social Variables: Antecedents to Change

Psychological processes may be examined in relation to the extent to which individual workers are familiar with the nature of productive activities in an industrial setting. Experience in industrial activities may either be in terms of childhood socialization experiences (sociodemographic status) or in terms of adult socialization processes (occupational history).

The sociodemographic status of workers is differentiated in four ways: (a) first generation blue-collar workers, whose fathers engage(d) principally in agricultural labor, and who are migrants to Metro Manila or Rizal; (b) first generation blue-collar workers, whose fathers engage(d) in agricultural labor, but were reared in any one of the municipalities within Metro Manila or Rizal; (c) second-generation blue-collar workers whose fathers work(ed) in industry, and who are migrants to Metro Manila or Rizal; (d) second-generation blue-collar workers whose fathers work(ed) in industry and were reared within the environs of Metro Manila or Rizal.

This fourfold classification of the respondents' sociodemographic status takes into account socialization experiences that may have resulted either from parents' occupational histories, or from exposure to urban or rural lifestyles. In the first case, it is assumed that parents are transmitters of values, and that their experiences in industry have resulted in distinct outlooks which may have been directly communicated to their children. Thus, it may well make a difference whether one's father is/was an industrial worker or a peasant himself. In the second case, it is assumed that residence in an urbanizing-industrializing community, versus residence in a rural village, makes a difference in one's outlook of the world and of work. These assumptions are drawn from the literature on industrialization and urbanization (Moore, 1965; Anderson, 1971; Eldredge, 1967; Slotkin, 1960; Guthrie, 1970 and others).

The occupational history of the respondent-workers is examined by the following indices: (a) the number of times the worker has been employed in different manufacturing enterprises; (b) number of years the worker has been employed in the present company; and (c) use or non-use of machines in his present occupation.

Exposure to diverse industrial settings may undoubtedly enrich an individual's perspectives regarding industrial activity. As such, it may influence personality formation, value orientations and goals. Similarly, the longer one has been in the industrial setting, albeit in only one factory, the more

impact this experience may have on cognitions and performance. This study examines the extent to which these experiences affect perspectives stemming from the prevailing culture.

The routinization and functional specificity of work is one critical dimension of industrial activity. Supposedly, the mechanization of functions leads to greater impersonality, competitiveness and concern for clock-time. Whether or not familiarization with machines results in changes in orientations is likewise to be examined in this investigation.

Apart from these socialization factors, the educational attainment and civil status of workers are to be related to some psychological indices. In a sense, these two variables also relate to the individual's socialization and may, therefore, also explain differences in behavior or orientation.

The Work Environment: Intervening Influences

The setting within which workers do their jobs undoubtedly colors their performance and outlook(s) on work. Thus, rules governing work and productivity, the organizational set-up, and other features of the enterprise as a formal structure, may partially explain expressed opinions, work quality and job satisfaction. In addition, the nature of informal relationships within the factory setting may help explain the nature of psychological data from the sampled group.

Although the work environment is not this study's prime interest, its social features, and its possible influences over the relationship are also examined.

Features of the work environment considered are the informal relations within the company including (a) opportunities for interaction between workers; (b) reciprocity relations at work; and (c) quality of interpersonal relations between workers and between labor and management.

Psychological Variables: Individual Characteristics

The impact of the emergent industrial production system on individuals is examined in terms of personality variables, cognitive assessments of work, and performance indices.

The *personality structure* of workers is defined using the scales constructed by Enriquez' and Guanzon in *Panukat ng Ugali at Pagkatao* (Measure of Filipino Personality). The sample is to be described according to four subscales that reflect the *Kapwa*-orientation, namely, the traits *Pagkamagalang* (Respectfulness), *Pagkamapagkumbaba* (Humility) *Pagkamahiyain* (Reticence, in some respects), and *Pagkamatulungin* (Helpfulness). These traits have been

selected because they depict behaviors associated with differing modes and levels of interaction, a concern for "others" which reflects the interpersonal orientation of Kapwa.

Other subscales also included in this study are those on *Ambisyon* (Ambition) to possibly tap the workers' achievement orientation and on *Pagkakaila* (The Lie Scale) and *Kaugalian* (Cultural Scale) to test the validity of test results on the other scales. The Kaugalian scores can also be used to describe the extent to which the sample subscribes to behaviors commonly acknowledged to belong to the prevalent culture.

The principal approach used in dealing with personality is to describe the traits of workers as belonging to either the prevalent or the emergent culture. Mean scores on each trait which are lower than or equal to the population mean (obtained from the standardization sample of PUP) are to be defined as reflective of a prevalent belief-value orientation, while scores falling above the population mean are to be taken as reflective of an emergent outlook.

The *work orientation* of the blue collars is described in three ways: according to the values which "work" has for them, in terms of work satisfaction and motivation, and in terms of life aspirations.

Work values are described by the following cognitive factors: (a) an expressed *statement* on the *value* of *"work;"* (b) *criteria* considered important by individuals *in selecting occupations;* and (c) the extent to which *production goals* (quotas) are considered reasonable and *acceptable.*

Work satisfaction and job motivation are assessed in terms of the following dimensions: (a) the workers' expressed *liking for* present *occupations;* (b) *plans to remain* in the company or to seek other employment; (c) *opinions regarding procedures* for hiring, promotion and termination of employees; (d) positions most desired in present company; and (e) extent to which present *occupation* is perceived *instrumental* to the attainment of aspirations.

The *aspirations* of individual workers are examined according to the following indices: (a) *plans* to improve the level/quality of present work *performance;* (b) *life goals* of the workers; and (c) *career aspirations* for their children.

Performance is measured in several ways, using subjective assessment of work, output (productivity measures), and reports of violations or promotions.

The specific indices are the following: *Mastery* over assigned task, including (a) ability to meet production quotas; (b) self ratings on performance (*SRt*); and (c) perceived supervisory ratings of performance (*PSRt*).

Infractions committed on work rules and regulations are indicated by: (a) whether or not individuals have ever *committed* work *violations;* (b) if in-

fractions have been committed, the *frequency of* these *violations.*

Individual chances for promotion are measured by whether or not workers have received *promotions* in the present company, and the *frequency* of these promotions.

The indices selected to measure individual characteristics all relate to work, rather than to a gross profile of personality, attitudes and values. The choice of work-related variables is deliberate, on the assumption that the influences of a productive system on the psychological make-up of individuals would be most salient in relation to work itself.

The measures taken on performance may well be considered as limited. However, these indicators were the ones most readily available within the company setting.

The Analytical Framework

Culture is a set of learned responses, behavioral expectations and adaptations to the routinary requisites of socio-economic life. Social relations, structures and corresponding value systems revolve around the technological character of the work of the majority of society's members (Sjoberg, 1967). Culture and civilization are primarily determined by the mode and relations of production, which in turn becomes reshaped or transformed by advances in civilization.

Cultural norms, expectations and orientations are transmitted to, and imbibed by, individuals through socialization processes. In this way, appropriate behaviors are learned, internalized, and become part of custom. In fact, in a highly integrated and stable socio-economic formation, some writers believe that individual motives and values might simply be the "counterparts of values and institutions attributed to the collectivity as such " (Moore and Smelser, 1965).

In an industrializing setting, society is at the crossroads—in transition from the formerly dominant agricultural production system to a rapidly emerging industrial formation. The people find themselves face to face with cultural expectations nurtured in the prevalent system, as well as with behaviors desirable to the emerging mode of production. The ease with which these individuals—particularly, workers—assimilate the norms of industrial organizations can be traced to the extent to which the prevailing culture continues to respond to novel situations (Foster, 1962; Slotkin, 1960).

Socialization is expected to affect those psychological processes deeply rooted in the dominant demands of culture. These processes include the individual's personality, his values and belief orientations, and his goals or life

aspirations. In a transforming society, the influence of the new culture on the personality and value formation cannot be easily determined. Psychological attributes may still be found to mirror the prevalent values and behavior orientations. However, in cases where an individual's life history already reflects an admixture of urban and rural influences, many more values characteristic of industrial norms may already be found.

Foster (1962) presumed that culture change and changes in individuality depend largely on the extent to which novelty can be re-interpreted, reacted to, and made to conform to existing patterns of meaning and relationships. Thus, the social prescriptions in a workplace need not lead to a complete overhaul of extant values and convictions. In fact, behavior adaptations in some cases have been modifed to conform to "pre-industrial" typologies (Cole, 1971; Proceedings, Asian Regional Conference on Industrial Relations, 1977; Ramos, 1978).

Work satisfaction, job motivation and performance are psychological variables directly related to industrial activity. In the conceptualization, it is postulated that these variables are influenced by the nature of the work situation, as well as by the culture-bound personal characteristics already mentioned. Thus, the nature of a worker's personality and value structures may influence his assessment of work as satisfying or otherwise, and may result in desultory or exceptional performance. The influences of sociodemographic status and occupational history over work satisfaction and performance are, thus, mediated by the personality and cognitive systems of the worker. At the same time, the formal and informal structures of the enterprise may further modify, or alter, the nature of the work-related measures.

Diagram I summarizes the conceptual position taken in this study. The diagram illustrates the demographic status and occupational history of workers as possible predictors of observed typologies of personality and work orientation. Both antecedent social variables are predicted to have direct impacts on personality, work values and life goals. However, it is postulated that work satisfaction and work performance are only indirectly influenced by socialization. It is personal variables, instead, which are expected to mediate the observed quality of job satisfaction and work performance.

Although the nature of the work environment in this study is constant, in the sense that conditions in only a single factory are examined, it is accepted that these factors have critical influences by themselves on work satisfaction and performance. However, because of the fact that only a single enterprise is studied, the impact of work conditions on the cognitive and behavioral factors can only be inferred indirectly.

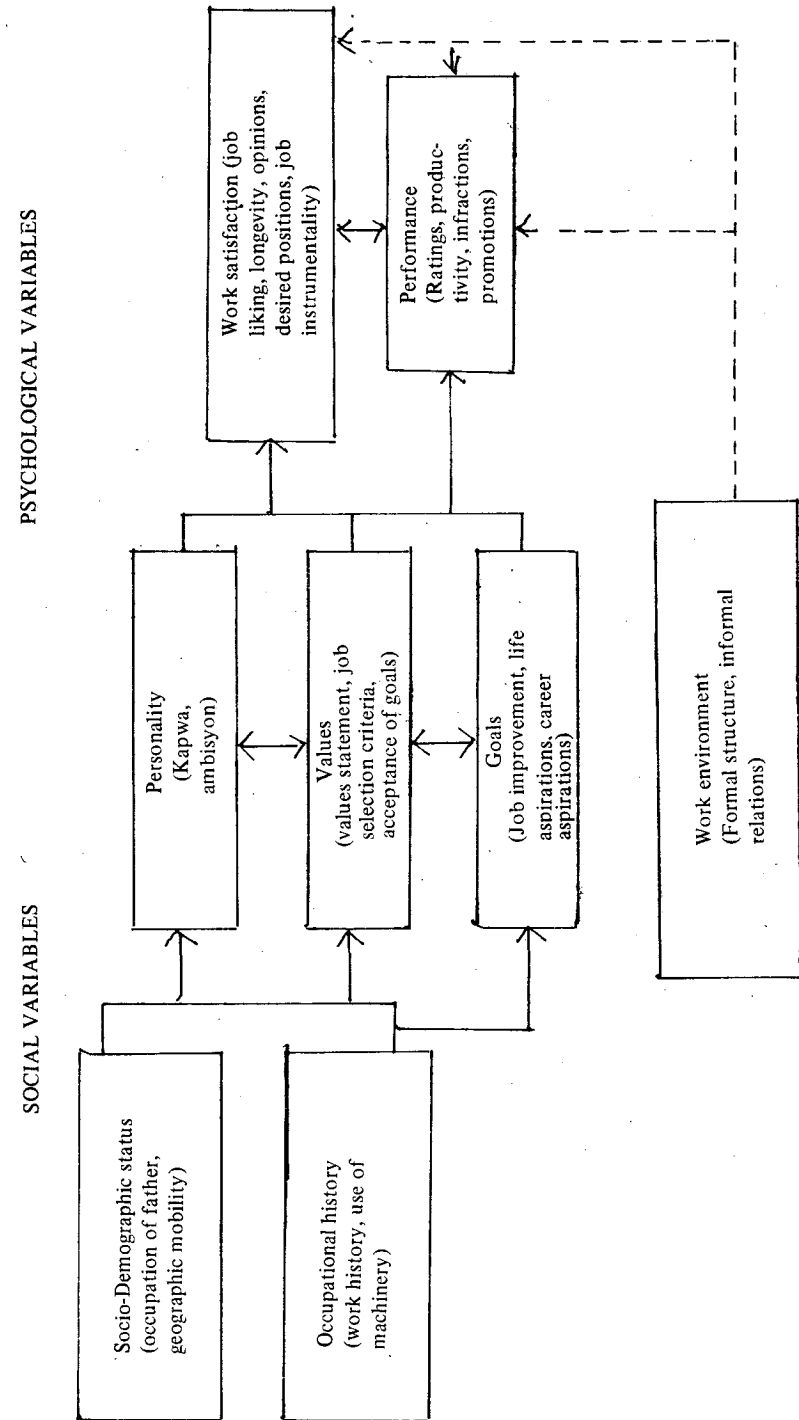The literature on industrialization generally asserts that socialization in

Diagram 1. Relationship between Social Indices of Industrialization and Personal Characteristics of Workers

this productive system eventually leads to distinct configurations of affective and cognitive processes. However, the setting for this study is a society in transition. Thus, although the postulate that the emergent productive sytem will lead to the institution of new behavioral adaptations is acceptable, it is difficult to predict whether such changes are already clear and succinct during this period.

The perspective, therefore, is to simply describe the nature of the variables under study within the setting chosen for the investigation, and to indicate whether such observations are traceable to influences of the prevalent or the emergent system.

Strategies for Data Collection

Three techniques were utilized in this project to obtain descriptive materials regarding the variables. The principal approach was through *pagtatanong-tanong*, an interview method found useful among Filipino samples. As an indigenous technique for obtaining information, pagtatanong-tanong is characterized by the following procedure: a) it is a free flowing interaction between interviewer and respondent, in which the sequential arrangement of an interview guide is ignored. Instead, the respondent is allowed to express his ideas and feelings as they come to him. It becomes the task of the interviewer to reorganize these expressions later in the questionnaire form and to insure completeness of coverage, b) Ideas not covered by the interview guide are noted down as added insights, c) Respondents are asked to introduce the research team and endorse its objectives to other members of the community identified in the sample, d) Simultaneous pagtatanong-tanong sessions with several respondents together are considered sources of data enrichment.

Through pagtatanong-tanong, a total of one hundred and thirty one (131) sets of interviews were accomplished with workers of Alpha.

The investigator started out with a list of workers residing within Monte Subdivision (pseudonym for the area where Alpha is located). Thus, a majority of these interviews were done within the residences of the workers. However, a street-to-street canvass revealed that more than half of the listed workers had moved or been terminated from the company. Community endorsement was resorted to as a means of getting respondent replacements. In addition, the number of second-generation workers was enlarged by conducting interviews in the town next to this industrializing community. The research team was assisted in these efforts by the workers already interviewed, especially by officials of the union.

The second source of information in this study is the Enriquez's *Panukat*

ng Ugali at Pagkatao (Measure of Filipino Personality). In its complete form the PUP is made up of 24 trait scales with 119 test items in all. Two additional validity scales of 14 items are included to check for the acceptability of responses. In this study, only five trait scales were administered in addition to the validity scales. In all, forty-two PUP items were read out to the respondents, with his answer given after every statement.

The last major source of descriptive information in this investigation are official documents of the union and the company. These include the organizational charts, the manual on rules and regulations and written policies on employee recruitment, promotions and termination.

Apart from these data sources, key informants from the management and the rank and file clarified in more informal talks data obtained from the initial interviews and from the written documents. Twelve workers who had become close friends of the research team were re-interviewed through *pagpapalagayang-loob* (exchanging confidences) to ascertain feelings, ideas and opinions recorded through pagtatanong-tanong.

Measurement Levels

The mass of information described in this report has been obtained through interviews, resulting in a majority of nominal measures. Nonparametric tests are employed to describe the significance of comparisons or associations between pairs of variates. Considering the gross nature of our observations, and the difficulty with which extraneous factors are controllable in the field setting, statistical comparisons beyond the 10 percent level of probability are considered significant findings.

Whenever the expected frequencies are small, the information sets are interpreted as mere frequencies or proportions. The means and standard deviations of some important factors are also reported. Information culled from informants and official documents intersperse the data from the survey, and are used as explanations and interpretative aids.

Given these limitations, this investigation is primarily a *descriptive study* of the patterns of influences observed between specified variables in a single factory setting. No attempt is made to measure the relative value of antecedents as predictors of psychological characteristics.

II

A Portrait of the Prevalent Culture

Interest in examining the influences on behavior of the prevalent culture has been an inevitable offshoot of research efforts to amplify the configurations of Filipino psychology. Enriquez (1978) points to the importance of history, language and ethnography as bases for acquiring insights on behavior. The need to enhance the internal validity of psychological data has been presented as the methodological argument for doing extensive work within this perspective (Mataragnon, 1980).

Kinship in Philippine Society

Value orientations and the peculiar behavior adaptations characteristic of a people are most fully viewed against the backdrop of key social structures (Jocano, 1966). These structures provide the guidelines for ideal forms of interpersonal relations and prescribe behaviors among the members of the social unit.

The Kinship Structure

The kinship structure has been consistently identified as the primary socialization unit in Philippine society (Kaut, 1965; Jocano, 1969; Nurge, 1965, among others). Extensive documentations reveal that the family is the earliest and most continuously functioning agency of socialization. Jocano (1969) avers:

> Through this structural unit . . . local authority, rights and obligations, and modes of relationships are expressed, defined, ordered and systematized. Interpersonal and intergroup movements of people or groups of people are largely determined and controlled by kinship. Group alliances are likewise formed on this basis.

The primacy of the family and the kinship structure in an agricultural socioeconomic formation is best understood in terms of the nature of agricultural production. First, use of farmlands is such that farming is a nuclear-family affair, with the members as the basic working unit (Jocano, 1969). The whole family, both young and old members, men and women, help

in farm work (Chi-Wen-Cheng, 1974; Mangahas, et al., 1976; Barnett, 1975). As such, labor is unpaid, and each member gains from his labor in kind—by sharing in the harvest of rice, for example. During planting and harvesting, members of the kin come to assist in the activities. Non-kin labor is also used but usually for pay. While normative reciprocal obligations for production are implicit between kinsmen, no such expectations are drawn with "outsiders."

The second factor which accounts for the centrality of the family in agriculture is the fact that land use is passed on to the succeeding generations, whether the property is owned by the family or not. Even while parents are alive, parts of the land used in cultivation may already be apportioned among the offsprings. Thus, despite the evident exchange of labor and cooperative farm practices, each member of the family is given responsibility over particular fields of his own (Jocano, 1969; Lewis, 1975).

The system of agricultural production in Philippine society is built on family labor and relations. For this reason, this social unit is central to the survival of the individual.

Kinship system in the traditional Philippine social order is seen to be bilateral: individuals reckon kinship equally, whether on the mother's side or the father's side. The parents in a family may either be the individual's biological or sociological progenitors. The latter instance occurs in cases of adoption, because adopted children are given the same duties and privileges as biological offsprings. Thus, it is the social nature of the relationship which largely determines the family as unit (Jocano, 1966, 1969; Kaut, 1966; Murray, 1973).

The nuclear family, as such, includes the father and mother, and unmarried children — both biological offspring and adoptees. In its extended form, the Filipino family includes bilaterally positioned relatives who may reside in the same neighborhood or live elsewhere (Mendez, & Jocano, 1974). Kinship relations extend on both sides to include grandparents, siblings of parents, and their own offsprings. Specific terms are available in the language to denote such relationships, pointing to the primacy of this structural unit in the lives of the people. Marriage and other rituals expand the kinship structure. Godfathers and godmothers at marriages and confirmations, for example, are considered as kinsmen.

Four principles form the bases of the reciprocal behavior patterns expected between kinsmen: bilaterality, generation, seniority and sex. Bilateral relations include relatives extending from maternal or paternal roots. Generation refers to one's position in the structure, lineally or collaterally, being either in the position of aunt or uncle, niece or nephew or son and father. As a relational principle, it emphasizes the "sociological" rather than biolo-

gical age. Seniority categorizes generations into younger and older members. For example, it defines the reciprocal rights and obligations between older and younger siblings. Sex also defines relationships, as illustrated by the use of specific terms denoting older brothers and sisters, aunts and uncles.

Neighbors and Neighborhoods ("Magkapitbahay")

Residence is another factor which contributes to the understanding of kindred relations. In many rural places, households within neighborhoods usually contain nuclear families related by kinship to members in adjacent dwellings. Thus, the norms of reciprocal obligations existing between neighbors follow those prescribed for kinsmen (Mendez & Jocano, 1974; Jocano, 1969).

Interestingly, no fixed physical boundaries define a neighborhood. Rather, it is the quality and intensity of social relationships that apparently sets off a household or a person as *kapitbahay* or *kaingod* (neighbor). Taken in this context, the neighborhood represents "the most effective segment of the rural society where collective responsibility and social control are best carried out" (Jocano, 1969). This means that violations of norms governing consanguinity in neighborhoods may result in ostracism of the violator. Given the web of sanctions existing in society, a disgruntled kinsman-neighbor may choose to uproot himself and relocate to other places where he can form new attachments. The new neighborhood, nevertheless, will still likely include kinsmen inasmuch as available property for houselots usually remain within the family.

The Dynamics of Social Expectations

The Contingency Principle

The types of kinship relations in various rural villages have been found to be unbounded by strict lines of consanguinity. Ongoing social relations, rather than structural relations per se, define succintly the probability of continued interpersonal attachments. Kaut (1965), in studying Tagalog society, postulates that needs—economic, political, or social in nature—rather than prescriptive rules of structure, provide the criteria for social interaction. Grouping, he states, results from a contingency principle.

The contingency principle . . . stems from specific definitions of social goals on the one hand and the rules of social interaction on the other hand which allow individuals to create among themselves bonds of obligation,

negate these and define areas in which there is a lack of obligatory responsibility.

As an illustration of the principle, townspeople may choose to ignore the rulings of an officially elected barangay captain, who carries with him impersonal-legal authority, and seek counsel from persons viewed as personalistic-traditional leaders (e.g., town elders, *babaylans* or medicine men), because the latter behave in consonance with the accepted values of the group (Jocano, 1969).

Thus, the dynamics of interaction are such that individuals continue to establish alliances insofar as they behave "properly" within the prevailing culture. Every dyadic encounter is assessed in this manner and it predicts the probability of continuation or termination of such a relationship.

Patterns of Behavior: Pakikipagkapwa

The centrality of social interaction to Filipinos is well represented in the vocabulary of the languages in this society.

Kinship principles, for example, are represented by specific terms, such as *tiya* (aunt) or *lolo* (grandfather) to denote generational differences, or *kuya* and *diko* (eldest and second brother, respectively) to refer to seniority positions.

Similarly, one finds that levels and differing modes of interaction find lexical representation (Santiago and Enriquez, 1976). These include the following concepts:

1. *pakikitungo* (civility)
2. *pakikisalamuha* (interacting with . . .)
3. *pakikilahok* (participating with . . .)
4. *pakikibagay* (in conformity with . . .)
5. *pakikisama* (getting-along with . . .)
6. *pakikipagpalagayang-loob* (being in rapport . . .)
7. *pakikisangkot* (getting involved . . .)
8. *pakikiisa* (being-one-with . . .)

These concepts, quite interestingly, correspond in each level to interactions which apparently become more intimate, and seem to conform to a contingency principle. The outcome of interaction at the first level, for instance, would determine whether or not the actors will decide to deepen the relationship or to keep it at the same level. Presumably, each person's assessment of how well the other behaves according to cultural expectations determines the decisions taken.

Santiago (in Enriquez, 1978) states further that the first five categories of interaction apply to dealings with persons deemed as "outsiders" while the last three levels pertain to relationships maintained with "insiders." With the family and the kinship structure as the basic social unit, the first levels of interaction are apparently those maintained with persons outside of this social group, while the latter types of relationships are typical of familial interactions.

However, even outsiders may eventually be treated as "one of the family," provided the individual finds his behaviors to be socially acceptable. Again, this points to the relative flexibility of social relations in Philippine society. Kinship and kindred (angkan) do not shut off any person from interaction with others, regardless of socioeconomic standing, provided that reciprocal obligations are known to both parties, and are used as the bases of behaviors. Such developments in social relations usually terminate in ritual kinship ties (as compadres, for example), by which mechanism the "outsider" formally becomes "one-of-us" (Jocano, 1969).

The value commitment which emerges from the interpersonal context of the kinship structure is that of Kapwa. Pakikipagkapwa incorporates these prescribed rules of reciprocal privileges and obligations between kindred members. Kapwa is the cognitive image of these relationships, and becomes generalized in experience to include all acceptable forms of social relationships (Enriquez, 1981).

Enriquez (1979) observes that a person recognizes kapwa in a relationship insofar as he himself becomes aware of a "shared identity" with another. The identity process is facilitated by the outcome of interactions which, in this case, apparently moves in a direction of mutual acceptance. It is in such a manner that "outsiders" eventually become considered "insiders" or hindi ibang-tao in the kapwa network.

On the contrary, when a person fails to act according to the behaviors and values expected by the social network, he is labelled walang kapwa-tao ("not one of us"). Such persons may be kin or nonkin who fail to live up to the cultural expectations of the social group.

The Interpersonal Framework of Social Acceptance

It has been repeatedly stated that a shared set of reciprocal expectations governs relationships within the social structure. It has also been demonstrated that the social acceptance of an individual hinges on the quality of his interpersonal relations. In this section, the concepts which underlie interpersonal behavior are to be discussed and related to the Filipino's value commitment of kapwa.

Principles of Reciprocal Obligation

Obligations and privileges in a dyadic situation depend on the relative positions of two individuals in the kinship structure. As earlier mentioned, kinship relations are pegged on bilaterality, generation, seniority and sex positions. Pakikipagkapwa, therefore, is normatively dictated by these kinship principles. For example, younger members of the family are expected to show overt and implicit respect (paggalang) for older relatives. Public signs of disrespect are frowned upon and would be illustrative of pagkawalang kapwa-tao.

The value of respect in relation to generation and age is also evidenced by the use of addresses particular to relations with either sex, like lolo (grandfather), tiyo (uncle) or ate (eldest sister). On the other hand, members of the same generation address one another by just their nicknames. These observations are true in different communities which have been studied and indicate widespread commitment to the value rather than a peculiarity to separate societies (Jocano, 1966; 1969, Mendez and Jocano, 1974, and others).

While respect is considered of prime value, dominance and aggressive expressions are frowned upon in interactions involving persons on different rungs of the kinship hierarchy (Domingo, 1977; Nurge, 1965; Nydegger, 1963. Children are not supposed to answer back their elders when in disagreement with them; sharing and giving way (pagbibigayan) to others is encouraged and nurtured. Even in interpersonal dealings with others on the same level, such traits are reinforced and cultivated.

Safeguarding the mutuality of interests appears to be the underlying mechanism in the nexus of reciprocal obligations. Respect for elders is tantamount to recognizing them as the authority figures in society. As such, dominance and aggression against their persons are out of place and denigrate their social power. Authority is vested in elders by virtue of their longer experience and also because they have the power to withhold rewards, both material and nonmaterial. Although these norms spring from the family structure, individuals eventually have the same expectations of society's members at large. Behavior reinforced within the primary social unit become generalized to other social relationships. For example, in a small rural community studied by Mendez and Jocano (1974), all those individuals in the neighborhood whose assistance could be relied on in times of need were considered kapwa-tao. Thus, kapwa, as the value commitment underlying all forms of Filipino social interaction, springs from the individual's socialization within the family network.

The interdependency of people in a subsistence agricultural economy benefits each one. The system of reciprocal obligations which prescribes the exchange of labor and other goods, assistance during emergencies, at times of distress (*pagdamay*) and significant affairs, functions to enable each person to cope with his personal needs without the necessity for money. It is not surprising, therefore, that *utang-na-loob* is one of the key concepts for social acceptance.

Utang-na-loob, also called "contractual reciprocal obligation" (Kaut, 1966), is supposedly characterized by the voluntary offering of material or nonmaterial gifts, given without any prior agreement, accepted without any reservation, and repaid in some culturally determined fashion (Kaut, 1966; Hollnsteiner, 1975). Unlike reciprocal expectations emanating from structural consanguinity, utang-na-loob springs from interpersonal relations. Various observers of Philippine society disagree on the relative weight of this orientation in interpersonal relations. There remains a general agreement, nevertheless, that such a concept does function among Filipinos in a critical fashion. While reciprocity in Tagalog-speaking areas is termed utang-na-loob, the people of Malitbog call it *utang nga kabaraslan* and *utang nga kabubut'on* (Jocano, 1969). Undoubtedly, equivalent words may be found in other Philippine languages as well.

In analyzing the dynamics of utang-na-loob, Kaut notes that it underlies three types of social relationships possible within and outside of the neighborhood. These relationships include:

(a) positive relationships based on actual or ritual kinship and reinforced by positive performance of utang-na-loob,

(b) negative relationships resulting from lack of genealogical or ritual ties, or from the failure of the others to honor utang-na-loob and

(c) potential relationships still untested through lack of contact. (Kaut, 1966).

These dynamics point to three things. First, the supposedly "volitional" gift is in fact expected because it is only among such individuals that reciprocal obligations exist. An outsider contracts no moral indebtedness inasmuch as he is not a participant to the set of mutual exchanges within the hindi-ibang tao group. Thus, he may choose to reject the gift. A member of the kin cannot reject a volitional gift and still be considered as nakikipag-kapwa-tao. It is part of his obligation to accept, since he will later be called upon to render such services or assistance.

Second, structural relations become secondary in social process. One labelled walang utang-na-loob because of failure to repay his obligation

negates his relationships within the kapwa group. He becomes, through repeated failure to honor his moral indebtedness, walang pakikipagkapwa-tao, parang hindi kapwa-tao, or walang kapwa.

Third, the seemingly "voluntary" offering of "gifts" is compulsory to some degree. Such behaviors are, in fact, prescribed in the social structure. What is not fixed is the timing of the expression of the behavior. The prescriptions for such actions may again be traced to the principles of kinship. Newly-married women are expected to be assisted at childbirth by older, more experienced relatives. During wedding feasts, relations in all rungs of the structure come to assist and to partake of the festivities. At deaths, or even during illness, food and other services are "voluntarily" offered. When one relative achieves wealth or fame, he is expected to assist his kin become socially mobile too. In Malitbog, Jocano (1969) observed that repayment expectations for utang-na-loob differentiates kin from nonkin, thus explaining the existence of two terms for this indebtedness—utang nga kabaraslan and utang nga kabubut'on.

Hiya: The Emotional Accompaniment of Kapwa

Thus far, the pattern of socially accepted interpersonal relations has been portrayed cognitively in terms of both kapwa and utang-na-loob as value-orientations. It would be unrealistic to believe, however, that fulfillment or violation of reciprocal obligations excludes the expression of feelings. This is especially because such cultural norms have been premised to be individual strivings for survival, which is undoubtedly an intensely personal motive.

Setting aside methodological differences in data gathering, there is a general consensus that breaches or non-enactment of reciprocal obligations, result in the emotional expression of *hiya* (also *ulao* in Cebuano, *huya* in Hiligaynon, *bain* in Ilocano, *dine* in Pampango, *baeng* in Pangasinan) (Robert Fox, cited by Bulatao, 1964).

Bulatao (1964) calls hiya a "painful emotion" which is expressed in interpersonal situations perceived as "dangerous to one's ego." However, instead of alerting the individual to reprisal or aggression, hiya results in withdrawal behavior or the avoidance of conflict.

Jocano, in his highly insightful documentation of Malitbog as a social group (1969) observed that hiya is felt by a person when outcomes of relationships infringe upon the following:

(a) the dignity or honor of the individual,

(b) the status of the actor relative to others;

(c) the internal cohesion of the family as a unit; and

(d) the reputation of the kin-group with respect to the outside world.

The expression of hiya, as earlier stated, is introspective rather than confrontative. The following behaviors typify this emotion: •

(a) *pangingimi*, or the inability to express feelings openly;

(b) *pag-atubili*, or hesitation to proceed with an intended act even if the other party is known to the actor, and

(c) *alapaap ng kalooban*, which means "inner uncertainty of feelings" resulting in a reluctance to interact more fully and to proceed with intended actions because the other is not yet fully known (Jocano, 1975).

These discussions seemingly point to hiya as a "reticence" felt in continuing interactions with persons who are not yet adjudged as one of kapwa-orientation, or with those already evaluated as walang-pakikipagkapwa. For instance, Santiago (1978) vividly describes how eating habits and the quality of food to be served distinguish between "outsiders" and "insiders" in Bulacan society, such that formality and grandiose meals characterize dinners with the former while informality and routine meals are shared with hindi-with the former while informality and routine meals are shared with hindi-ibang tao. Salazar (1981) also illustrates how various modes of affixation of hiya result in varying descriptions of social experience. For instance, in relation to "others," one may be *hiyang-hiya* or *nahihiya*. Social situations may be *nakakahiya* or *kahiya-hiya*.

The reticence with which a Filipino approaches new relationships may be reflective of initial attempts to assess whether interactions will fall within culturally acceptable norms. At the same time, he is careful that his own assessments in the eyes of the other actor will be socially acceptable.

Violations of mutual expectations also result in non-confrontative behaviors, perhaps because of socially integrated norms barring dominance and aggression. This would be most characteristic of situations where the offender is of higher status either sociologically or economically.

Besides these two reasons, threats to personal dignity, while painful to the person, may be set aside in anticipation of future needs. Hiya, therefore, becomes introspective so as not to imperil prospective interactions where the person may have great need of the assistance of the other. The avoidance of conflict in the present, therefore, merely insures the possibility of renewed mutuality at some future date.

In this sense, hiya is not equivalent to passivity. Rather, both hiya and utang-na-loob, as concepts related to kapwa, reflect anticipatory coping mechanisms of the Filipino.

Pakikipagkapwa, therefore, typifies the behavioral adaptations manifested by Filipinos within a network of reciprocal obligations. Inasmuch as the traditional society is interpersonally-oriented, the nuances of pakikipagkapwa depend largely on ongoing social processes rather than on stable structural relations. Values and expectations are intensely important to individuals. Wayward outcomes thus result in the expression of emotions. Hiya is but one of these feelings. *Pagkagalit* (anger) or *pagkainis* (irritation) may be others. Cognitions are likewise rooted in kapwa, such as *amor propio, pakikisama, pakikibaka* and other *saloobin* (see Enriquez, 1977). Their release in behavioral concomitants depends again on whether outcomes are adjudged favorably or unfavorably. The kapwa-orientation thus conforms to the contingency principle underlying social relations.

Kapwa in Contemporary Society

The dynamism of social development has been stressed, especially in terms of socioeconomic life. The question which arises in this context is this: How much of pakikipagkapwa remains in a society besieged internally and externally by pressures for social change? Are these norms, rooted in traditional agriculture, still operational principles in farm relations centered on new technologies, or in urban centers drawn around a new production system?

Farm Relations

Castillo (1975) examined separate studies of farmers' reactions to new farm technologies. These investigations in her analysis generally indicate that considerable changes are evident in the life ways of agricultural producers.

> . . . This development has just about ended the era of the traditionally self-sufficient farmer who grew his rice crop on his own, using his farm labor, his seeds, his carabao, his plow, etc. Now he has to establish links with the outside world for his seeds, inputs, credit, market, farm equipment, irrigation services, technical advice and other elements considered essential or incidental to modern agriculture. . .

In other words, farming innovations have removed the boundaries of interdependence from the kinship structure to government and other service delivery institutions in society. Whereas family labor sufficed in the past, use of high yielding varieties dictates a reliance on credit institutions, fertilizer producers and the like. Such groups are obviously outside of the traditional circle of hindi ibang-tao.

Coincident to these changes, the farmer has lately reoriented himself to

being in constant indebtedness. Loans for purchase of inputs and machinery are common, since the new methods for fertilization, weeding and pest eradication require considerable capital outlay (Castillo, 1975). Thus, whereas traditional agriculture merely required contractual indebtedness through utang-na-loob, farmers now find themselves financially indebted to institutions which can never be placed within a matrix of reciprocity. Some observers interpret this situation as a liability to the banking system. Lacking expectations of reciprocal obligations, farmers choose not to pay their bank loans. Besides, the bank is an impersonal entity and kapwa-relations are absent between the farmer and the institution. Thus, there is no moral indebtedness implicit to the transaction.

Despite the "modernizing" outlook of farmers exposed to new rice technologies, vestiges of traditional agricultural values remain. Castillo singles out an apparent fatalism and sense of helplessness in the face of drought, pestilence and other disasters. As such, a large majority of respondents in one study endorsed the statement "a man's fortune is in the hands of God" (Castillo, 1975), conforming to what Jocano terms as the teleological imperatives in social life (1969).

The Filipino farmer's enthusiastic adoption of the new rice technology is noted to be "dramatic but unanticipated" (Castillo, 1975) conforming to the usual outlook that tradition-bound peasants are rigid in their thinking. Yet, the interpersonal framework of social interaction in the prevailing value system of the Filipino negates this notion, inasmuch as his decision-making has repeatedly been observed to rest on personal assessments of outcomes.

Castillo's (1975) interpretation of why farmers held positive reactions to new cropping patterns in the late sixties bears out this view. She states:

> Change orientation is not only related to the social pressure to conform to the new behavioral pattern but also to the demonstration effect in the sense that modern practices have actually contributed to a higher level of achievement in rice production.

Farmers chose to adopt the innovation because they had directly witnessed its impact on productivity. This cognitive orientation is still in consonance with a contingency principle. While the social context of behavior has been altered by technology, the underlying rationale for behavior and value orientations has remained unchanged. So have other aspects of social relations.

In an ethnographic study of the town of Baras, a village of Rizal just 50 kilometers from Manila, the patterns of social relationships in 1970 to 1972 were found to be essentially those described in earlier works. Mendez and

Jocano (1974) describe the continued prominence of the kinship structure and the values attendant to it. Thus, respect, non-aggression and nondominance were values that continued to be transmitted through socialization. Reciprocity in economic and social relations persisted, and was premised on kapwa as the guiding orientation. All these were observed simultaneous to the other fact that new planting technologies were also being introduced in the community.

Urban Patterns

The persistence of kapwa and the orientation related to it continue to be found in families within the city. In a study on interpersonal behavior patterns in four towns scaled according to distance from Manila, Guthrie and Azores (1968) obtained the following results:

(a) deference orientations with respect to higher status persons;
(b) expressions of utang-na-loob and paggalang in relation to parents of the subjects;
(c) inhibited expressions of emotions such as disappointment, anger and anxiety;
(d) concern for maintaining good interpersonal relations with others, especially friends;
(e) fear of loneliness and rejection and financial constraints;
(f) desire for money, prominence, success and power.

Differences in orientations are described between samples differing in socioeconomic status (SES). For example, those from the lower SES communities expressed greater dependence on the opinions of others than those from the higher SES towns. Likewise, samples in low SES areas tended to be more "moralistic" and less open in expressing hostility. Thus, it is not the urban setting per se which seems to determine the continued operation of values in the prevailing culture. Rather, socioeconomic class appears to be the more crucial factor. This observation is in accord with the findings Guthrie obtained in another study measuring "modernity" (1970).

An extensive study was also done of a low-income community in the heart of Quezon City (Mendez and Jocano, 1974). Project 2 in the Quirino District originally started out in the early 1950s as a residential subdivision to accommodate low salaried employees of government and private institutions. In 1970, it was a melting pot of first and second-generation migrants with diverse provincial origins, and many of the residents had few or no relatives in

their neighborhoods. Nevertheless, at least one-third of the households interviewed were extended families, usually including grandparents from either parent, or the nuclear family and married children.

While subscription to traditional views of kinship and family relations was expressed by family members, in reality conflicts were experienced by spouses and by parents and children with regard to role definitions. Ideals of respect and reciprocity were still taught to offsprings and were generally maintained. However, strict enforcement of generational or seniority principles of kinship was no longer the rule, and parents felt a greater need to justify punishments meted out to their children for alleged misbehaviors. Undoubtedly, such qualms have been influenced by Western-type standards for the discipline of children.

The concept of neighbor remained essentially traditional. The respondents considered as neighbors only those in proximate dwellings who could be trusted in times of need (*kadamay at kapanalig loob*). Food exchange and giftgiving were practiced with utang-na-loob as the underlying guide. Ritual kinship ties were extended to those deemed worthy of kapwa status. However, it was also observed that reciprocal obligations tended to be expressed more often in terms of monetary assistance. This was particularly true in activities requiring community participation, such as religious events. Rather than provide services, as is true in rural areas, working spouses preferred to contribute money for the *Santacruzan* (May procession) and the Block Rosary rituals.

Within the same years of 1970 to 1972, it was observed that while residents in a neighborhood within the metropolis continued to conform to the basic orientations of kapwa with varying levels of commitment, those in a village near Manila adhered almost religiously to these norms of interpersonal relations. Clearly, there must be some differentiating factor between the two communities.

Thus far, the studies reviewed portray the following features of the prevailing culture:

First, Filipino social psychology is best understood in the context of the kinship structure, which is the primary building block of society;

Second, the value commitment underlying the pattern of reciprocal privileges and obligations is kapwa, an orientation which is manifestly related to dealing with biological and ritual kin while being generalized to transactions with "outsiders."

Third, there are evidences that the introduction of technology and urban exposure result in new foci of interest of social life, thus leading to a variety in forms of kapwa behavior.

Fourth, despite the gleanings of new behavioral adaptations, the underlying principles of interpersonal behavior remain essentially tied-up to the traditional features of reciprocal expectations.

Socialization

Jocano emphatically states that Filipino behavior patterns will remain unchanged so long as Filipino kinship and family ties continue to be solid and encompassing (1966). This pronouncement is premised on the observation that the family is the primary agent for socialization in traditional society, and so long as it retains this role, its value system will continue to be transmitted and will prevail.

Two studies conducted within a span of 13 years on the same community provide an empirical perspective related to value transmission and socialization patterns.

In 1958, a study on the socialization practices in Cruz-na-Ligas was conducted. Despite the fact that the community nestled only three kilometers away from the central area of the campus of the University of the Philippines, Cruz-na-Ligas was characterized as "semi-rural" (Domingo, 1977). At that time, the main occupations of the residents were in farming or in the shoe industry. Only 517 persons lived in the community, although the place had a long history as a settlement. There was only one main road in the community and hardly any means of transportation to leave the premises.

Within such a setting, the value orientations transmitted through socialization by mothers to their offsprings conformed essentially to kapwa orientations. The authority roles were shared by the child's parents and by older relatives and siblings, thus exemplifying kinship principles in rural Philippines. Exchange of food, assistance and services typified relationships between kinsmen and neighbors. Dominance and aggression tendencies were discouraged or punished, while a premium was set on sociability with others. Achievement training was minimal and no rigid standards of excellence in task accomplishment were imposed. Nurturance and succorance behaviors were encouraged, especially since these actions complemented the value system of reciprocal obligations. Similarly, obedience and respect toward parents and elders were inculcated to ensure the smooth operation of kinship norms.

In 1971, another study was made in the same community to observe socialization practices within an area already sucked in by urbanization. By then, Cruz-na-Ligas had more than 4,000 residents, many of whom were immigrants from provinces who came to stay with relatives or settled there

while working in the University and other proximate enterprises (Lagmay, 1974). The majority of the residents no longer depended greatly on farming but were engaged in professional, technical and manual occupations outside the community. Transportation was no longer a problem either, and the main road had been asphalted.

Despite these physical and socioeconomic changes, Lagmay found similar socialization practices still in evidence, although nonscientific rituals associated with childbirth were no longer subscribed to. Some change in self-reliance training was also found, and children were generally allowed at earlier ages to fend for themselves. Similar to what Mendez and Jocano observed in Project 2, strict sanctions were no longer attached to disobedience and dominance expressions. In fact, Lagmay reports that the number of children who tended to disobey their parents increased during the 10-year interval.

These studies tend to confirm the position that kinship continues to reinforce the values it creates for its members. It must be remembered, however, that these observations have been taken in urban communities principally engaged in pursuing non-industrial occupations. As such, the pressures for re-examining the usefulness of prevailing customs may not have been too great.

Against this backdrop of developments in Filipino social relations, what further changes may be generated in value systems by direct involvement in industrial labor?

III

The Workers of Alpha Company

The Work Setting

The study was conducted in a large manufacturing firm which we choose to call Alpha Company. This establishment is found in a bustling industrial community just outside of Metro Manila, which is one of the municipalities of Rizal province. The company was selected purposively, rather than by random sampling, inasmuch as it is necessary in an investigation of this nature to obtain the trust and cooperation of the workers. Alpha Company was selected on the basis of former linkages between the investigator's institution, the company's trade union, and the management.

The research purposes were first articulated to officers of the workers' union and their consent to the survey was obtained before management was approached. Union officials were the ones who introduced the research staff to the company managers.

Alpha Company has a workforce of about nine hundred (900) regular employees. It is engaged in the manufacutre of jackets earmarked for the international market and is classified under the Textile, Wearing Apparel and Leather Industries. This establishment is a joint venture with a large multinational corporation, and is classified as "large" in terms of the number of workers it employs.

Demographic Outlines

Sex and Age Distribution

Eighty three (63 percent) of the workers sampled at Alpha are females; only 48 (37 percent) are males. This proportion is similar to that existing in the total work population of Alpha. The ages of the workers range from 17 to 54 years. Sixteen percent are below 21, 37 percent between 21 to 25, 31 percent between 26-30, 10 percent between 31-35, and only 6 percent between 36 to 54 years. Thus, the group is relatively young and more than 60 percent are between 21 to 30 years of age.

Migration

Castillo (1979), Pernia (1976) and other observers of population move-

ments describe the propensity for internal migration to be partly directed toward Metro Manila and its environs. It has also been noted that from 1965 to 1973, there were more females than males who joined the rural-to-Manila migration streams.

The workers of Alpha Company typify most of the statistics presented. Of the 131 male and female interviewees, 35 percent were born in the provinces of Southern Luzon (Region IV), 21 percent in the Bicol peninsula (Region V), 12 percent in the provinces of Panay (Region VI), and only 11 percent in cities or municipalities of the National Capital Region. Twelve percent were born in the three regions covering Northern and Central Luzon, seven percent from other regions of the Visayas, and only two percent from Mindanao. Unlike the national figures, however, more male than female migrants make up the sample. Among 83 female workers, 87 percent are rural-to-Manila migrants. Of the 48 male employees, 91 percent came from different regions of the Philippines.

The proportion of workers who were born in places other than those in which they were raised (from childhood) indicates also that a sizable number of these workers experienced internal movements during their youth. Only 25 percent of the interviewees grew up in Southern Luzon and 13 percent in Bicol. Instead, more workers were reportedly raised in the National Capital, in Region VI, Region VII (Eastern Visayas) and Region IX (Southern Mindanao) (See Table 1). These places are the areas of in-migration identified in other studies.

Table 1. PLACES IN THE PHILIPPINES WHERE WORKERS WERE BORN AND RAISED

	Region	No. of Workers Born	No. of Workers Raised
	I – III	15 (12%)	15 (12%)
	IV	47 (36%)	33 (25%)
Luzon	NCR	14 (11%)	24 (18%)
	V	27 (21%)	17 (13%)
	VI	16 (12%)	23 (18%)
Visayas	VII – VIII	9 (7%)	13 (10%)
	IX	3 (2%)	5 (4%)
Mindanao	X – XII		

Only 24 percent (32 workers) have been raised in either Metro Manila or Rizal. Thirty-one percent have been in this area for less than a year to five years, and 45 percent for five years and longer.

These findings demonstrate that the labor requirements of the garments factory under study are fulfilled by the inflow of manpower from rural sectors of the nation. The relative proportions of recent and older migrants in the sample also seem to indicate that the rate of in-migration was slightly higher in the early '70s or late '60s than in more recent years, despite the fact that increased capitalization under a joint venture occurred only in 1976 for Alpha Company.

Cariño and Cariño (1981) describe that, at least in the Bicol Region, first migrations usually took place when the individuals were less than thirty years of age. A similar pattern is also evident in this study. Of 99 inmigrants, 77 percent came to Manila or Rizal when they were between the ages of 15 to 25 years, and 14 percent when they were younger.

Socio-Economic Features

Education

Sixty-six percent of the interviewed employees reached secondary schools, while 20 percent obtained elementary education. Only thirteen percent have managed to obtain post-secondary education, either in collegiate or in vocational schools with some still going to school. The distribution of males and females by educational attainment is equal in all categories.

The educational profile reveals that the skills requirements at the garments factory are relatively unspecialized. A vocational education is not necessarily needed prior to employment in the factory.

Income and Family Circumstances

This profile of semi-skilled labor also reveals that the sample belongs to the lower economic rungs. A typical worker gets about six hundred pesos per month (including allowances and overtime but excluding salary deductions), based on daily wages averaging between ₱15 to ₱19. Since the factory is located in a municipality still classified as agricultural, these figures reflect the minimum wage rate of ₱17/day legislated for such areas in 1980. (13 of the workers were casuals during the interview and got less than the minimum rates). With the integration of allowances in 1981, the minimum wage was raised by ₱2.00 per day. A sizable portion of the monthly earnings of workers

comes from overtime work, including night differential payments during peak production periods.

In terms of civil status, 65 percent of the workers were still single during the period of the study. Thirty-one percent were married and four percent had either been widowed or separated. Among the married workers, 31 (or 24 percent) had spouses who were also employed. Fifty-five percent of these spouses are workers at Alpha while 19 percent are employed in other industrial plants. Thus, three-fourths of the working spouses are employed as industrial workers. The modal daily wage they received during the first quarter of 1981 was from ₱15 to ₱19 bringing the average monthly income in households where both spouses worked to a little over ₱1,000.00.

However, regardless of civil status, 84 percent of the Alpha respondents reportedly have dependents other than themselves or their spouses. Of the listed dependents only 24 percent are their own children. A greater number (43 percent) are parents or in-laws, and 30 percent are siblings, nieces, nephews and other relatives. Not all of these dependents live with the workers. In many cases, earnings are remitted to families still residing in the provinces.

The figures imply that these young and mostly single workers are already saddled financially. It is apparent that the primary motivation for employment is to support members of the nuclear and/or extended families.

Another factor which may account for the high percentage of "dependencies" is the practice among new in-migrants to reside with relatives or provincemates in the city. Majority of the migrants (88 percent) lived with relatives when they first arrived. Of the few who could afford to pay board and lodging, seventy percent have since established their own homes, but it is not unlikely that they now harbor newly-arrived relatives or townmates seeking employment for themselves.

Households and Their Amenities

Since Alpha is situated within a residential subdivision, many of its workers—especially the inmigrants—live within this area, an opportunity favorable to interviewing the workers in their own dwelling places.

Monte Subdivision is made up of about eight blocks of streets, and it is approached from the main municipal avenue via a wide unpaved road. Alpha is located near the entrance to the subdivision, in a compound to the right of the main street. Opposite the factory and to its right are streets with small and big residences, spotted here and there by home industries or other industrial compounds. All the roads in this area are unpaved, gravelled but not macadamized.

The residences of the workers are either owned or rented. Young, unmarried employees usually board with co-workers or other relatives. On some streets and in some apartments, it is not uncommon to find workers from the same provinces staying together or beside one another's homes. Thus, there is an "Ilonggo block," a "Cebuano block," etcetera.

A majority (80 percent) of the residential units were built of strong materials and had one to two rooms. Others were made from strong materials with some light building materials, (e.g., wooden walls and nipa roofs). None can be described as shanties or makeshift homes.

Amenities in these households usually include a living room set (67 percent), clothes cabinets (61 percent), beds (70 percent), electric irons (67 percent), radios (60 percent), and electric fans (63 percent). All these houses have electricity. The more common source of water is a private pump, especially since this subdivision is outside Metro Manila itself. A few others relied on artesian wells. Piped-in water is still a luxury, however, and only 16 percent reportedly enjoy this amenity.

Thus, despite the minimum wage constraints which the Alpha employees struggle with, their personal circumstances are somewhat better than that faced by urban dwellers in squatter areas (Jocano, 1975, Abueva, Guerrero and Jurado, 1972). The density of the population in Monte and in its households can be described as moderate. In addition, they are able to utilize electric power and water and enjoy, to some extent, the comforts of beds and household appliances. The fact that these residences are merely at walking distances from Alpha is also a boon to these lowly-paid employees.

Family History

Employment of Parents

To ascertain whether the employees included in the sample are first or second-generation workers, they were asked to state what occupation(s) their fathers engage(d) in. The findings reveal that only 22 percent of the 131 factory workers are second-generation industrial employees, that is, their fathers have been employed either in manufacturing or in construction work. Of the first-generation workers, 59 percent had fathers who work(ed) in agriculture. The others are soldiers, service workers, clerical or professional employees. (Three respondents said their fathers were jobless, and they could not recall what occupations they had held in the past).

Among the second-generation workers, 47 percent were "natives" of Metro Manila or Rizal while 53 percent grew in provincial towns or cities.

On the other hand, among the first-generation employees, those who grew outside the capital comprised a bigger percentage (81 percent) with only 19 percent being non-migrants or natives of one of the towns in Rizal. These findings indicate that not all industrial efforts of the parents of these workers were exerted within Manila. Vice-versa, agricultural occupations have also found fulfillment in places close to the urban-industrial setting.

Since majority of the respondents' fathers had non-industrial occupations, it was possible that the workers' industry-related values had come from their mothers. However, the data deny this possibility since only 27 percent had mothers who worked gainfully with only two having been employed in manufacturing. They were more often self-employed as modistes, vendors, retailers and the like.

Employment of Siblings

Despite the limited exposure of the parents to industry, a large majority of their offsprings are now in industry or other urban occupations. Almost three-fourths of the respondents' siblings who are currently employed are found in industrial enterprises (73 percent). A smaller percentage are found in the service industry (12 percent) or are employed as professional/clerical/technical workers (10 percent). More than 60 percent of these siblings work in the Manila-Rizal industrial area, like the respondents themselves, while only 16 percent have remained in the villages. This may be contrasted to the finding that 66 percent of the workers' fathers remain in provincial towns, five percent in provincial cities and only 21 percent in Metro Manila and Rizal.

The occupational profile derived from the family of these workers largely signifies that, although rooted primarily in agriculture, the migration experiences of these employees are part of a general movement among the younger family members toward the National Capital. There must be some explanatory factor that would account for this migration pattern in such families, which could be contrasted with situations pertaining to non-migrant rural families.

Occupational History

Work Experience

Of the 131 workers interviewed at Alpha, 94 percent have had no opportunities to undertake occupations in agriculture. Of those who have worked

in agriculture, five workers (or 83 percent) have been employed only once. The majority of these workers (60 percent) are in an industrial enterprise for the first time, 31 percent were employed in one other company prior to Alpha, and only nine percent have been industrial workers in three or more companies.

The relatively young ages of the sample when they first arrived in the Manila-Rizal area partly explain why almost none have been formally employed in agriculture. Apparently, this sample of blue-collar workers experienced their first entry into the labor force within an urban industrial area. The other factor which may explain the low proportion of workers with agricultural labor experience is the sex ratio in favor of females. In rural areas, it is the men who are usually involved in agricultural work, and female participation may largely be adjudged as unpaid or part-time labor. In a study by Mijares and Tidalgo (cited in Castillo, 1979), it was observed that full time employment among females from 1956 to 1968 was least possible in agriculture. This despondent picture presumably remains unchanged till the present.

Since these workers have largely been initiated into urban-industrial labor only, there have been no opportunities in their adult lives to imbibe the culture of agricultural production. Whatever features of pre-industrial adaptations they have assimilated belong to their earlier formative years, as transmitted through socialization within the family and the community.

Entry into Alpha

The requirements at Alpha for personnel recruitment are relatively broad and open to varied interpretations. Age requirements may be waived where "extraordinary skills" are evident. An aptitude test may be superseded by passing a given trial period. "Appropriate" educational or technical requirements remain unspecified. The only strict ruling pertains to the presentation of proper personal identification papers, security clearances and a tax account number.

The respondents' experiences during the applications period concur with these observations. The most frequently remembered prerequisite to applying was the securing of various necessary clearances and papers. Only 19 workers (15 percent) recalled having been asked their work experience. Eighteen employees recalled having been required to present both clearances and a high school diploma, while 12 had to show their secondary school diplomas alone.

Of course, it may be argued that the recollection of the respondents is

inaccurate, considering that not all of them are recent applicants. It may also have been the case that, if Alpha had been stricter, very few applicants would have qualified especially since semi-skilled workers would be the most likely parties interested in minimum wage occupations. The latter appears to be a more accurate interpretation, and management chose to train the applicants "on-the-job."

The workers aver that they learned the requirements of their jobs through the help of either supervisors or co-workers. Fifty seven percent say they learned from their supervisors, 41 percent were taught by the more experienced employees, and 42 percent were asked to observe the work of others. There were only 16 instances (12 percent) where the applicants have had prior experiences in their jobs. (Percentages include multiple answers).

In Chapter II, the cultural importance of interpersonal relations among Filipinos was illustrated. It was also mentioned that such relations are important since they enable the individual to fulfill cherished dreams and ambitions and to learn and adapt to novel situations. These cultural orientations apparently' find their way in the industrial complex, as evidenced by the experiences of the applicants in gaining entry within Alpha.

In the first place, half of these workers had originally learned of the job openings through their relatives, and 22 percent from friends or neighbors. Only 20 percent claim they had learned of the vacancies on their own, either by having read a poster announcing job openings at Alpha's gate, or by having gone to the personnel office and applying.

This *balita* (news) may have been the impetus for migrating to the metropolis, as in fact some informants stated that they had wired back to the provinces for new recruits during hiring periods. In other cases, it was highly probable that the persons with whom the in-migrants lived during their first months in the city helped the latter in securing jobs as soon as possible. Since they themselves are probably also employed in factories, they would be more sensitive to the peak periods of production and know when recruitments are most likely.

The vestiges of tradition do not stop here. It also pays to have good interpersonal relations to actually acquire the position. Many of the workers were hired after getting recommendations (64 percent). The recommending parties are usually known to the applicants themselves, or are acquaintances of relatives or townmates. They include the supervisors or managers, union officers, and even the friends or relatives of these key officials and others in the higher management ranks.

The value of *pakikipagkapwa* continues during the training period. The requirements of the various positions are transmitted to the neophyte either

by receiving instruction from supervisors or senior workers, or by observing the more experienced employees at work. Such a set-up essentially involves an acceptance of the newcomer by the older employees as potentially a *kapwa-manggagawa* (co-worker). On the side of the applicant, it means an acceptance of the process of interaction, and he undergoes the different levels of interaction with the other workers—from *pakikitungo* and *pakikilahok* to *pakikisangkot* and *pakiki-isa*—in order to facilitate the learning process. The supervisors and more experienced workers become the prime agents of industrialization for the new workers.

A closer look at the data reveals that occupations related to product development (cutting, pattern making, etc.) revising and special sewing assignments (button making, zippers, etc.) were taught by senior workers in more than half of the cases (about 55 percent). Supervisors took on this task in jobs associated with quality control (75) percent), with sewers (68 percent) and with feeders (73 percent). Simple observation of others also facilitated learning of special sewing assignments (80 percent), while packing tasks were learned either through supervisors (46 percent) or by observation (26 percent).

Using social relations as the vehicle for skills acquisition, it was found that 65 percent managed to learn the requirements of their job in less than three days. Seventeen percent learned within a week, 10 percent between seven days to a month, and only six percent took more than a month to master their jobs. Of the different occupations at Alpha, the work of feeders (93 percent), special sewing assignments (80 percent), revisers (73 percent), and that of quality controllers (75 percent) were learned within three days. Chances for such short term mastery were less likely among packers (58 percent), product development workers (50 percent) and sewers (See Table 2).

Informal on-the-job training of industrial novices is an important socialization mechanism. Interactions with supervisors and co-workers provide opportunities to imbibe the work norms developed within the production unit (Slotkin, 1960). Learning of the new tasks is facilitated by these circumstances, because it is done in a context familiar to the new worker (pakikipagkapwa). The controlling factors and anticipated rewards are also more readily identified, because they are contextualized in interpersonal relations. In the initial entry of a worker within a company, therefore, the processes of socialization within industry become immediately mobilized at the hands of *kapwa-tao*.

The value of interpersonal relations surfaces again when it is noted that work requirements in a day, within each work group, are completed through cooperative efforts between employees (26 percent of quota workers and 45

Table 2: NUMBER OF DAYS NEEDED TO MASTER JOB
REQUIREMENTS OF DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONS

Occupation	Less than a day to 3 days		4 days to a week		A week to more than a month	
Quality Control	9	(75)	0		3	(25)
Packers	7	(58)	2	(17)	3	(25)
Cutters, Markers, Pattern Makers	6	(5)	1	(8)	5	(42)
Sewers	17	(61)	8	(29)	3	(11)
Revisers	11	(73)	3	(20)	1	(7)
Special sewing assignments	4	(80)	1	(20)	0	
Feeders	14	(93)	1	(7)	0	
Others	18	(60)	6	(20)	6	(20)
Totals	86	(67)	22	(17)	21	(16)

percent of non-quota workers said so). This mechanism is cited more often than the other possibility — that workers speed up work individually to finish more garment units (11 percent and 14 percent of either quota/non-quota employees did this).

Work Classification and Organization

Eighty-nine percent of the respondents were already regular employees during the period of the interview. Eight percent were classified as casuals and only two percent were apprentices. When first accepted into the company, 43 percent were taken as apprentices and 50 percent as casuals. Six percent claim to have been immediately accepted as regulars, four of whom have been in Alpha for more than four years.

All these interviewed workers participate directly or indirectly in the production of jackets. Those who are not directly involved in production include personnel from the Maintenance and Warehouse Departments (included under "Others"). The rest are all under the production departments,

predominantly from Sewing and Finishing.

The workers in Alpha are divided into work groups. Although in the formal organizational chart these subdivisions are meant to include only sewers and feeders, even the other production employees view their work units as "groups."

The classification of the occupations of the Alpha respondents is depicted in the following table:

Table 3: OCCUPATIONS OF ALPHA RESPONDENTS

Positions/Jobs	Frequency	(Percent)
Sewers	28	(21)
Revisers	15	(11)
Quality Controllers	12	(9)
Packers	13	(10)
Product Development and Cutting Assignments (Pattern Maker, Markers, Cutters)	· 12	(9)
Special Sewing Assignments (Edging, Foam, Zipper, Pockets)	5	(4)
Feeders	15	(11)
Others (various jobs)	31	(24)

The following table depicts the distribution of the sample by work groups. (Seven respondents signified they do not belong to any work group).

Table 4: DISTRIBUTION OF ALPHA WORKERS BY GROUPS

Group	Frequency	Percentage
Sewers	38	(31)
Feeders	11	(9)
Snappers	7	(6)
Revisers	13	(10)
Quality Controllers	8	(6)
Packers	10	(8)
Maintenance	6	(5)
Warehouse	3	(2)
Duplicators	2	(2)
Samplers	2	(2)
Taggers	9	(7)
Cutters	3	(2)
Others	12	(10)
Total	124	(100)

The number of workers within a group can range from less than 10 to more than 60 employees. The modal size of the groups reported here is less than 10 (34 percent) with a mean size of 20 members. Regardless, 23 percent belong to groups with 31-60 members and 14 percent have groups with more than sixty employees.

Except for respondents belonging to the groups of sewers and quality controllers, some workers in all the other departments belong to the smallest groups (less than 10). Sizes of 11-30 members include the following work groups: feeders, snappers, quality controllers, packers, maintenance, warehouse and "others." The larger-sized groups (31 and more members) represent the following tasks: sewing, feeding, revising, packing, maintenance, spreading, tagging, cutting and quality control. Thus, the following groups are reportedly smaller in sizes, with usually no more than 30 members: warehouse workers, duplicators, samplers and mechanics.

The relationship between tasks and group size can probably be traced to the homogeneity of the jobs required and the ease of supervision over workers which this affords, since every work group has its own supervisor. Volume of output expected at the different production points could be another determinant. Sewers are found in differently-sized groups and the specific garment part each makes varies by each group. Duplicators are in relatively smaller work groups, probably because their work outputs are fewer in comparison to what is demanded of sewers, revisers and packers.

Mechanization of Work

Work classification can also be grouped according to whether or not a position requires the use of a machine. Using this type of classification, it was found that half of the sample were using machines and half were performing non-mechanical tasks. The machines used included high speed sewing machines, cutting machines, and various other equipment used for different parts of garments, or for transporting supplies (e.g., pushcarts). The following table describes in which departments machine operators are found:

Table 5: DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS USING MACHINERY IN VARIOUS DEPARTMENTS OF ALPHA (N = 131)

	Cutting		Sewing Dept.		Finishing Dept.		Maintenance Dept.		Warehouse/ Others		Totals	
No Machine	9	(53)	14	(25)	30	(68)	7	(87)	5	(71)	65	(50)
Uses Machine	8	(47)	41	(75)	14	(32)	1	(13)	2	(29)	65	(50)
Totals	17	(13)	55	(42)	44	(34)	8	(6)	7	(5)	130	(100)

The table illustrates that 75 percent of the workers from the Sewing Department require industrial machines in their jobs. This is in contrast to only 47 percent of workers in the Cutting Department, 32 percent in Finishing, 13 percent who attend to Maintenance work and 29 percent assigned to the Warehouse and other units. Work is most frequently accomplished without the use of machines in the nonproduction units—in Maintenance and in the Warehouse—and to a lesser extent in Finishing, which is mainly concerned with revising work as well as with packing, and in Cutting, which includes the spreading and duplicating of materials and designs, as much as cutting fabrics.

Control over Output

Productivity of workers is always a matter of concern to the enterprise. Thus, worker performance is heavily gauged by his productive output. In general, work productivity is defined to be the output of each worker in a month (Marsh and Mannari, 1976).

At Alpha, 36 percent of the respondents claimed that their labor is based on daily production quotas. Another three percent stated that the quota is on a departmental level. Sixty-one percent of the workers in the sample, therefore, have jobs which are not controlled by quotas. These include the employees in the non-production departments (Maintenance and Warehouse), 70 percent of workers in Cutting, 61 percent of Finishing employees and 49 percent of Sewing Department members.

Occupational positions governed by quota rules predominantly include revisers (80 percent), sewers (68 percent) and those with special sewing functions (60 percent). This implies that work central to the manufacture of jackets are controlled by quotas whereas auxiliary functions are not so governed. Instead, workers claim that their productivity requirements hinge on orders from abroad, the number of jacket designs to be executed, the work inflow from other departments, and a host of other unclassifiable factors.

Typology of Work: A Summary

The typology of work at Alpha may be summarized as follows:

First, the skills requirements are easy and may be learned simply through observing other workers, or after a short period of training.

Second, there are no clearly definable functions which determine work grouping; work in the various production sections is supervised in groups

of different sizes.

Third, garments manufacturing does not make use of highly specific machines in all its aspects; non-mechanical functions form an equally important part, especially in non-production support units of manufacture.

Lastly, except for certain production line functions, many of the occupational positions have no quota requirements.

As described, the manufacture of jackets at Alpha does not require the structural differentiations which may be found in automotive assembly plants or other highly-automated industrial systems. It would appear that production in this industry is also transitional in character. It has gone beyond the handicraft or custom craft systems of apparel production, where individual sewers create clothing from raw materials, patterns, or cut cloth to a finished product. Yet, pattern-making, duplication, aspects of sewing, finishing and packing remain purely manual efforts.

Within the framework of socio-technical theory (Woodward, 1965) production technology can be assessed in terms of the following variables of social organization: a) manual vs. mechanized control over work; b) degree of integration of the manufacturing process; c) degree of specialization of the worker; and d) degree of knowledge and skill required by the worker. (Herbst, quoted by Marsh & Mannari, 1976).

Alpha Company fits into what Herbst might call advanced mass production technology. Manual efforts complement mechanically controlled work and workers are relatively unspecialized. (In fact, there are cases wherein workers have been rotated in the different production departments). Low levels of skills are prerequisite to job placements.

Within such a technological organization, what attitudes might be expected from workers? Blauner (1964) observed that workers in companies employing low levels of production technology were generally more satisfied with their jobs than employees in assembly line factories. This could be because persons are still given their own options regarding how to complete their tasks and are not completely governed by machines. There is room for innovation, interaction and cooperation. Whether such is also true among the workers at Alpha will be discussed later.

Opportunities for Assimilation of Prevalent Values

The primary source of values related to the emerging industrial culture is, of course, the factory itself. It is abetted in disseminating urban-industrial values by popular culture and media and by the workers' reference groups already steeped in urban mores.

The values of the prevalent culture, however, may continue to be assimilated within the family and informal groups of the workers. The neighbors, housemates, relatives and townmates of workers serve as good reference points, since regional-ethnic groups stick together. Even the natives of Metro Manila and Rizal reside in homogenous communities. Some of the non-migrants interviewed continue to reside in the towns of Rizal, within which they grew up.

Regardless, the strongest indicator for measuring the pull of agricultural norms would be in terms of how frequently individuals continue to link up with the rural areas.

Migrant Profile

In-migrants continue to maintain their ties with their rural roots. Eighty-one percent claim to have had the chance to return to their provinces. However, four-fifths of these individuals have been able to travel less than five times to the provinces since they moved to the city. Sixteen percent have returned to their homes for at most 10 times and only 10 percent have had the resources to travel more frequently.

The usual occasions these migrants have for going home include attending fiestas or Christmas celebrations (38 percent), going on vacation or sick leave (27 percent) and attending significant family affairs such as birthdays of parents, deaths, weddings, baptisms and emergencies (23 percent). The usual duration of these visits is from one to four weeks (80 percent).

Non-migrant Profile

Lifetime residents of Manila or Rizal also find opportunities for travel to the provinces although less frequently. Over the past 10 years, 64 percent have travelled less than five times, 14 percent have visited rural areas for at most 10 times and another 14 percent have done so more frequently. Seventy percent remained in the provinces during their visits for less than a week, 18 percent for at most a month and only five percent remained longer. Natives of Manila and Rizal spend less time in the provinces than do migrants on each of their visits. The most frequent reason these city "natives" had for visiting the provinces was attendance at family affairs (23 percent). Visits during fiestas were less frequent (18 percent), as were occasions for spending vacation there (14 percent).

This description of the frequency and occasions behind provincial travel indicates that no sustained opportunities have been available for both the

migrant and non-migrant workers to imbibe rural culture. Most of the visits were short, and motivated largely by an interest in attending significant events rather than in merely taking leisurely vacations.

Certainly, it may be impossible to expect more visits to the provinces, considering costs of travel and the restrictions of hourly wage occupations. In fact, one notes that going on vacation has been the least frequently mentioned reason for provincial travel among the workers. It seems that unless a singularly important occasion occurs in the provinces, there is little reason to leave Metro Manila.

This situation indicates that continued nurturance of prevailing values remains largely within the urban ethnic communities alone.

Belief-Value Orientations: Prevalent vs. Emergent

The personality measures on five scales of the *Panukat ng Ugali at Pagkatao* are to be described for the present sample. These include four trait scales associated with *Kapwa*, and one for achievement orientation. As part of the technique for using these scales, the subjects' scores on the Lie Scale (*Pagkakaila*) and the Cultural Scale (*Kaugalian*) also had to be determined. Scores on these two validity scales which are shown to be different from those obtained through test standardization invalidate the use of the whole test. Otherwise, test outcomes are acceptable.

Following these procedures, the first step was to ascertain the validity of test measures through the Lie Scale and the Cultural Scale. The results demonstrated that the Alpha sample was comparable in its responses to that of the PUP standardization group (p=.01 on the Z-test). Thus, the test results for Alpha are valid, and the rest of the obtained scores can be regarded as reflective of personality orientations using the PUP.

The observed mean scores of the workers on these scales, as compared to scores of the standardization group are as follows:

Table 6: MEAN SCORES OF 131 WORKERS AND 3,702 STANDARDIZATION SUBJECTS

Trait	Mean Scores of workers (N = 131)	Mean Scores of Standardization Group (N = 3,702)
Ambisyon	2.880	2.666
Pagkamagalang	2.330	2.423
Pagkamahiyain	2.620	2.721
Pagkamapagkumbaba	2.683	2.657
Pagkamatulungin	2.811	2.920

To interpret the sample scores, it must be remembered that on the PUP, lower scores indicate more intense manifestations of the studied traits. On this basis, the following trait profiles emerge. On the average, Alpha workers have lower *ambisyon* in comparison to the standardization group. However, they adhere more strongly to prevailing orientations on *pagkamagalang, pagkamahiyain* and *pagkamatulungin,* while being comparable on *pagkamapagkumbaba.*

It has also been indicated that the population mean obtained on the trait scales would serve as the cut-off point for deciding whether given scores from a sample would be evaluated as reflective of either the prevailing or the emerging culture.

Sample scores less than or equal to those of the population averages are indicative of prevailing orientations; vice-versa, scores greater than the standardization averages are endorsements of emerging orientations. Using this measure, the following personality profile emerges from among the workers:

Table 7: PROPORTION OF ALPHA WORKERS WITH TRAIT SCORES BELOW/EQUAL OR ABOVE THE POPULATION MEANS (N = 131)

Trait	Prop. Falling Below/Equal To Pop. Mean	Prop. Falling Above Pop. Mean
Ambisyon	31% (40)	69% (91)
Pagkamagalang	60% (78)	40% (53)
Pagkamahiyain	67% (88)	33% (43)
Pagkamapagkumbaba	36% (47)	64% (84)
Pagkamatulungin	51% (67)	49% (64)

The table illustrates that more than three-fourths of the Alpha workers have low achievement orientation, according to culturally prevalent norms. On the KAPWA scales, more than half endorse prevailing orientations on pagkamagalang, and pagkamahiyain. The distribution is evenly divided on pagkamatulungin, while 36 percent of the sample are oriented towards emerging standards of pagkamapagkumbaba.

The test results imply that (1) majority of the workers in the study have low ambisyon relative to the population, and (2) there appears to be some movement toward emerging values on the Kapwa-scales. This is evidenced

by the fact that the workers are divided almost into half on their scores on three of the kapwa-scales, while being predominantly low scorers on pagka-mapagkumbaba. Generally, therefore, the findings show that the industrial workers are no longer intensely committed to kapwa-orientations. The low ratings on ambisyon will be interpreted later, in the context of their other psychological characteristics.

The Nature of Interactions

Given the nature of work within the factory, the most predominant opportunity for interpersonal interaction is during work periods. It was cited earlier that co-workers and supervisors are the prime socialization agents among the line workers. The first occasions for social relationships arise during the workers' initial admission into Alpha. These interactions which have been described to conform to the prescriptions of pakikipagkapwa, involve chiefly give-and-take relationships.

Relationships With Peers

Underlying the accomplishment of work objectives among both quota and non-quota workers is the concept of kapwa. Production goals within each department are mainly attained through *pagtutulungan* (cooperation) among the workers. Speeding up work to finish needed products is reportedly done by less than a fourth of the respondents.

The relations existing between employees at Alpha are generally perceived in a positive manner. Fifty three percent characterize their interactions with fellow workers to be cooperative and reciprocal (*nagbibigayan, nagtutulu-ngan*). About 25 percent say they treat one another as siblings (*parang mag-kakapatid*), while 16 percent describe their relations to be happy and predictable (*masaya* at *maayos*).

Despite the prescriptive orderliness of social relationships among the workers, only 30 percent claim to have more than twenty good friends at Alpha. Forty-two percent have less than five "best friends" and 25 percent have between 5 to 20 such friends. Most of these friends come from the same departmental unit as the respondents themselves.

Occasions which provide the workers opportunities to socialize include union meetings (59 percent) and Christmas parties at Alpha (62 percent). Only 16 percent state they interact with their co-workers during informal or spontaneous gatherings.

Observations made by the research staff bear out these reports. When

leaving the company premises, the women workers usually go straight to their domiciles to wash, cook or do house work. Some male employees may group off and have some drinks together, or pursue some "nighttime entertainment," but the others also trod off to their families. The *barkadas* are compact and usually made up of the same individuals on carousing nights. The single women workers also interact most frequently with members of their own households, or with provincemates living within the neighborhood.

In summary, the reference groups of these workers evolve mainly along principles of pakikipagkapwa. Kapwa operates to control reciprocity during work by prescribing that individual employees assist one another in finishing production quotas. Such norms are inculcated from the first days of employment by the more experienced workers and their supervisors. After work, however, the kapwa circle becomes more restricted and is confined largely to informal dealings with kinsmen and provincemates—persons who intimately share the individual worker's set of values and expectations.

In both instances, the normative expectations of the prevailing culture underlie the relationships between workers. In the first case, though, kapwa is shared through the rituals of work, and is less personal than pakikipag-kapwa which occurs after work, within the confines of the traditionally-valued structures of kinship and neighborhood.

Relationships With Superiors

The social interactions experienced by the Alpha employees with their supervisors vary in nature. Twenty-nine percent say they relate to their supervisors as "others" rather than as "one of us," and their interactions occur with the consciousness that one is a worker and the other a supervisor. Twenty-four percent are able to get along with their supervisors and find them agreeable and friendly (*nakakasundo, nakiki-isa*). Another twenty-one percent say that their superiors can be approached during times of need or whenever problems arise, even if they generally keep their distance from the workers. Only eight percent characterize their supervisors as strict (*mahig-pit, masungit*).

The different experiences reported by the blue collars describe differing levels of interactions. In the first and last cases, the worker has not accepted the supervisor on an insider's level; he is regarded as an outsider. In the second case, the supervisor and the worker are able to relate more as *hindi ibang-tao*: they share experiences on the same plane and find commonalities. The third instance also displays pakikipagkapwa, although the structural difference in status remains evident in the relationship.

Unlike dealings with their supervisors, more than half of the hourly-wage employees fail to characterize their relationships with their managers in any way. This set claims that they have not had any opportunity to relate to their managers. Among the rest, nine percent typify their interactions as premised on conformity (sumusunod lang kami), and 14 percent claim they are able to speak their minds to their managers (nakakapalagayang-loob). Only the last type of interpersonal dealings falls within the dimensions of hindi ibang-tao.

Informal Relationships and Work

The quality of relationships among workers, and those between workers and their superiors are perceived to have effects on work. The generally positive nature of worker interactions is seen to lighten work, either by making it more pleasant or in terms of reciprocal assistance (43 percent). Good relations with supervisors help motivate workers to do good jobs (14 percent) while defective interpersonal relations discourage workers (30 percent). The quality of labor-management relations could not be perceived in relation to work, because of the very limited opportunities of workers to interact with them.

The opinions of workers on their social relationships in the factory are all based on individual assessments of these interactions rather than taken as a collectivity. There is no clearcut negation or affirmation of one kind of interaction over another. Class consciousness, therefore, fails to be reflected in these expressions. Rather, the underpinnings of the contingency principle are again seen: discrete experiences where the superiors deal with workers along kapwa-orientations result in positive assessments of their group; vice-versa, disciplinary stances are taken badly and lead to a negative view of the supervisor.

One may well wonder just how far kapwa principles may apply in the furtherance of industrial peace.

IV

Occupational Generation and Geographic Mobility: Profile of Influences

The patterns of influence over individual characteristics have been conceptualized as rooted in the social environment. One of these factors has been identified as the sociodemographic status of the blue-collars, referring to socialization influences stemming from paternal livelihood and geographic mobility. In this study, sociodemographic status distinguishes four types of industrial workers: first-generation migrants, first-generation nonmigrants (born/raised in Metro Manila or Rizal), second-generation migrants and second-generation nonmigrants. The influence of these conditions over personality and work orientations is to be illustrated in this chapter.

Personality Outlines

Personality may be defined as the structural and dynamic properties reflected in characteristic responses of individuals to situations (Pervin, 1975). One person is thus distinguishable from another in terms of qualitative and quantitative observations of behavior (Smith, 1968). The antecedent influences over personality have been traced to both the biological-genetic characteristics of the individual, and to the social-physical environment (Lindzey & Hall, 1973). Culture, and its attendant social institutions, is one critical factor related to personality formation.

The Filipino personality has been described within the context of the prevailing culture. In particular, two features of personality are brought out in relief: traits which are tied-up with pakikipagkapwa, and ambisyon as a measure of achievement orientation. While pakikipagkapwa focuses on characteristic adaptations in interaction situations, ambisyon purportedly looks at individual orientations towards futuristic goals.

In the preceding chapter, the personality of the workers in Alpha has been portrayed to be moving away from prevailing values. The following discussions will sketch the influence of sociodemographic status on this rough outline of pakikipagkapwa and ambisyon.

Differences on the Cultural Scale: (Kaugalian)

The set of statements on *Panukat ng Ugali at Pagkatao* which pertains to *Kaugalian* supposedly describes interpersonal situations that have normative solutions in Philippine society (Enriquez and Guanzon, 1980). It is for this reason that it represents a validity check on the subject's responses. Since these are behavioral truisms, it is expected that Filipinos will give cultural solutions.

We have previously stated that the average score of Alpha workers on kaugalian does not critically differ from the population mean. However, when this mass of data is disaggregated in terms of the four categories of socio-demographic status, a significant result emerges (See Table 8).

The findings indicate that, while about half of first-generation migrants (42 percent) and second-generation nonmigrants (67 percent) adhere to cultural solutions, only a fourth of first-generation nonmigrants (26 percent) and second-generation migrants (18 percent) do so. Thus, 74 percent and 82 percent, respectively, of the latter groups have belief-value orientations in an emergent dimension while half of those in the former groups lean toward the prevailing orientation.

However, when occupational generation and geographic mobility were taken singly, there were no significant differences between the workers. The results of tests which examined each of the factors separately yielded non-significant outcomes, and the distribution of scores indicated prevailing orientations by and large (60 percent).

Orientations on Kapwa and Ambisyon

The distribution of trait scores of the four groups differentiated according to sociodemographic status fails to be significantly different from one another (Table 8). Thus, socialization history, while describing individual differences on kaugalian, fails to distinguish workers along ambisyon and kapwa scales. Nevertheless, the fine differences found in the proportions of workers who mirror either prevailing or emerging orientations on kapwa are interesting to describe.

For one, the results show that while only a little more than 50 percent of the first three worker-groups have prevailing scores on *pagkamagalang,* 75 percent of second-generation nonmigrants are *magalang.* Similarly, bigger proportions of the two nonmigrant groups have higher scores on *pagkama-pagkumbaba* than migrant workers.

Table 8: BELIEF-VALUE ORIENTATIONS OF 4 WORKER GROUPS AT ALPHA COMPANY

Trait	Orientation	First Generation migrant (1)	First Generation nonmigrant (2)	Second Generation migrant (3)	Second Generation nonmigrant (4)
*Kaugalian	Prevalent	34 (42)	5 (26)	3 (18)	8 (67)
	Emergent	46 (58)	14 (74)	14 (82)	4 (33)
Ambisyon	Prevalent	25 (31)	7 (35)	4 (24)	4 (33)
	Emergent	55 (69)	13 (65)	13 (76)	8 (67)
Pagkamagalang	Prevalent	47 (59)	11 (55)	10 (59)	9 (75)
	Emergent	33 (41)	9 (45)	7 (41)	3 (25)
Pagkamahiyain	Prevalent	54 (68)	13 (65)	12 (71)	8 (67)
	Emergent	26 (32)	7 (35)	5 (29)	4 (33)
Pagkamapagkumbaba	Prevalent	29 (36)	5 (25)	7 (41)	5 (42)
	Emergent	51 (64)	15 (75)	10 (59)	7 (58)
Pagkamatulungin	Prevalent	39 (49)	12 (60)	10 (59)	5 (42)
	Emergent	41 (51)	8 (40)	7 (41)	7 (58)
		N=80 (100)	N=20 (100)	N=17 (100)	N=12 (100)

$*x^2 = 8.784$, 3 df, $p < .05$

The abovementioned findings seem to indicate that longer exposure to industrial-urban values strengthens prevailing values related to respectfulness and humility, rather than erodes these norms rooted in pre-industrial culture. In contrast, reticence *(pagkamahiyain)* is undifferentiated by these socio-demographic experiences, and a strong commitment to the trait remains (see Table 6).

A second interesting feature of the study points to the possible differentiating influence of "marginal" sociodemographic experiences. Both first-generation migrants and second-generation nonmigrants express stronger commitments to *pagkamatulungin* than do the "nonmarginal" workers. Thus, while they are described as uncommitted to cultural solutions on kaugalian, these two groups are seen to be more helpful (or cooperative) than the rest.

Combining the scores according to either occupational generation or geographic mobility fails to result in meaningful differences likewise. By and large, the marginal distributions are reflected in these observations, and describe continuing commitments to most of the kapwa values.

First Insight: Social and Psychological Relationships

The set of results obtained in connection with socio-demographic influences on personality generally depicts the absence of associations between either occupational generation or geographic mobility and measures of kapwa and ambisyon. (The personality structure described for the Alpha rank-and-file illustrates ambivalent commitments to values of the prevalent culture as well as low achievement orientations.) The continuing importance of pakikipagkapwa as the framework underlying Filipino individuality fails to be incontestably evident among the studied blue-collars.

The absence of clear relationships between ambisyon and socialization experiences imply that an interpretation for the observed low ratings on the trait lie elsewhere. In fact, the values and aspirations expressed by these workers would better explain their low levels of ambisyon. If this striving is related to goals of personal success and achievement, then such a motive is clearly unsupported in the cognitive life of the workers. As will be seen in the succeeding section, the Alpha employees work for survival needs rather than for personal satisfaction, and their personal goals are other-directed rather than self-directed. Given such values and goals, it is unsurprising that these individuals rate low on ambisyon as a personal trait.

The amassed information also indicates that particular combinations of experience in occupation and mobility differentiate workers. Lifetime

residents of the Manila-Rizal area, whose fathers were farmers or fishermen, were found to share common orientations with immigrants whose fathers worked at industrial occupations. Since the city environs are generally considered industrial centers and rural areas are identified with agriculture, these two groups are "marginal" in terms of their occupational generation in their respective places of origin.

Could it be that such experiences have led to value conflicts in these persons? On the one hand, these marginal groups endorse cultural truisms less often than either of the two other groups. On the other hand, they display conservative orientations with respect to helpfulness. A swing between values of the "old" and the "new" social fabric roughly depicts these "marginal" workers. Discussions in succeeding sections will trace the extent of this tendency.

Work Orientations

Sociodemographic characteristics of workers are also expected to influence work values and occupational goals. Parents, as has been stated, are the prime sources of values. Presumably, fathers in industrial labor pass on customs and beliefs drawn from their workplaces. These might include a concern for clock time, greater awareness of the value of money, a desire to have skills in anticipation of better-paying positions, and aspirations for occupations with higher social prestige (Kerr, 1960; Hoselitz and Moore, 1963, and others). In contrast, fathers in agriculture would transmit customs and values attached to reciprocity in work accomplishment, partial reliance on external forces for the success of work, and lower aspirations for social mobility (Guthrie, 1970, Castillo, 1975, and others).

Work Values

As a measure of work values, respondents were asked to select one of three statements which they believe would describe most fully their outlook on work. The statements read as follows:

(a) "Work in the company is my whole life."
(b) "A happy family is as important as work in the company."
(c) "Work is only a means of earning money to spend on the necessities of life."

These statements were initially adapted from Marsh and Mannari (1976) in their study of modernization in a Japanese factory. Each is meant to describe a differing level of commitment to work. However, in the above-

mentioned monograph, the second statement reads "A happy family is *more* important than work . . ." while the third is "work is . . . . to spend on the *pleasures* of life."

These statements were pretested among the Filipino workers and the final versions were those adjudged by the respondents as reflective of their own work values.

Regardless of sociodemographic characteristics of the workers, it is the third value statement which is endorsed by more than half of the respond- ents. These workers believed that "work is only a means of earning money to spend on the necessities of life" (63 percent of first-generation and 55 percent of second-generation employees). Twenty-five percent of the workers declared that the family is equally important as work, while no more than 17 percent stated that work in the company is their life.

The results demonstrate that work is primarily considered as an economic necessity rather than something to which a person can commit his life efforts. In a way, this viewpoint is not surprising, considering the educational profile of these workers. Given a high school education, factory work utilizing low level skills is practically the only labor opportunity open to them in the non- agricultural sector. Such work pays little and is barely enough to cover life's necessities. Still it is better than having no money or returning to the pro- vinces (Snow, 1978, Lauby, 1978).

By way of comparison, it is interesting to note that the Japanese workers studied by Marsh and Mannari (1976) endorsed the following statement most frequently (about 50 percent of respondents) — "Work is only a means to get pay to spend on the pleasures of life." Whether it is survival or pleasure, work clearly is not the fount of fulfillment for either set of workers.

Anderson (1971) explains work values in the following manner:

The old expectations about identity with work have little meaning in the industrial work system. It is a market in which workers sell their time and skill, usually for an hourly rate of pay. They work for money to meet the cost of living, and . . . living is in another sphere . . . The job is mar- ginal to living as it provides the means for living.

Indirectly, the predominant work value of lowly-paid workers points to their separateness, or alienation, from their labor. Unlike the craftsman who is able to express his individuality and creative potential in a finished craft, production workers are tied down to routinary occupations which can hardly kindle their individual talents. Work thus becomes just a means to "live" and is not life itself.

When the results of the study are analyzed from the perspective of occu-

pational generation, no value differences emerge. Both first and second- generation employees favor the last value statement, followed by that which equates family with work.

Geographic mobility tends to distinguish the values of migrants and non- migrants with respect to the statement "A happy family is as important as work . . ." Unlike what may be expected from previous studies, however, it is the "native" group which endorses this statement more than the migrants (35 percent vs. 20 percent, respectively). Vice versa, 17 percent of migrants agree that "Work in the company is . . . life" in comparison to 10 percent of non-migrants.

The influence of migration on value expressions may be linked to Sjoberg's observation that the family system reinforces traditional values in an indus- trializing center (1967). In Philippine society, the family plays the central role. Nonmigrants nestling in the bosom of kinsmen live daily within the bonds of reciprocal relations and its benefits. Thus, work and family are equally important. In contrast, inmigrants have uprooted themselves from their family for the express purpose of finding livelihood. Work is therefore the focus of their existence, although only as a means to a better life.

Criteria for Job Selection

Concern over earning enough money to purchase basic necessities explains the overwhelming opinion of the workers that "salary" is a prime considera- tion in selecting jobs (91 percent of all respondents). After salary, half of the workers considered the benefits offered by a firm as next important. Of less importance in selecting jobs are factors which relate to the ability required by the job, or the enhancement of skills (each factor endorsed by 42 percent of respondents).

Other criteria related to the work environment are not considered too important by workers. These include the hours of work (endorsed by 20 percent) and the company rules (10 percent). These factors are not as impor- tant as the presence of relatives in the company or the proximity of the enter- prise to one's home and family taken as positive conditions for work choice.

Monetary considerations take precedence over others in the choice of occupations among the Alpha workers. Cognitive factors, such as skills utili- zation and work rules, and affective variables (related to family and personal comfort) can be pushed aside in favor of good pay and fringe benefits. In this respect, the Alpha workers behave rationally (in an economic sense) and typify any other worker anywhere in the world.

Sociodemographic status successfully differentiates the workers along certain criteria. Among the results associated with *parental occupation* are the following:

First, although the marginal distribution endorsing "easy job" as a job criterion is only 38 percent, there were significantly more first-generation employees who belonged to this group.

Second, the "skills required by a job" is considered somewhat more importantly by second-generation workers than the other group although the difference is not significant.

Third, "benefits" offered are more important to 57 percent of first-generation employees versus 38 percent of second-generation employees.

Significant differences and trend results are also obtained in terms of *geographic mobility:*

First, having "relatives in the company," while a low choice of the sample (only nine percent), is a criterion selected more often by nonmigrants than migrants.

Second, skills requirements are also a critical criterion for nonmigrants in occupational selection.

Third, slightly more "natives" consider promotions as important.

The differences obtained between worker-groups on each of the criterion categories tend to point to distinctions with respect to evaluating the material and non-material components of a job. First-generation employees, for instance, apparently prefer work which pays well regardless of individual preparedness for such occupations. Second-generation employees, by contrast, tend to select jobs in terms of their skills requirements. Similarly, nonmigrants to the industrializing center consider the skills needed by particular occupations. But this group equally finds it important to have a relative in a given company.

The effect of socialization with respect to these criteria for occupational choice depicts the critical function of nonmaterial elements in industrial jobs. While a first-generation laborer is motivated to select an occupation on the basis of expected monetary returns, a second-generation applicant is conscious of the importance of personal skills in obtaining work. He is also aware that there are greater chances of landing a job if one has a relative who can recommend him to the position.

Within Alpha, experience and skills are formally considered by management prior to recruitment of hourly-wage workers. It has been shown, however, that a large proportion of the present sample obtained their positions

through recommendations. This could be the climate of work found in most other industries, and both second-generation workers as well as urban "natives" have been socialized into these customs.

Acceptance of Production Goals

Industry is universally characterized as possessing unique normative order (Moore, in Braibanti and Spengler, 1961). This social order functions by way of a rational organization of work, in which there is specialization and an organized coordination of activities. The imposition of production quotas is a form of control over production relations between workers, and between labor and capital. Since productivity is a goal in industry, the extent to which company targets are endorsed would be indicative of how well workers have internalized the normative order.

The opinions of Alpha blue-collar workers on production goals were queried. Specifically, quota workers were asked whether or not they thought that: a) workers should strive to reach the company quota in their line of work: b) workers should attempt to surpass the given quotas; and c) the minimum work quotas existing were reasonable.

Only 51 of the 131 respondents had jobs that required a minimum output. Of this group, 39 (76 percent) asserted that quotas should be fulfilled. However, only 45 percent believed that these minimum levels should be surpassed by individuals at work, and about half (53 percent) thought the existing quotas were reasonable and realistic. This set of opinions illustrate that, while a majority conform to the quotas set by management, some do so while thinking that these levels are in fact unrealistic. Consequently, even fewer think that workers should produce more than is expected by the company.

More than three-fourths (76 percent) of the quota workers are first-generation migrants. Ten percent each are first-generation nonmigrants and second-generation migrants; only four percent (or two workers) are second-generation nonmigrants.

The opinions of the different types of workers on accomplishing production quotas are as follows: a) a majority of both types of first-generation employees think positively of this goal; b) all the second-generation migrants also think the minimum output requirements should be fulfilled; and c) .neither one of the two second-generation nonmigrants believes in reaching the quota.

Opinions about surpassing company quotas are describable in terms of geographic mobility. Migrant workers tend to be almost equally divided on this issue. All nonmigrants, however, agree that no such efforts need be expended.

A similar distinction is observed in connection with what workers think of the existing quotas. Migrants are equivocal about their assessments while nonmigrants contend that these minimum requirements are unreasonable.

These results point to urban exposure as an experience which could produce particular valuations of company goals. Occupational generation, however, fails to be an influential socialization variable. Unlike what may be expected, though, lifetime or long-term exposure to urban-industrial values seemingly tends to increase negative assessments of production goals.

Unfortunately, stronger commentaries on this factor cannot be made because of the small number of observations (only 37 percent of sample have quotas). Future explorations of work may choose to focus on the mobility variable as a possible determinant of occupational values and performance.

Occupational and Life Aspirations

Within a socio-economic formation that stesses the systematization of work and the rationality of work-oriented behaviors, it is expected that participants will continually aspire to improve their performance in conjunction with production goals. However, it has been previously shown how work is in fact peripheral to the ideals of the Alpha rank-and-file employees. Success and excellence in the fulfillment of their jobs are not consciously used as criteria for occupational preference. Within this cognitive framework, their future roles as workers and individuals can be visualized in terms of occupational and personal goals.

Expressed Plans to Improve Work

Generally, the workers at the garments firm appear disinterested in laying out concrete plans for improving their work. Negative answers were given almost consistently to several presented alternatives.

Specifically, forty percent choose to re-educate themselves at school as a way to improve their performance. Twenty-seven percent would rather have in-plant training and twenty-five percent prefer to train with more experienced workers. Only five percent think plain striving (*magsumikap sa gawain*) will help raise work quality.

These outcomes signify that Alpha respondents interested in upgrading their performance largely think that skills improvements can best be obtained through formal education. Despite the fact that their present job knowhow was imbibed through socialization procedures in Alpha, these workers believe that the company and their peers do not suffice to help them improve their work.

These plans reflect the overriding value of education to Filipinos. Different studies consistently describe the high educational aspirations of both young people and their parents for them. (This trend will be discussed later, in connection with other findings.) Recognition of the value of formal training for skills development is a rational orientation. It signifies individual awareness that job experiences within a production organization employing lowly-skilled workers can only result in a limited range of skills models. This rationality is equally apparent in the workers' acceptance of the fact that sheer effort, or striving, does not suffice to allow skills-upgrading.

Occupational generation differentiates the occupational aspirations of first- and second-generation workers on two counts. Education is conceived of as a concrete plan by more of the latter group (54 percent vs. 36 percent) while the former prefer to train in-plant (31 percent vs. 14 percent). Both groups, nevertheless, reject the other two alternatives for skills improvement equally often, i.e., learning from co-workers and striving.

Differences stemming from the parental occupation-profiles of the employees may be traced to their own fathers' experiences in industry. Manufacturing sets a premium on skills, and better-skilled workers are higher in occupational prestige than others. While experience helps develop job mastery, prior training still results in faster promotions and higher job classifications. Lacking this perspective, first-generation respondents tend to believe that company training suffices to prepare them for occupational improvements while second-generation workers prefer to obtain formal education.

Career Aspirations for Children

Another way of measuring work values is in terms of how much present and would-be parents aspire to have their offsprings follow in their footsteps. Aside from being an index of the social gratification obtained from an occupation, this also reflects the extent to which the prevailing culture influences world views, since occupations are traditionally passed on in agricultural economies.

The survey of studies, however, indicates two things. First, industrial occupation (especially semi-skilled labor) has low occupational prestige (Lauby, 1978) and a sizable proportion of workers in manufacturing are women (Castillo, 1976). Secondly, agricultural parent-workers and industrial (or urban) parent-workers almost universally dream of having their children educated in college and working as professionals (Castillo, 1975, 1979; Lauby, 1978; Snow, 1978). Costello and Costello (1981) also present findings which show that high school seniors plan on professional careers, so long as their economic situations permit it.

Alpha workers do not deviate from other Filipino samples in terms of career aspirations. Three-fourths (71 percent) explicitly aspire to see their offsprings engaged in professions as lawyers, doctors, teachers or accountants. Another thirteen percent choose to dream of their children with businesses of their own ("para walang amo") or in other sundry positions. Only two workers said they would like to see their children in their own occupations. (The rest could not yet visualize their aspirations, especially those still unmarried).

It is ironic that industrial laborers negate their occupations for their children, especially since many have themselves negated their own parents' agricultural labor. It seems that satisfaction with occupational careers within an industrializing society is tenuous. It could be partly for this reason that "modernizing" nations are characterized by high intergenerational mobility in occupations (Moore, 1963). Each generation moves the family higher in the prestige hierarchy.

These results also point out that career choices are anti-traditional. Whereas in agriculture the use and allocation of land implicitly passes on farming as an occupation intergenerationally (Jocano, 1969), industrial workers would rather see their own children in better-paying and higher status occupations. Again, such is a rational rather than an emotional outlook.

Life Aspirations

Workers were asked to think about what one thing they most wanted to happen in their lives to ascertain the life goals of the respondents, indirectly giving evidence about the place of industrial labor in their consciousness.

The responses given by the workers were varied in perspective. To facilitate comparisons, specific trends of thought were recategorized into "self-centered" versus "other-centered" aspirations. "Self-centered" aspirations include the desire to study, to progress in life, to own a house and lot, to do business, and travel. "Other-centered" aspirations include wanting to marry and to raise a family, to help parents, to educate children, and to help others.

No single specific aspiration predominated over the others. Responses registering high percentages were the desire to help parents (21 percent), to self-progress in life (15 percent) and to study (12 percent). When these life goals are recategorized and examined in relation to workers' demographic status, a significant finding emerges (See Table 9).

The distribution of answers brings again into focus the influence on individual characteristics of marginality in occupational generation-and-mobility status.

Table 9: DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS WITH "SELF-CENTERED" AND "OTHER-CENTERED" ASPIRATIONS

	"Self-Centered"	"Other-Centered"	Totals
1st generation, migrant	33 (41%)	46 (58%)	79 (62%)
1st generation, non-migrant	12 (63%)	7 (37%)	19 (15%)
2nd generation, migrant	12 (71%)	5 (29%)	17 (13%)
2nd generation, non-migrant	3 (25%)	9 (75%)	12 (9%)
Totals	60	67	127

missing values = 4

$x^2 = 8.98, 3$ df, p. $\leq$ .05

The table indicates that both first-generation "natives" and second-generation "migrants" look forward to "self-centered" goals more than the other groups. In contrast, a majority of second-generation "natives" consider "other-centered" aspirations of paramount importance. Meanwhile, first-generation "migrants" are equivocal about the direction of their aspirations.

Of the goals listed in each category, the aspiration to own a house and lot was considered by the first-generation "natives" of the metropolis as the most important. Second-generation "migrants" desire most "to progress in life" and "to study." The "other-centered" goals of second-generation "natives" include wanting to marry and to raise families, and "to help others" ("makatulong sa kapwa"). Again, these differences are reducible to material and non-material incentives.

The depicted differences in the goals of the Alpha workers can be interpreted in terms of the motive forces which have driven these persons into the industrial labor force.

In-migrants from rural villages have come to the city because of difficulties in obtaining work within agriculture. Land reform and technology have resulted in landlessness and a shortage of occupational opportunities in the countryside. On top of these circumstances was also the preference of farmer-parents to have their children engage in non-rural forms of livelihood.

Thus, economic deprivation and/or high occupational aspirations push first-generation migrant workers into industry. They are torn between self-fulfillment and their obligations to their families. One study shows, for example, that women migrant workers almost always send a sizable portion of their incomes to their families, but that they would rather continue doing low-paying jobs in industry than return home. They earn minimum wages yet they prefer their occupations to rural life because of the new friends they meet at the workplace, and because of the semblance of independence that

work provides (Snow, 1978). Such circumstances may have formed the bases for the equivocal life goals of the Alpha first-generation workers.

In another case, first-generation workers raised in the city but now in industry probably feel most deprived in terms of residential ownership. For one, residence which is usually afforded in agriculture by the passing-on of tillable land, has been limited by land reform. Secondly, ownership of home-lots is increasingly becoming rare in the Metropolitan Manila area (Castillo, 1979). Thus, while the value of owning a home is salient in the minds of these workers who trace their roots to agriculture, city life also makes them aware of the difficulty of realizing their dreams. This then becomes central to their life goals.

Second-generation migrants presumably enjoyed higher standards of living because of cash availability. They have come to the city for the ex-pressed purpose of seeking self-fulfillment. Their obligations to their families may be less critical—economically and culturally—because their fathers have been employed in industrial labor. Unsurprisingly, it is "self-centered" as-pirations which dominate their consciousness.

Second-generation non-migrants, of these four groups, have led lives which the rest still aspire for to varying degrees. They have also experienced the value of certain prevailing norms in urban-industrial life (Mendez and Jocano, 1974; Jocano, 1975; Dizon, 1978). This could be the reason "other-centered" aspirations pre-occupy them. Having been socialized within the emerging culture, they are tuned-in to the contingent channels for effective coping within such a society. Descriptions of reciprocity relations in the urban-indus-trial milieu continue to place importance on *pakikipagkapwa,* which is "other-oriented," and this commitment apparently lays the foundation for the aspirations of second-generation non-migrants.

Use of Savings

The life goals of a rational individual can also be examined in terms of what he intends to acquire through savings, because in a cash economy future plans are largely realized with the use of monetary resources. The Alpha workers, while earning minimum wages, claim to be able to set aside money because of their simple personal needs.

Aspirations of the sample are ranked as follows:

1. To send money to parents (51%)
2. To purchase household appliances and other similar goods (47%)
3. To purchase a house and lot (44%)

4. To educate my children (37%)
5. To educate myself (30%)
6. To spend on a good-time (14%)
7. To save for a vacation (11%)
8. To go into business (7%)

Sociodemographic status yields differentials with respect to some of these incentives to savings. A trend result is obtained in relation to the desire to give money to parents: 55 percent of first-generation employees and only 41 percent of second-generation workers save for their families (x^2 = 1.689, 1 df, p < .20). This observation ties-in with our viewpoint that rural culture nur-tures the primacy of the family in personal life. Mobility status, however, yields no differentiation.

Household appliances and other amenities are more important to non-migrants than migrants (x^2 = 3.252, 1 df, p > .05). Sixty percent of the former group save (or would like to save) for such goods. This is especially true of second-generation non-migrants. The dominant desire among non-migrants to save for household goods is understandable. They are more familiar with the comforts which such products can provide to city dwellers and have probably enjoyed these in their parental homes. Besides, the acqui-sition of such commodities is linked to higher status perceptions.

Congruent to the foregoing goal, non-migrants also desire much more often than migrants to save for homelots and houses of their own (x^2=5.597, 1 df, p>.02). Previously discussed were the possible bases for this aspiration among first-generation non-migrants, who constitute the largest group saving for "a house and lot" (68 percent vs. 50 percent of second-generation non-migrants). Thus, while home ownership is of primacy among non-migrants, there are more first-generation "natives" working for this goal than second-generation "natives." Migrants, on the other hand, have other more pressing concerns than home ownership.

Of more importance to first-generation workers is the education of their children. Forty-one percent of the former group want to save money for their children's schooling in comparison to only 25 percent of second-generation workers. In terms of geographic mobility, the first-generation non-migrants were found to cherish this goal most frequently.

These trends coincide with Castillo's observations of the changing Filipino farmer (1975, 1979). In *All in a Grain of Rice* she emphatically states that one of the "undisputed aims" of the farmers is to see their children in college. Education in this view is considered as the passport to a better life, and such is supposedly obtained outside of the farm. Workers in our sample with agri-

cultural roots mirror their parents' aspirations for their own children, having been unable to attain the goal themselves.

Castillo's second observation related to education describes samples in the Manila area as having the highest educational aspirations. This tallies with the desire of the non-migrant first-generation workers to save for their children's education, and may again be interpreted in terms of the social gratification vicariously experienced as stemming from higher educational attainment.

The socialization effect of urban life is reflected anew by the observation that of the 30 percent of the sample who save for their own education, half of second-generation non-migrants belong to this set. Smaller proportions of the other groups consider saving for their own education (x^2=4.214, 3 df, p<.20).

The Value of Education

Apart from savings meant to ease the lives of the family or the self, education is a main preoccupation of the workers. The value of this goal pervades through occupational generation and mobility categories. Pleasure also takes a back seat since a very small proportion of workers saves money for this purpose.

The centrality of education in the worldview of the workers is also evident in their plans for skills upgrading. It is one of their dominant "self-centered" goals.

The importance attached by Filipinos to education has been interpreted to mean an inherent willingness to accept change and to adapt new roles (Castillo, 1975; Guthrie, 1970; among others). Within the framework of other closed-societies, such an attitude appears surprising because intergenerational or career mobility is supposedly alien to such people (Moore and Smelser, 1965).

Again, this result points to the flexibility in values afforded by a perspective in life rooted to experience rather than to social structural relations. It has been noted that demonstration effects led to farmers' adoption of new technology because of the prevailing outlook of weighing outcomes before proceeding with decisions. Recent statistics again exemplify that based on urban and industrial experiences, which demonstrate the advantages of education in social, economic and political life (Constantino, 1974), many Filipinos—both old and young—have positive educational aspirations.

These aspirations, understandably, are in the direction of achieving the highest professional credits possible. In this sense, a wide gap exists in reality

between what the workers are and what they want (themselves or their children) to be.

Unfortunately, this chasm between present realities and future possibilities also depicts the low levels of occupational gratification enjoyed by semi-skilled industrial workers. Such a frustration-situation could result in either of two outcomes—a greater striving to bridge the gap or a feeling of helplessness.

V

The Worker in the World of Work

Industrial activity as a system of production is characterized by a set of customs linked to a complex technology, with a specialized division of labor under a formal structure, non-ownership of the means of production by any single worker, and interdependence between the organization and the wider society (Slotkin, 1960).

Customs in industry are premised on the principles of rationality and functional specificity, thus yielding norms of social relations which are specific, impersonal and affectively neutral (Moore, 1963). The enterprise in an industrial society is the source of prescriptions that encompass relations in its different spheres between men. Thus, it takes over the role played by the kinship structure in agricultural societies, and serves as the frame of reference in defining sets of relationships between the individual and his fellows.

Unlike what was true of kinship as a source of social control, the norms of social relations in the industrial setting supposedly lead to a de-personalization of interactions and a cleavage between the person and his family. These circumstances result from the application of the principles underlying industrial relations. For instance, job placements in industry must be guided by objective criteria proven to be optimal to production goals. Ties of kinship and other affective relations, strictly speaking, should have no place in decisions related to worker recruitment. As another case in point, the skills requirements and job opportunities for new entrants to labor are usually found outside of the rural community. There is a rapid outflow of persons from their villages, rending apart the nuclear and the extended family systems. The separation of family members consequently weakens its structural hold over the individuals.

The extent to which the idealized features of industrial productive systems are found in specific societies has been observed to depend on the following factors:

(a) the technology level shared by a majority of the members,
(b) the entrenchment of pre-industrial norms in social structures and social relations, and
(c) the adequacy with which pre-industrial culture enables the individual to function optimally within the context of economic development. (Herbst, 1967; Slotkin, 1960; Hoselitz & Moore, 1963)

Individuals imbibe the customs of industrialization through the different social institutions, inasmuch as the value orientations of the enterprise ramify into society at large (Moore and Smelzer, 1965). Workers in industry, however, are directly immersed in this social structure, and are expected to be most intensely influenced by its normative prescriptions. Thus, degree of socialization in industry may be related to both length of service of a worker in one industry, and his exposure to the industrial milieu in varied settings. In addition, observations by other researchers illustrate that technological sophistication also results in different personality and value orientations among workers (Woodward, 1965; Shepard, 1970; Marsh and Mannari, 1976).

The discussion in this chapter focuses on the influences derived by individuals from the industrial workplace. The effects of socialization in industrial occupation are to be traced in relation to personality and work orientations. The socialization variables include:

(a) the number of times workers have been employed in industry,
(b) length of service at Alpha, and
(c) use or non-use of machines.

Work and Personality

The personality orientations which were measured for this study include traits that have been inculcated in pre-industrial Philippine communities. As such, they are framed against the backdrop of *kapwa*, the value commitment underlying interpersonal relations in agri-based Philippine society. The present section addresses itself to the question of how well such prevailing belief—value orientations persist within the industrial community, and whether socialization in industry produces differential profiles.

Kaugalian

The first two indices of occupational socialization yield significant comparisons between "newer" and "older" industrial workers. The findings describe employees working for the first time in industry to have considerably lower scores on the Cultural Scale of Kaugalian (68 percent). In contrast, those who have worked in more than one enterprise are equally divided on the trait. For kaugalian, lower averages indicate weaker commitments to cultural values, and it is the group which has been socialized only in Alpha which portrays this image to a greater extent.

The other observation is that workers employed at Alpha for less than

four years have dominantly weaker commitments to kaugalian (70 percent). Meanwhile, half of the employees of longer standing (four years and longer) share this orientation.

These results indicate that more prolonged exposure to industrial activity, either from work in only one company or by virtue of varied employments, reinforce commitments to cultural truisms. Similarly, longer socialization resulting from being second-generation nonmigrant workers entrenches prevailing commitments to kaugalian more than any other socio-demographic situation.

Slotkin assumes that individuals who perceive their culture as inadequate for the fulfillment of social and psychological needs tend to be more open to incursions of the emergent industrial system. Those who find compatibility between traditional customs and the innovation will tend to resist value change (1960).

Migrants recently uprooted from their reference groups (the family) who find themselves relatively alone in the city are persons for whom prevailing culture momentarily becomes inadequate. Reciprocity relations may be few in number for the migrant worker. He is also suddenly immersed in a novel situation (the work setting) which requires immediate responses. Media and other social institutions expose him to a barrage of urban values. Within this milieu, the person may be unsure about which of his old orientations can help in adaptation. As he begins to establish roots in the city, usually with co-provincemates or with a nuclear family of his own, the norms prevailing in the villages again find opportunity and reinforcement for expression (Mendez and Jocano, 1974; Lagmay, 1974). Thus, greater support for cultural truisms becomes evident anew.

Handling machines as the third index of occupational socialization fails to be associated with differential results on kaugalian. Regardless of this ex-

Table 10: BELIEF VALUE ORIENTATIONS ON PAGKAMAGALANG
IN RELATION TO MACHINE HANDLING

Machine Use	Prevalent Orientation	Emergent Orientation	Totals
Does not use machine	26 (40)	39 (60)	65 (100)
Uses machine	42 (65)	23 (35)	65 (100)

$x^2 = 7.88$, 1 df, p $<.01$

perience, more than half of all workers are seen to have kaugalian orientations in the direction of the emergent culture, paralleling the marginal distribution on this factor.

Kapwa and Ambisyon

Neither length of employment nor number of work experiences in industry differentiates workers in their kapwa orientations. Regardless of individual experiences in occupational socialization, trait orientations conform to marginal findings.

However, the use of machinery differentiates trait scores on pagkamagalang. The results describe more users of machines (65 percent) to be magalang while 60 percent of non-users are on the emergent dimension.

No clear explanation is easily found for the difference in pagkamagalang between machine operators and non-machinists. In a later section, it will be shown that machinists also have more positive attitudes toward production goals. This result, coupled with the present observation regarding pagkamagalang, could mean that machine handling—with its attendant restraints on mobility, use of time and spatial control—generates greater "respect" for industrial norms.

Thus far, the findings indicate that personality development is unrelated to industrial work experiences per se. Only adherence to cultural truisms has been shown to be associated with either length or number of industrial employment. More meaningful trends appear relative to socio-demographic status (although these are statistically insignificant).

The assumption that new values are imbibed in the work setting is, therefore, unsupported by the findings. Rather, parallel experiences in the industrializing community—but outside of the factory—seem to carry more importance in tracing the formation of personality characteristics.

Indirectly, these results point to the dual nature of urban-industrial roles. The person in the workplace is not quite the one in his home, or among his friends. Unlike in the agricultural setting, where there appears to be a unitary trend in the pattern of influences over individuals, one finds familial and interpersonal relationships to be dissociated from work relations. While family, friends, mobility in urban settings and exposure to secondary organizations apparently influence the mold of personal characteristics, interactions within the industrial establishment leave no imprint on the person. Again, this observation reinforces the prior finding that work is only a means to living but is not the crucible of life among blue-collar workers.

Work and Orientations Toward Work

Work Values

Neither the "number of industrial employments" nor "length of employment at Alpha" was found to be significantly associated with value endorsements. Over 60 percent of all workers aver that they work to obtain life's necessities. Family and work, in turn, are equally important to about a fourth of the sample, and work-as-life is a value to only 15 percent of the group.

Value images .obtained from the workers' criteria for job preferences are more distinct. Presumably, varied employments in industry broadens the perspective of individuals concerning the factors to be considered when selecting occupations. To find out whether such is true of the Alpha workers, tests of association were taken between *number of employments* experienced and *job selection criteria.* Findings are the following:

First. Workers, whether they have been employed once or several times, give little importance to the work environment as a plus factor in choosing jobs. The size of a company, its schedule of work, and its rules are of no importance to about 90 percent of all the respondents.

Second. The difficulty level of work is not considered in occupational selection. While a majority disregard job "challenge" and opportunities for self-improvement as criteria, a proportionate number do not accept jobs because they are deemed "easy."

Third. Persons who have worked elsewhere prior to working at Alpha more frequently opine that the skills required by particular occupations must be considered in choosing jobs. Fifty-two percent of such employees think positively of these issues, in comparison to 37 percent of those working for the first time.

Fourth. While work experience fails to differentiate workers on the criterion of choosing jobs near their homes, the personal factor of "having a relative in the company" is deemed important by more first-timers (13 percent) than by those with other prior employments (4 percent).

Length of employment within a single company does not result in greater appreciation of factors directly associated with work—such as the existing work conditions and task difficulty. Standards of working conditions also appear to be of little importance to the respondents in choosing jobs.

Instead, the personal factor of having a relative in the company counts highly among workers employed for the first time. This could be linked to the fact that many of these employees obtained their present positions

through recommendations of relatives or their friends.

As employees gain experience through years of labor, however, an awareness is created regarding the importance of matching skills to jobs. Thus, long-term workers would opt for jobs which tap their existing knowledge, regardless of work conditions or personalistic factors.

Acceptance of Production Goals

Work in industry is paced by machine technology which facilitates the fixing of production output standards. However, not all phases of production at Alpha depend on machinery; only 50 percent of the respondents use industrial machines. Nevertheless, quota requirements are more typically associated with the use of machines. Fifty-eight percent of the Alpha employees handling machines also have quota targets in contrast to 20 percent of non-machine workers with quotas. These associations are highly significant ($x^2 = 19.47$, 1 df, $p < .001$).

Does the use of machinery effectively evolve positive work values related to production? The obtained opinions on company production goals tend to give such a picture.

Whether individuals were handling machines or not, 75 percent of both groups were of the opinion that given quotas should be fulfilled. Regardless, 63 percent of machine operators felt that the existing quota levels were reasonable while only a fourth of non-machine workers thought similarly. A more positive value in this respect characterizes machine workers ($x^2 = 5.218$, 1 df, $p < .02$). Similarly, 50 percent of machine users believed that workers should strive to surpass given quotas in comparison to 33 percent of non-machinists.

As discussed in the preceding section, machine-handling failed to relate to most personality measures. Its influence as a socialization agent in industry surfaces now—in association with values on production. Somehow, the work opinions obtained in this study illustrate that a greater appreciation for functional control—as exemplified by quota restrictions—is generated by the use of industrial machines. Machine operators are more predisposed to consider that given output goals are reasonable and that productivity can be increased, if so desired.

One can only guess at the psychodynamics underlying these trends. Perhaps the Alpha machine operators have successfully seen how their equipment can be used to their personal advantage, in a manner that "removes the heavy element out of work." (Anderson, 1971). Because machines facilitate labor, it is also easier to perceive that outputs of individual workers may be

increased without entailing much difficulty.

The influence of machine operation is thus specific to work-related values rather than generalized to personality orientations. These processes may be explained by the fact that personality formation takes time. Examining the influence of machine-handling outside of the time perspective fails to describe meaningful events. Unlike this index of occupational socialization, employment in varied industries and length of present employment are indices which look at personality over a time span. Certain personality trends become apparent through these measures.

The acceptance of production goals measures cognitive processes intimately linked to machine technology. The time perspective in terms of this factor may not be too critical. Consequently, describable differences in work values are meaningfully associated with machine-use as a socialization factor.

Aspirations and Work Experience

Occupational Aspirations

In the previous chapter, observed differences on occupational aspirations were interpreted in terms of the divergent perspectives provided by parental employment in either industry or agriculture regarding ways for improving work. If work experience does sensitize persons to plausible options for work upgrading, then longer employment at one company should point to the optimal venues for skills improvement.

Using this framework, the degree of influence of length of employment at Alpha over plans for work improvement was investigated. Differences are describable on two categories of occupational aspirations.

Re-education is rejected as a means of improving skills by workers who have been at Alpha for more than four years (67 percent). Shorter-term employees are divided in their opinions (50 percent) on this matter.

Related to the above finding, a trend emerges with respect to "in-plant training" as a venue for work improvement. Workers who have been employed for at most four years tend to reject this option than do longer-term employees (77 percent and 67 percent, respectively). Outside training thus forms the crux of plans for skills improvement among workers who are "young" at Alpha. The company, on the other hand, is perceived more often as the source of new skills by "older" workers.

Education is an aspiration of shorter-term employees, with 40 percent of them desiring to save money for their education. On the other hand, only 20 percent of longer-term workers would save for their own education. ―

The influence of socialization as described by sociodemographic status apparently runs counter to that evinced by occupational history. Inexperience in industry by virtue of being first-generation employees results in a greater appreciation of in-plant training for skills improvement than any other given choice. Inexperience in terms of length of employment, however, is associated with more frequent desires to study than with other options for work improvement.

To reconcile these differences, the association between age of worker and "desire to study" was examined. Presumably, since many of those in the sample are first-timers in industrial labor, and since a majority are biologically young, workers employed less years than others would also be young. The actual distribution of ages by length of employment bears this out. Seventy-eight percent of those below 21 years have been employed for less than four years. Of the workers above twenty-one, only 48 percent have been employed recently; the rest have been at Alpha for more than four years. In relating age to educational aspiration, findings reveal that workers below 21 years old more often seek educational opportunities for work upgrading than do older ones (65 percent vs. 36 percent, respectively).

Personal Aspirations

The direction of life aspirations among the Alpha workers fails to be polarized by either multiple experiences in industrial labor or by longer employment in the company. The distribution of expressed "life-dreams" is almost proportionately divided between self-centered and other-centered aspirations.

Among workers employed only once in industry, for example, aspirations include wanting to help their parents, getting an education, and getting married. Those with multiple employment experiences want to help their parents, to give their children an education, and to prosper. Similar goals are expressed by employees who are differentiated according to the length of their stay in the present company.

Unlike socialization factors linked to socio-demographic status, therefore, occupational socialization is not an influence on aspirations. The important antecedent factors governing life goals appear to be centered in family-related rather than job-related variables. Again, these findings depict that for the lowly-paid industrial employees, work in the factory is a means of living, but is dissociated with what has meaning in his life.

VI

Individual Predictors of Work Satisfaction

Social innovation becomes part of custom insofar as individuals slowly internalize the orientations pertinent to an introduced change and themselves transmit these norms to others with whom they interact. Industrial activity becomes established in social life to the extent that its prescriptive formulae for socio-economic relations become assimilated, adopted and diffused.

Adoption and diffusion are inherently processes of learning new forms or patterns of behavior. Innovations can survive only if they continuously provide rewarding experiences to the adoptors.

On a lower scale, work in industry needs to be experienced positively if individuals are to persist in pursuing such occupations. Factors implicated in generating particular attitudes towards jobs include: the nature of the work, hours of work, incentives, the work group, management characteristics, the company and its policies, and individual characteristics of workers (Argyle, 1972).

Theoretically and empirically, it is expected that the nature of work undertaken by blue collar workers in an enterprise characterized by mechanized technology leads to negative affect—job dissatisfaction (Argyle, 1972; Moore, 1963, Moore & Smelser, 1965; Slotkin, 1960; and others). Short cycle repetition of tasks that offer little challenge, lack of autonomy and decision options are features of work in the rank-and-file that purportedly result in dissatisfaction. Because of these unspecialized task requisites, incentives are also relatively poor—both economically and socially. Economically speaking, work in the line is paid poorly, and tenure is a tenuous reward. From a social standpoint, one finds that such occupations provide low status and restricted opportunities for upward social mobility.

To the extent that interpersonal relations in the work group and management policies enable workers to find cultural parallels, however, work for the working man may be satisfying. Individual traits and values deeply seated in pre-industrial norms would then reinforce positive valuations of the formal organization as a culturally adequate structure, and may induce perceptions of work as rewarding. Work organizations in developing countries represent this typology in their policies and managerial orientations.

Factors which relate to job satisfaction have been categorized in various ways. For Herzberg, intrinsic qualities of work are "motivators" and result

in job satisfaction. Work standards and policies characteristic of the organization are "hygiene" factors and negative assessments of these indices result in job dissatisfaction (Herzberg, et al., 1959). In Slotkin's postulation, job incentives are provided by fulfillment of the functions of livelihood, occupational interests, and social qualification (1960). Argyle's own framework has been previously discussed (1972). Common to these perspectives are postulates which implicate the organization, the nature of social relations, and the characteristics of the workers. Features intrinsic to work itself, as well as extrinsic factors, provide rewards to the individuals.

In the present discussion, work satisfaction is to be investigated in terms of *individual differences* in personality and work orientation. The indicators of job satisfaction include

- (a) affective expressions about present assignments,
- (b) plans to remain or to move out of Alpha,
- (c) opinions about company work policies,
- (d) career plans within Alpha, and
- (e) extent to which present job is perceived instrumental to achieving aspirations.

Job "liking" is a gross measure of satisfaction. The other indicators validate this measure. Thus, it is expected that if one likes his present work in a company, he will not aspire to other positions nor plan to terminate his services. The work environment will be perceived positively and the occupation will be viewed as complementary to the individual's life and occupational goals.

Profile of Job Satisfaction and Work Motivation

"Are you happy in your present job?"

To this question, 72 percent of the 131 workers replied "yes." Twenty-four percent replied in the negative while the rest preferred not to comment. Probed further, the workers state that the good (or pleasant) work relations which they enjoy at Alpha account for their satisfaction. On the other side of the coin, poor physical working conditions at the factory are cited as reasons for dissatisfaction.

Of the different kinds of occupations available in the company, 27 percent prefer their present jobs to anything else. Nine percent would like to have a different job in their present departments and 18 percent want positions available in other departments. Only 21 percent desire to move up to supervisory positions. The rest (seven percent) want white-collar positions, prin-

cipally as clerks. In terms of occupational mobility, these findings indicate that a majority of the workers prefer to remain within the present rungs of occupational hierarchy at Alpha.

Those who desire to remain where they are, or to do similar work, aver that they are content with these positions because they have acquired experience in these areas of work ("Ito na ang alam/natutuhan ko"). Vice-versa, workers aspiring to do other work—including supervisory and white collar work—prefer these because they are "less tiring" or "easier to do."

In terms of the hiring, firing and promotional procedures at Alpha, workers tend to be ambivalent or indifferent. Sixty percent say they are satisfied with existing procedures for recruitment. Half of the others are dissatisfied and the other half have "no comments." Practices for employee promotions are adjudged satisfactorily by 47 percent of the employees, who perceived skills and perseverance as the bases for job reclassifications. Still, 21 percent state that palakasan (patronage) is a means to getting promoted. In the face of these perceptions, 49 percent stress that skills should be the only basis for promotions. Twenty-five percent have no suggestions. Lay-offs are seen as resulting primarily from violations of company rules. However, 39 percent proffer no alternative suggestion for lay-off procedures.

The workers' present occupations are perceived by 65 percent to be instrumental in obtaining their life goals because, somehow, these jobs provide financial resources for their future. The underlying economic motivation for work is equally apparent in the responses of workers who feel their jobs do not help in goal attainment: they, on their own part, feel that their jobs are inadequate because of the limited finances they provide by way of wages.

Since the workers appear to be largely satisfied with their work at Alpha, it is but logical to predict that they have no plans to transfer to another company. However, the findings contradict this prediction. Only 34 percent of the respondents plan to remain longer at Alpha; the majority (66 percent) would find jobs elsewhere if given the opportunity. Reasons cited for moving out of the company include the poor quality of treatment of workers (15 percent), low pay (27 percent), poor working conditions (13 percent) and a host of sundry items ranging from dissatisfaction with labor-management relations to specific personal factors (e.g., wanting to study, to work abroad, etc.)

A significant association is derived between longevity plans of workers and the jobs they most prefer at Alpha. Among the employees who plan to continue working in the firm, 41 percent are satisfied with their present occupations. In comparison, only 28 percent of those who wish to leave

have the same job preference. Thus, those workers satisfied with their current jobs plan to remain at Alpha. The number who wish to leave are distributed almost equally in terms of various job preferences in Alpha.

The features of job attitudes and motives obtained from the sample fail to fall into the neat categories of "satisfiers" and "dissatisfiers" provided by Herzberg (1959), seemingly pointing to the cultural specificity of his observations. The interpersonal context of work is given by workers as the reason for being happy in their present jobs. It is probably also this factor which explains why many would prefer to remain in their current occupations rather than aspire to transfer to other departments or to better positions. At the same time, the workers want jobs which tap the skills that are intrinsic to their present work assignments. Few give suggestions for changes in company policies, apparently satisfied with ongoing procedures for recruitment, employee transfers, and termination.

Satisfaction is obtained from work insofar as these provide economic advantages and maintain the self-esteem of the workers. For this reason, satisfied workers perceive their jobs as economically adequate, while dissatisfied individuals want to leave the company because of their harsh judgments regarding the treatment and care of workers. Within this context, the effective incentives seem to be livelihood and social gratification.

In 1974, Arce did a study of another garments manufacturing enterprise in Metro Manila. He isolated four clusters of variates related to job satisfaction. These factors include intrinsic rewards (recognition, promotion, challenge and interest provided by a job), extrinsic rewards (bonuses, fringe benefits, employee cooperation), relationships with people (relationships with management and peers), and relationships with the system (satisfaction with plant conditions, machines, supplies and supervision (Arce, 1978). This study's descriptive set of findings also identify some of the indices listed above as salient factors yielding work satisfaction. These would be: extrinsic satisfaction related to cooperation among co-workers, management-labor relations, and plant conditions. Unlike Arce's findings, however, "skills requirements" surface as the critical intrinsic factor for work satisfaction.

Individual Differences and Job Satisfaction

Arce (1978) sought to measure the antecedent influences of sociodemographic factors and occupational background on job satisfaction. Correlations were obtained between the following sets of variates:

(a) family household income and employment at other companies vary

negatively with respect to intrinsic rewards as satisfiers in the present employment;

(b) occupational mobility—measured in terms of the individual's work being lower, same or higher than father's job—and in-plant training correlate negatively with extrinsic rewards;

(c) family household income varies negatively with expressed satisfaction in relationships-with-people and with relationships-with-system.

Family residence and father's occupation, as socio-demographic indicators, were negatively associated with three of the job satisfaction measures, although the correlations are insignificant. These indices correlated positively with extrinsic rewards and "system" but negatively with "people." Again these associations are small and nonsignificant.

In our own analytical model, we pose no hypothetical influences of socialization factors on job satisfaction. Tests of association between different measures of job satisfaction and sociodemographic status in fact yield no significant results. Neither does occupational socialization predict satisfaction. The influence of psychological factors is described in succeeding sections.

Personality and Job Satisfaction

It has been repeatedly described that cultural solutions to interpersonal situations no longer have a firm hold on Alpha workers, as reflected by scores on kaugalian.

How well does kaugalian relate to job satisfaction, inasmuch as workers seem to be on the threshold of embracing values emergent in industrialization?

Regardless of whether individuals endorsed prevalent or emergent solutions on kaugalian, a majority expressed "happiness" in their jobs (75 percent). No difference becomes apparent, either, in terms of career plans at Alpha. A fourth preferred to retain their present jobs, regardless of kaugalian (28 percent) and another quarter opted for supervisory jobs or white collar positions (29 percent). Both sets of employees had plans to move out of Alpha: 70 percent of those with emergent kaugalian scores and 60 percent with prevalent orientations.

Commitment levels with respect to cultural truisms are unrelated to job satisfaction measures. The affective value of work cannot be predicted in this sample from measure of cultural commitment, even though the latter portray positive orientations to emergent values.

Argyle mentions that relationships between measures of independence and satisfaction correlate highly (1972). Since independence orientation is related to achievement, there could be an association between ambisyon and job satisfaction.

Trait scores on ambisyon fail to differentiate workers on "job liking." A significant difference is obtained, however, with respect to career plans in the company. Employees with high scores want supervisory and white collar positions more than any other job (29 percent). Low trait ratings, on the other hand, are associated with desires to remain in their present positions (37 percent). The work least desired by the former group are other types of jobs (seven percent). For the latter, other jobs in the same department have little attraction (six percent).

Between these extreme choices, workers high on ambisyon favor their present occupations (21 percent), followed by other jobs in the same department. Those with low trait scores prefer supervisory work next to their own positions (25 percent), followed by other work in other departments (23 percent).

Ambisyon also predicts longevity plans significantly. Persons with prevalent orientations prefer in most cases to leave Alpha (79 percent). Slightly more of those with emergent tendencies wish to remain in the company (60 percent want to leave.)

Table 11: WORK IN ALPHA PREFERRED BY EMPLOYEE WITH HIGH OR LOW SCORES ON *AMBISYON*

Ambisyon	Present Job	Other Job Same Dept.	Job in Other Dept.	Supervisory/ White Collar	Others	Total
High	6(21)	7(25)	5(18)	8(29)	2(7)	28(100)
Low	30(37)	5(6)	18(23)	20(25)	7(9)	80(100)
	36(33)	12(11)	23(21)	28(26)	9(18)	108(100)

These results imply that, although ambisyon taps orientations on achievement encouraged by pre-industrial norms, such tendencies yield high occupational aspirations, thereby indicating dissatisfaction with current employment. These orientations are predictable on the basis of consistent findings

describing the high occupational aspirations of parents for their children (Castillo, 1975, 1979; Jocano, 1975, and others)and children for themselves (Costello and Costello, 1981).

* Thus, the desire for higher education, which facilitates the possibility of obtaining good employment, is a goal developed within the agricultural setting. It is not an aspiration unique to the urban dweller because the changing face of farm technology, by itself, suffices to implant the value of formal schooling.

Within the context of job satisfaction, the achievement drive results in lower satisfaction with presently-held jobs and impels the worker to want to leave the company. Termination of services may result in reeducation or in seeking other positions that can improve finances. Again, such behavior reflects the observation that the drive for education among Filipinos is a persistent one (Castillo, 1979).

Work Orientations and Satisfaction

Particular indicators of work orientation were examined in relation to two measures of job satisfaction, namely, career plans and longevity. These factors were singled out because a) the distribution of answers on these variables is not polarized and b) underlying reasons for satisfaction expressed in these two indices reflect, as it has been interpreted, various reward features of work.

Work value expressions fail to differentiate workers in terms of longevity plans. Whether the value orientation centered on survival, on work, or on both family and work, more than 60 percent of the respondents in each category would rather leave Alpha.

Personal aspirations are also unrelated to job satisfaction as measured on longevity. The proportion of workers with self-centered or other-centered aspirations who wish to leave is more than 60 percent, on both classifications.

It is occupational aspirations, as measured on job improvement plans, which are found related to longevity responses. Workers who think they can improve their skills through studies prefer to leave the company (83 percent; x^2=11.70, 1 df, p < .001). Those who believe that skills upgrading can be accomplished through in-plant training want to stay (61 percent; x^2=12.99, 1 df, p < .001), while employees who would like to learn from fellow workers are ambivalent on longevity (x^2=2.95, 1 df, p < .10). The longevity plans of respondents who reject these last two alternatives are, expectedly, polarized

on the negative side.

These measured associations tend to demonstrate that occupational aspirations lead to work satisfaction if the present job circumstances are perceived as suitable to the pursuit of the individual's goals. Consequently, those who perceive that occupational mobility can be achieved through education wish to terminate their services. Persons who look at their present employment only as instrumental to self-improvement prefer to remain in the company.

The type of work which is desired by workers and their occupational aspirations are also significantly associated. While 44 percent of workers who reject re-schooling as an aspiration also disdain their present jobs, 31 percent of those who want to be in school desire supervisory positions and 27 percent would like to tackle new jobs in other departments (x^2=10.03, 4 df, p < .05).

Among employees who think they can improve their work through in-plant training, 45 percent wish for supervisory jobs or other work in other departments (24 percent). Those dissatisfied with their present work again reject this option for skills improvement (x^2=11.57, 4 df, p < .02).

The distribution becomes inverted in relation to perceptions that work can be upgraded through training from others. In this instance, the workers satisfied with their present occupations choose this strategy (63 percent), while those desirous of other jobs in other departments or higher positions definitely think such an approach will not help them (87 percent each, x^2= 15.96, 4 df, p > .001).

If job satisfaction were to be ranged from highest to lowest, corresponding to whether an individual is content with his present work to whether he desires higher status positions, the result would be that high satisfaction relates to occupational aspirations grounded in informal relations, while low satisfaction associates with aspirations that can be fulfilled outside of the enterprise, or through formal learning within it.

Again, there is a negative association between satisfaction and occupational aspirations. In the case of Alpha, lower aspirations imply improvement of skills through social interactions; higher aspirations imply formal training. Similarly, high satisfaction among these workers was interpreted to involve positive evaluations of interpersonal relations. These observations relate well to the gross observation that workers are happy in their present work because of the social relationships which they enjoy. Apparently, contentment with a job implies not only satisfaction but also low occupational aspirations.

A Summary View of Job Satisfaction

The pattern of relationships between individual differences and job satisfaction which is describable from the data includes the following features:

First, only ambisyon characteristics are meaningfully associated with job satisfaction, such that individuals with high scores on this trait are more dissatisfied with their jobs. As a result, persons with high ambisyon prefer higher-level occupations to their present jobs and would like to leave the company to pursue these goals.

Second, occupational aspirations reflected in plans for work improvement relate significantly with the longevity plans of workers. Individuals who believe that they can upgrade their work through formal education prefer to leave the company. In this manner, job dissatisfaction appears related to occupational aspirations achievable outside company premises.

Third, occupational aspirations also relate to job satisfaction, as indicated by work preferences within Alpha. Persons who are most satisfied with their present jobs, and prefer these occupations over others, plan to improve their skills through informal training from more experienced workers. Vice-versa, those who are most dissatisfied with their positions and desire white collar or supervisory jobs plan to obtain the necessary work skills through formal schooling.

These features point to the following relationship—that differences in occupational aspirations vary in some predictable manner with expressions of job satisfaction. High ambisyon and desires for formal upgrading of skills associate with greater job dissatisfaction; low ambisyon and plans to improve work through informal associations relate to greater work satisfaction.

The absence of associations between cultural orientations of personality, work values, life aspirations and work satisfaction indicates that this cognition is situation-specific. That is to say, it is the individual's attitudinal set about his present work circumstances that primarily determines his satisfaction, rather than personality orientations related to interpersonal situations in the broad spectrum of pakikipagkapwa.

The rewarding features of work at Alpha emanate principally from its ability to satisfy the material needs of the hourly-wage employees and to fulfill adequately their salient aspirations for occupational mobility. The former may be classified as the livelihood feature of work and results in extrinsic satisfaction. The latter responds to social gratification needs of the workers and may yield both extrinsic and intrinsic rewards.

Underlying these features of satisfaction is the continuing value of kapwa

among workers. Positive affect expressed for work is rooted in the interpersonal relations enjoyed by the employees. In fact, those satisfied with their present jobs prefer to upgrade their skills through interaction with co-employees and plan to remain at Alpha. Other employees likewise claim that the poor treatment of workers by supervisors or managers motivate them to leave the firm. Future studies may choose to focus more closely on the relationship between work-specific dimensions of kapwa and job satisfaction measures. An examination of the influence of the reward structure (by way of wages, benefits, and promotions) may also result in meaningful findings regarding work satisfaction.

VII

The Social Psychology of Work

Performance as a behavioral variable is typically studied in terms of the structural properties of the experience. Learning theory, for instance, looks closely at the stimulus-conditions under which performance is to take place. This structural perspective has its parallel in investigations of industrial performance, and the variables which are implicated are the structural features of the formal work organization (such as the communication network and the lines of authority).

Another approach to the study of performance links behavior to the motivational state of the performing organism. Needs, drives and aroused states are manipulated to demonstrate their consequent effects on performance. In this line of research, selectivity in learning and the identification of contingencies for performance have been observed to vary with motives and cognitive-perceptual sets. The heuristic parallel in organizational research would include studies that place importance on work values and orientation as antecedents or correlates of industrial performance. In addition, investigations of the links between job satisfaction and performance simulate the learning situation where performance is apparently determined by motivational drives to obtain "pleasure."

Our own approach to the study of performance in manufacturing involves an examination of linkages between individual differences and performance and job satisfaction and performance. As operationalized in this investigation, differences pertain to cultural orientations of individuals as well as work-related cognitions. Job satisfaction is specified in terms of positive attitudes regarding current occupations. This strategy, therefore, emphasizes cognitive, affective, and trait orientations of individuals rather than the structural features of the organization.

Performance in this report is defined to include

(a) individual reports of productivity,
(b) individual ratings of own work *(SRt or self ratings)*,
(c) perceived work ratings given by supervisors *(PSRt or perceived supervisory ratings)*,
(d) reported frequency of work violations, and
(e) promotions received.

The first three measures are indices of work mastery. Work infractions and promotions measure the extent to which workers perform according to the normative rules, inasmuch as these factors mirror the penalties and rewards, respectively, which individual employees have received because of performance.

Apart from work ratings (SRt and $PSRt$), it is assumed that the other indicators are nonsubjective measures of performance. To validate this claim, supervisors were asked to give their own ratings of work carried out in their departments, and to give a general profile of productivity and other features of work. Unfortunately, those supervising in the same departments fail to agree on stated work outputs, although the given work ratings tally with the modal ratings of the worker respondents. It is unfortunate that permission from management could not be obtained to get supervisory ratings of individual workers. Thus, correlative tests between the performance ratings given by workers and their supervisors could not be done. The succeeding set of data should be viewed against these restricting circumstances.

Performance Measures

Worker Productivity

The productivity of the respondents was measured by obtaining the ratio of individual output to the average output of the worker's department:

$$\frac{\text{individual output per day}}{\text{department's daily average output}} = \text{productivity}$$

This approach was used to normalize the raw data on work productivity. The average production output of each department is indicated in Table 12*

By departments, work output was observed to be highest in Cutting, followed by Finishing. Work productivity in Sewing is, surprisingly, lower when reported by quota workers than by non-quota employees. The workers in the Warehouse do not have quotas. Regardless, their productivity is at a comparable level to the non-quota workers of Sewing.

*All respondents from Maintenance report no fixed output.

Table 12: AVERAGE WORK DONE IN A DAY BY
ALPHA DEPARTMENTS

	Productivity	
Department	Quota Workers	Non-quota Workers
Cutting	411 pcs.	348 pcs.
Sewing	156 pcs.	226.4 pcs.
Finishing	353 pcs.	303 pcs.
Warehouse	–	257.5 pcs.

N = 98 workers

If these figures are assessed against the backdrop of technology, they indicate that job completion is fastest at the start of the assembly. Output slows down as these production units are fed into the main assembly department—that of Sewing. As the goods are completed, work pace again quickens and the output from Finishing is at a higher level.

There seems to be no concommitant relationship between output and mechanized work. Although it is in the Sewing Department where mechanization is most predominant its workers' productivity is not necessarily higher than that of the other departments. The constraints probably stem from quality restrictions over sewing, which should be stricter than in any of the other assembly departments.

The productivity of 98 workers who could specify output figures were classified into five category levels. Since these indices represent averages of average departmental production, decimal figures correspond to each level. The distribution of respondents in the productivity categories is as follows:

Table 13: DISTRIBUTION OF ALPHA WORKERS BY
PRODUCTIVITY LEVEL

Productivity Levels	Frequency (%)
First	26 (27)
Second	33 (34)
Third	10 (10)
Fourth	15 (15)
Fifth	14 (14)
	98 (100)

The table reveals that numerous individual workers produce at low levels; in comparison to mean outputs reported in the various departments. While 61 percent have performances at the first two productivity levels, only 29 percent produce at the last two rungs. Obviously, there is a lot of room for increased production at Alpha, if the reported production figures are accepted as realistic estimates of work output from individuals.

Self-Ratings and Perceived Supervisory Ratings

The workers' self-ratings (SRt) and perceived supervisory ratings (PSRt) on performance were measured on a scale of 5 to 9, simulating winnings obtained on a popular card game among workers ("Lucky Nine"). A "five" is a low rating while a "nine" is an excellent rating. In the array of data, very few workers gave themselves a low "5," so the frequencies were combined with the "sixes." The table below depicts how workers' rated their own work.

Table 14: SELF-RATINGS (SRt) AND PERCEIVED SUPERVISORY
RATINGS (PSRt) OF ALPHA WORKERS

Ratings	SRt	PSRt
5 – 6	15 (11%)	10 (8%)
7	33 (25%)	27 (21%)
8	47 (36%)	54 (41%)
9	35 (27%)	39 (30%)
Totals	130 (100%)	130 (100%)

The distribution of work ratings is biased towards "eight" and "nine". On both self and perceived supervisory ratings, at least 60 percent of the workers place themselves at the two higher levels of the scale. Nevertheless,

it is also noteworthy that self-assessments tend to be lower than perceived assessments of supervisors. Thus, in comparing SRt and PSRt distributions of "5-6" and "7," there are larger proportions of the former; conversely, at "8" and "9," PSRts are higher than SRts.

The data on PSRt are consistent with the average departmental ratings provided by the Alpha supervisors. Across departments, the supervisors gave their workers a general rating of "7" or "8." In this context, it appears that workers have correctly anticipated the supervisors' own evaluations of their performance.

If this is so, then it is interesting that the workers have rated themselves at lower levels. One possible explanation could rest in the Filipino's modesty, as a result of *pagkamahiyain* and *pagkamapagkumbaba*. It is not uncommon in the prevailing culture to deny praise or to denigrate the value of one's accomplishment. The workers may have reacted similarly when asked pointedly to rate their work. Another possibility is that both workers and supervisors may have unconsciously tried to give a "good" picture of productivity in the establishment, either because of the social desirability tendency, or to protect their images in the eyes of the observer. In the interaction with the research staff, they are *kapwa-manggagawa* and the researchers are considered as outsiders. Both parties, therefore, express supportive statements about the other to "save face."

Regardless of the marginal differences on the two ratings, the contingency coefficient between SRt and PSRt is 0.78, indicating that the two factors are highly associated. In this regard, the proportionate increase in self and perceived ratings from "5-6" to "9" becomes predictable from either vantage position.

Violations of Company Rules and Regulations

In the Appendix, the rules governing work at Alpha are described at length. These rules and regulations constitute the formal mechanisms for the discipline and control of daily performance in the factory. They provide the sanctions for performing at less than optimal levels.

Slotkin (1960), Argyle (1972), Gilmer (1971) and other students of behavior in industry view infractions of work rules as important measures of normative acceptance of industrial goals. Labor is partially regarded as "industrialized," "acculturized" or "committed" to production objectives in terms of how well they conform to company rules and regulations.

In this study's framework, rule infractions have been defined to be an indicator of performance in industry. Indirectly, it was presumed that indus-

trial norms are accepted by an individual to the extent that he conforms to its set of rules.

Given these premises, the data describe that Alpha blue-collar workers perform well within the normative prescriptions of the work situation. Of 131 workers, only 40 percent claim to have ever violated work rules or regulations, and 85 percent of these violators have been guilty only once. The rules which have been most frequently violated are those on punctuality, absenteeism, and disorderly conduct (e.g., sleeping, reporting under the influence of liquor, and the like). As such the penalties which were imposed on the errant workers predominantly included verbal warnings (53 percent) and suspensions from work (30 percent).

The obtained results indicate that Alpha workers generally accept the existing work sanctions in the company. Considering the fact that repeated violations would result in work suspension or even dismissal, then the exhibited workers' conformity ceases to be surprising. Each day out of work means a day away from financial security. No hourly-wage worker would deliberately wish such a situation to occur, given the profile of dependencies found among them.

Promotions

The quality of industrial performance can also be gauged in terms of rewards obtained by way of promotions. According to the supervisors, good work ratings are premised on the quantity and quality of output, observed perseverance of workers, and conformity to rules. These ratings, although irregular, form the bases for recommending promotions.

Almost half of the respondents (47 percent) have been promoted some time past. A majority have been promoted only once before (70 percent), and others have been reclassified for two or more times. Surprisingly, about 10 percent of these employees claim that they had been transferred and reclassified in positions without corresponding wage increases. Such transfers, although perceived as "promotions" cannot truly be considered as such. However, in the absence of clearcut criteria for employee transfer, misinterpretation of such occupational movements as "promotions" probably results.

Almost all of the workers agree that meritorious performance stemming from skillfulness and hard work, forms the rationale for promotions. The remaining 20 percent, nevertheless, opine that favoritism or patronage (*palakasan*) also plays a part in getting ahead at Alpha.

The given results describe performance of workers to have been good enough for material rewards in only half of the cases. When findings are

considered in terms of the low productivity levels of the worker, then the low rates of promotions they enjoy may be more understandable. However, the relatively high job ratings given by the respondents contradict these results. Apparently, quality of work is unassociated with quantity of outputs.

Another line of interpretation regarding the rate at which promotions are obtained may be found in the company's policies. Company rules and the CBA are silent about guidelines concerning promotions. Supervisors also state that work ratings are irregular. Within such an ambiguous situation, it may not be surprising to find that regular and systematic promotional procedures are absent. This results in infrequent opportunities for job reclassifications, regardless of quality of performance among individual employees.

Performance and Job Satisfaction

Studies that delve into the association between performance and job satisfaction implicitly hope to find a relationship between behavior (performance) and individual attitudes. The social psychological literature has a wealth of investigation on these same variables and no systematic view has yet evolved to demonstrate that attitudes predict behavior, or the converse (Lindzey and Aronson, 1969).

Similarly, investigations of job satisfaction in relation to productivity and performance show contradictory results. One trend, however, points to a contingent association when the occupations studied are prestigious in the social group (Argyle, 1972; Vroom, 1969; Abegglen, 1958; Gilmer, 1971). For semi-skilled or unskilled types of work, the relationship between work attitudes and behavior is apparently absent or nil.

In Arce's own work (1978) within a garments enterprise, positive correlations were described between perceptions of intrinsic rewards (job satisfaction variable) and ratings given the jobs and the company. Non-significant positive correlations were also obtained between productivity measures and intrinsic—extrinsic job satisfaction. The associations between productivity and appreciation of work as measured by satisfaction with relationships "with-people" and "with-system," were negative and insignificant. Correlations described between absences (as a performance variable) and job satisfaction were likewise insignificant.

On the basis of existing literature, the absence of significant relationships between most of the performance variables and measures of job satisfaction in the present study comes as no surprise. Our own findings are as follows:

First. Being happy with present occupations fails to be associated with productivity and work infractions. Seventy-four percent of all workers express job satisfaction regardless of output ratios, and 68 percent report no violations.

Second. Slight though insignificant trends are observed between gross satisfaction and job ratings. Interestingly, the associations are inverse: there are a bigger number (13 percent) of employees satisfied with their jobs who perceive low ratings of "5-6" from their supervisors in comparison to the number of dissatisfied workers (nine percent). On self ratings (SRt) there are more dissatisfied workers (53 percent) who rated their work with an "8" than the number of satisfied ones (37 percent).

Third. Work satisfaction as determined by individual judgments of the instrumentality of current occupations fails to be related with nonsubjective performance measures. As such, neither productivity, work infractions, nor promotions are associated with perceived job instrumentality for goal attainment.

Fourth. Desire to stay longer at Alpha associates slightly with performance measures. While only 25 percent of those who want to stay on have committed violations, 36 percent of workers wanting to leave have done so. However, the greatest proportion of employees motivated to stay on have the lowest two levels of work outputs. Seventy percent of workers in the last three higher levels desire to leave the company.

Fifth. The gross measure of satisfaction—being happy at work—relates significantly to promotional chances. While a proportionate number of satisfied employees have been promoted in the past, many more of those dissatisfied (69 percent) have received no promotions. Using *lambda* as test of association, job satisfaction was found to predict promotional chances with a probability level of six percent, while promotions fail to be so associated with the satisfaction variable.

Only promotions are predicted by job satisfaction in this study, which indicates that negative job attitudes lead to fewer chances for improving job positions. Perhaps, supervisory ratings mediate this relationship and supervisors' poor assessment of work attitudes negates the possibility of job reclassifications.

The trend relationships between satisfaction and lower job ratings, and dissatisfaction and higher ratings are more difficult to interpret. If the ratings are taken at face value, it could mean that good performers tend to be unsatisfied with their present accomplishments. On the other hand, low performing workers are easily satisfied with their work. In this case, personality orientations on *ambisyon* may be the intervening influence. This factor will be considered in a later section.

The expressed desire of higher productivity employees to find other employment is ironic. This relationship may again be indirectly linked to previously described findings between job satisfaction and occupational aspirations, such that individuals adept at their present jobs aspire to involve themselves in work not provided within the industrial enterprise. It could also be interpreted against the existing work climate, which provides slow and minimal rewards for quality performance. Since promotional chances are slim, good workers tend to look elsewhere for sources of intrinsic and extrinsic reinforcements. This • interpretation also helps explain the previously discussed association between performance ratings and job satisfaction.

The absence of meaningful associations between indices of satisfaction and nonsubjective performance factors confirm what has been • observed elsewhere—that happy workers do not necessarily work harder. When it is considered that the underlying reason for being happy at a job is the interpersonal context of work, then it becomes easier to understand why this sentiment fails to affect productivity. Apparently, the Alpha workers dissociate these two aspects of their lives in the company. One aspect pertains to the tasks assigned each person; the other is the context of task fulfillment. Pleasure is perceived in relation to the interaction stituation at work. The tasks themselves generate no affective behavior. For this reason, high morale is not a sufficient condition to productivity. The controlling antecedents to work output must rest elsewhere, probably within the formal structural elements of the industrial organization.

Work and Values

Value orientations are also implicated as explanatory variables for various forms of behavior (Lindzey and Aronson, 1969). In industry, work accomplishment may be influenced by particular world views, diverse goals and aspirations of individuals. Hypothetically, performance should be optimal to the extent that individuals find meaningfulness in work and accept the establishment's production goals as their own (Etzioni, 1964; Marsh and Mannari, 1976, Vroom, 1969).

Job Ratings and Work Values

The workers at Alpha predominantly consider work as necessary to survival. How does such a view of work affect performance?

Measures of association between subjective ratings of performance and work value show no significance. Regardless of orientation, perceived super-

visory ratings range proportionately along "7," "8," and "9." No relationship is likewise evident between self ratings and values, although it is noted that no worker who values "work-as-life" gives himself a low rating of "5 or 6." (See Table 15).

Table 15: JOB RATINGS GIVEN BY WORKERS WITH DIFFERENT WORK VALUES

Ratings	"Work is... life"		"Work & Family ... important"		"Work... for necessities"	
	PSRt	SRt	PSRt	SRt	PSRt	SRt
5-6	2 (11)	0	2 (7)	3 (10)	11 (14)	7 (9)
7	3 (16)	7 (37)	9 (30)	6 (20)	20 (25)	14 (18)
8	8 (42)	6 (32)	11 (37)	11 (37)	27 (34)	36 (46)
9	6 (32)	6 (32)	8 (27)	10 (33)	21 (27)	22 (28)
	N_1=19		N_2=30		N_3=79	

N = 128; Missing Values = 3

Values and Nonsubjective Performance Indicators

Among the nonsubjective indices, a slight association is describable between work value and work infractions. The biggest distribution of employees with alleged violations equates work and family as important to themselves (43 percent). Of those endorsing the two other value statements, only a fifth have reportedly committed infractions of rules.

Still in connection with work orientations and violations, 77 percent of those who have not committed infractions of rules also believe that many workers are terminated because of these offenses. (x^2=2.89, 1 df, p<.10). This describes the effective influence of formal work sanctions over the behavior of employees.

Productivity fails to relate to cognitive orientations regarding production goals. While 76 percent of quota employees ranged along the five work-ratio levels believe that quotas should be complied with, they are proportionately divided within each rung on opinions about surpassing given quotas, or about the fairness of existing output requirements.

Acceptance of Production Goals and Performance

The value of company goals to employees is slightly related to self-ratings. Among workers who agree that quotas should be fulfilled, 44 percent rate their work as "8" and 36 percent as "9." Conversely, 58 percent of those in disagreement give self ratings of "8" and 17 percent give "9." In addition, 18 percent of the former group rate their performance as "7" in comparison to eight percent in the latter group.

Table 16: SELF RATINGS AND OPINIONS ON THE QUOTA

Opinions	5-6	7	8	9	Totals (%)
Should Fill Quota	1 (2)	7 (18)	17 (44)	14 (36)	39 (100)
Shouldn't Fill Quota	2 (17)	1 (8)	7 (58)	2 (17)	12 (100)
	3 (6)	8 (16)	24 (47)	16 (31)	51 (100)

, Thus, while individuals who accept the quota rule tend to be spread out along the different rating levels, those who disagree with this company goal tend largely to be of the opinion that their jobs deserve ratings of "8."

The described relationships between work orientations and performance are vague and ambiguous. This is especially so when values are matched with productivity. The emerging picture is one which depicts productivity as unrelated to cognitive orientations on work. If such orientations tap the intrinsic values of work among individuals, then it is apparent that such rewarding features do not determine performance levels. However, it was also observed that opinions on the importance of work sanctions are associated with work infractions. In this case, the extrinsic consequences of performance appear to be better forms of social control over behavior.

The conclusion which emanates from the examined relationships is that productivity and other performance variables are independent of cognitive biases in individual workers. This tallies with earlier observations that work variables are not sufficiently, nor necessarily, understood best in terms of generalized social psychological biases of workers.

Investigations of the social psychology of work typically focus on work attitudes and orientations in relation to performance. However, as it has been previously mentioned, these studies produce no conclusive findings for predicting performance from individual psychology (cf. Lindzey and Aronson, 1969, Vroom, 1969). The unpredictability of work behavior from values and orientations of individuals is replicated in this study.

The role of personality variables in work performance is infrequently the focus of research. Whatever studies have been conducted center on the influence of adjustment or maladjustment over individual productivity, absence rates and labor turnover (Argyle, 1972, Gilmer, 1971). By and large, such investigations conclude that personal maladjustment—as determined through an assortment of measures—results in poorer performance. This is especially true among persons occupying high-level positions rather than among semi-skilled workers. As with work orientations, there are indications that lowly-paid workers occupying low-prestige positions tend to dissociate personality from work.

The personality variables which this present study is concerned with are traits rooted in culture and have been established as useful in interpersonal and social dealings of the Filipino. In a sense, these traits underlie individual adjustments to social situations. The interest in discovering possible linkages between these orientations and performance stems from this work's original objective of tracing the extent of influence of the prevailing culture in an industrial setting.

Thus far, the data describe personality to vary according to particular configurations of socialization influences. The general pattern obtained from the data describes subtle changes in the personality orientations of the industrial workers. The question which arises in this context is thus: do existing personality orientations relate to the quality of individual performance?

Personality and Performance Assessments

Industrial activity has typically been characterized as functionally specific, precise, and repetitious. At Alpha, the work of line employees fits into this general mold. The average productivity figures, moreover, indicate that the cycle of repetition is run over a hundred times within each day. The reliance of workers on interpersonal relations in work accomplishment has also been observed. Work is learned from others and is completed through mutual assistance.

Within such a framework, it is expected that some *kapwa* orientations will relate positively to performance, particularly *pagkamagalang* and *pagka-mapagkumbaba*. Stronger orientations toward *pagkamatulungin* will also result in better work. However, it is presumed that *pagkamahiyain* negates good work because it would be dysfunctional within a system that requires individual participation in job completion. High ambisyon is also expected to be harmonious with good quality performance, given all the accumulated evidences on its role in the work situation.

In examining the role of personality in performance, the focus is on its association with self-ratings and perceived supervisory ratings. Since these job assessments are subjectively determined, they should be related to individual characteristics more than would nonsubjective measures (that is, if individuality is in any way related to performance).

Obtained profiles of mean scale-scores on the different personality traits were measured in association with self-ratings and perceived supervisory ratings. Kendall's *tau* served as the statistical tool.

Table 17: ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN *PUP* MEAN SCALE SCORES, SRt AND PSRt

Scales/Traits	Tau	SRt Significance	Tau	PSRt Significance
Ambisyon	−.10	p=.09**	−.08	p=.15
Pagkamagalang	+.17	p=.01*	+.17	p=.01*
Pagkamahiyain	+.07	p=.17	+.10	p=.08**
Pagkamapag-kumbaba	+.03	p=.33	+.09	p=.12
Pagkamatu-lungin	−.07	p=.17	−.08	p=.12

* Significant at Alpha = .01
** Significant at Alpha = .10

The following relationships are described by the findings:

First. High ratings on ambisyon are associated with better self-ratings of work. A similar trend result is observed in relation to perceived supervisory ratings. In the crosstabulation of the two variables, it is seen that slightly more individuals (10 percent) with low trait ratings rate themselves a "5-6"

than those with high ambisyon-(three percent.)

Second. Contrary to predictions, pagkamagalang appears detrimental to work performance. Ten percent of those with prevalent, and four percent with emergent, orientations give themselves low self ratings. Similarly, twice as many of the more *magalang* workers rate themselves "5-6" versus the less magalang (14 percent versus seven percent, respectively). On the other end of the scale, it is shown that 25 percent of the more magalang and 30 percent of the less magalang give PSRts of nine; while 27 percent of the former and 34 percent of the latter give SRts at this same level.

Third. The less *mahiyain* a worker is, the higher is his self-rating (SRt) and the perceived supervisory rating (PSRt). As such, more of the low scorers (high on the trait) give themselves SRts and PSRts at "5-6" and "7," while the high scorers (not mahiyain) provide work ratings more frequently at "eight" and "nine." These observations support the conceptual expectations regarding reticence and subjective work assessments.

Fourth. Although Kendall's tau is nonsignificant between work assessments and pagkamapagkumbaba, the findings illustrate a negative association between ratings and the trait. This means that workers who are less *mapagkumbaba* tend to rate their outputs more satisfactorily. In the crosstabulations, it is seen that the modal ratings given by workers with weak trait orientations is "eight." The result contradicts the predicted outcomes, but could merely mean that individuals with higher "humility" traits are more modest in their self-assessments than less humble ones.

Fifth. *Pagkamatulungin* is associated with work ratings in the directions predicted. More helpful workers tend to provide higher subjective judgments of their performance. The distribution describes 68 percent of the more *matulungin* and 55 percent of the less matulungin as giving SRts of "eight" or "nine." On the other end of the scale, 20 percent of the former and 80 percent of the latter rate their work with as "5-6." As such, it appears that pagkamatulungin functions positively in relation to self-judgments on the quality of work output.

These described relationships between personality and performance assessments demonstrate the extent to which particular orientations of the prevalent culture continue to be useful in individual adjustment to the industrial environment. There are indications that, while ambisyon and pagkamatulungin retain their values in enabling persons to handle situations arising from the workplace, pagkamahiyain and pagkamagalang are orientations detrimental to good performance.

The patterns demonstrated between personality and performance are not unique results. They tend largely to reinforce earlier findings discussed in

relation to socialization, values and job satisfaction. Such observations signify that some consistent thread runs through these social psychological patterns.

VIII

The Emerging Features of the Filipino Worker: A Summary

In the preceding chapters, the personality, work orientations and performance characteristics of a sample of industrial workers have been depicted and interpreted. In this chapter are summarized the broad features of the Filipino worker delineated by the results of the study.

Socialization and the Persistence of Prevalent Values

The line workers at Alpha Company remain committed to values and obligations evolved from patterns of social relations in Philippine agriculture. Thus, personality orientations continue to be dominated by principles of *pakikipagkapwa*. Kinship remains central in individual lives, and many work as much for their families as for themselves. As such, work relationships reflect the social extension of *kapwa* to "others." Joy is derived from interactions which are premised on reciprocity in work completion, personalism, in informal and organizational dealings, and voluntary assistance (*pagdamay*) during personal emergencies.

Foster (1962) has said that culture remains unchanged insofar as it enables individuals to re-interpret novel experiences in accordance with existing patterns of meaning. Findings of this study show that changes toward emergent orientations are in gestation among the workers and prevailing orientations no longer dominate personality characteristics. These changes imply that existing adaptations no longer completely respond to contemporary situations. Still, pakikipagkapwa remains in evidence.

Jocano contends that commitments to the social principles underlying the kinship structure will remain so long as the family retains its influence over individuals (1966). The life aspirations of workers mirror commitments to familial values. So do actual patterns of daily living and interdependencies. The family's hold over personal ideals and motives of workers remains strong and orientations to kapwa are reflected in both the individual's consciousness and in his social behavior.

The workers, however, are not unique in terms of their continuing commitments to kinship and pakikipagkapwa. Various observers of Philippine life,

in both the social sciences and the humanities contend that industrial-urban life has failed to completely erode the traditional values of Filipinos. For example, Dizon (1973) studied ongoing kinship relations among a sample of Filipino managers and concluded that traditionally-valued ties of kinship have not been severed by either high social or geographic mobility. Castillo (1979) and Jocano (1975) describe urban households as extended ones, and patterns of reciprocity continue by way of material and nonmaterial exchange. Various newspaper articles also point to the support and assistance of kinsmen as enabling married women to engage in gainful occupations.

Within this manifold of prevailing orientations, a few individual differences are observed to be associated with variations in socialization experiences. Thus, the relationship which is presumed to exist between either socio-demographic status or occupational history and psychological factors finds some support in the amassed data.

The aspects of Filipino personality dealt with in this study include traits associated with kapwa (namely, *pagkamahiyain, pagkamapagkumbaba, pagkamagalang,* and *pagkamatulungin*), *ambisyon,* and *kaugalian* (cultural factor). Conceptually it was assumed that differences among workers stemming from varied individual experiences related to socialization would be associated with particular configurations of personality.

Individual Differences on Kaugalian

Among various measures of personality, socialization factors are found to have the widest influence over kaugalian. The possible value conflicts generated by marginal experiences in industrial-urban settings (Chapter IV), such that workers with these types of background tend toward emergent orientations while non-marginal groups retain prevailing values, have been lengthily dealt with. At the same time, it was observed that longer direct socialization in industrial activity strengthens commitments to cultural truisms (Chapter V).

These findings may be interpreted in terms of Sjoberg's postulate that tradition is most persistent among groups that remain intact (1967). The observation that family values retain their importance in the consciousness of workers may also help explain these findings, and reinforces the conclusion that pakikipagkapwa successfully reinterprets industrially-based experiences within previously-evolved social principles.

Influences over Pakikipagkapwa

Neither occupational generation nor geographic mobility is found to be associated with changes in kapwa-orientations. Neither do employment factors influence these characteristics. However, a significant association is found between machine handling and pagkamagalang. Workers who use machines in their work are found to be more *magalang* than non-machinists. Apparently, handling of industrial machines generates more respect for authority, probably because this mechanical usage requires more self-discipline than work without such implements.

Ambisyon is also undifferentiated by any of the variables identified as socialization factors. By and large, the Alpha workers manifest low levels of ambisyon.

If it is assumed that this orientation parallels McClelland's conception of the achievement motive (1953) then the investigations of this study lend support to his contention that this behavior is developed in the early years of individual formation. Otherwise, it might be expected that longer exposure to the rigors of industrial activity will be associated with stronger commitments to the drive since achievement motivation is presumably a feature of the industrial-urban personality. Similarly, the orientations of first-generation workers should appreciably differ from those of second-generation employees.

The stated findings of this investigation modify the original conceptualization of the association between socialization and personality as follows:
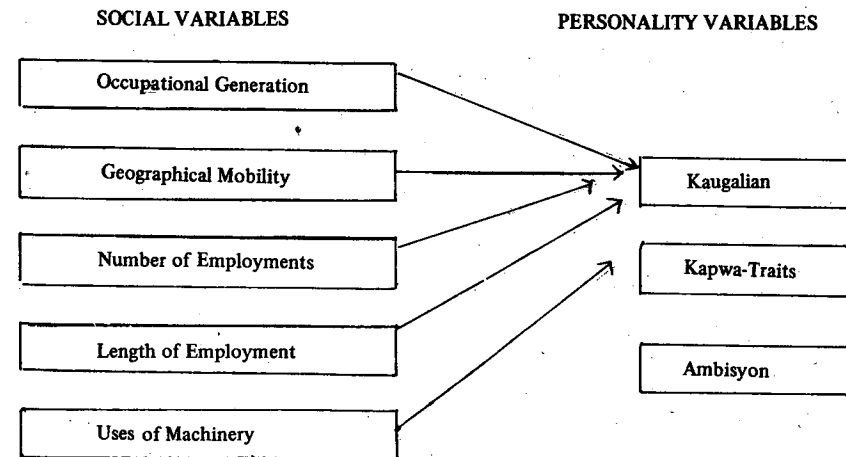
SOCIAL VARIABLES   PERSONALITY VARIABLES

Diagram 2. *Observed Relationships between Socialization and Personality*

In a capsule, this relationship diagram describes differences only on kaugalian as stemming from variations in individual experiences related to parental occupation, migration and two indices of occupational socialization. Ambisyon of workers in the sample is generally low, and is unaffected by any of these social variables. Of the socialization factors selected for study, machine-handling has been found associated with only the trait of pagkamagalang.

Socialization Influences over Values

Regardless of sociodemographic or occupational factors, the majority of blue-collar employees endorse the value statement "Work is only a means of earning money to spend on the necessities of life." Such a finding implies that workers do not work because they enjoy the job itself, or because they want these particular occupations for themselves. In fact, hardly any one of the respondents wish their offsprings to be blue-collar workers.

Work among semiskilled employees apparently assumes importance only insofar as it enables these persons to survive. Considering that factory work for garments involves more than a hundred cyclic repetitions of the same functions, day-in and day-out, for twenty-four days in a month, with few options for changing work sequences, then it is easier to understand why work cannot be considered as important by itself. Social gratification is also minimal, since semiskilled work has very low occupational prestige value. Fried (1973) and Anderson (1971) aptly put it when they state that satisfaction with industrial labor is derived from external rewards associated with these functions. These would include being able to purchase necessities, to support one's family, and to save for future goals.

The overriding importance of the economic features of work is most evident from workers' opinions that salaries and fringe benefits are important considerations in occupational selection. The task specifications are of low priority in assessing job choices.

Occupational generation is associated with some job selection values. In general, it has been noted that first-generation workers tend to assess job opportunities within the framework of obtaining material benefits from work more than in terms of their intrinsic demands.

It is the second-generation industrial employees who tend to select occupations according to their skills requirements. Geographic mobility also yields describable differences with respect to occupational selection values: migrants more often consider personal factors as important criteria while nonmigrants prefer to evaluate the intrinsic and extrinsic features of a job.

Occupational history is less influential over values. One meaningful association described by the data is between number of industrial employments of workers and the perceived importance of having a relative in a company of choice. In this case, workers who have not held any other job except that at Alpha consider the presence of a relative as an important factor. Those who have worked before in several enterprises assess jobs in terms of their skills requirements instead.

Both geographic mobility and the use of machines emerge as influential factors with respect to the extent to which production goals are accepted by workers. Nonmigrants—or residents of the industrial-urban complex—tend to believe that existing quotas at Alpha are too steep and would not consider working beyond these levels. On their part, migrants are divided on the issue. Machine operators accept quota standards as realistic more than do non-machine employees on quota-work. The former also think that efforts should be expended to surpass existing production standards.

Differences emerge along the pattern of values for occupational selection, while the gross value for work is coincident across all workers: that is, they generally like their jobs. These results signify that, although material incentives outweigh all other work values, variations in individual experience relate to differences in evaluating occupational opportunities.

Generally, the data illustrate that broader experiences in industrial-urban living—as exemplified by occupational generation, being native to the metropolis, interfirm mobility, and familiarity with industrial machines—result in a greater appreciation of the intrinsic features of jobs. For this reason, first-generation workers place greater value on material returns while second-generation employees consider skills requirements of higher importance. Users of machines are also better able to appreciate the bases for productivity standards and are even willing to exceed these limits. On the other hand, natives regard these standards as unrealistic, probably being influenced by ideas on workers' welfare—a ripe issue in the industrial setting. Migrants have no clear bias in relation to company production goals. Thus, extent of industrial-urban socialization apparently exercises an influence over some values, either positively or negatively.

The findings, therefore, illustrate the following relationships between socialization factors and values of workers.

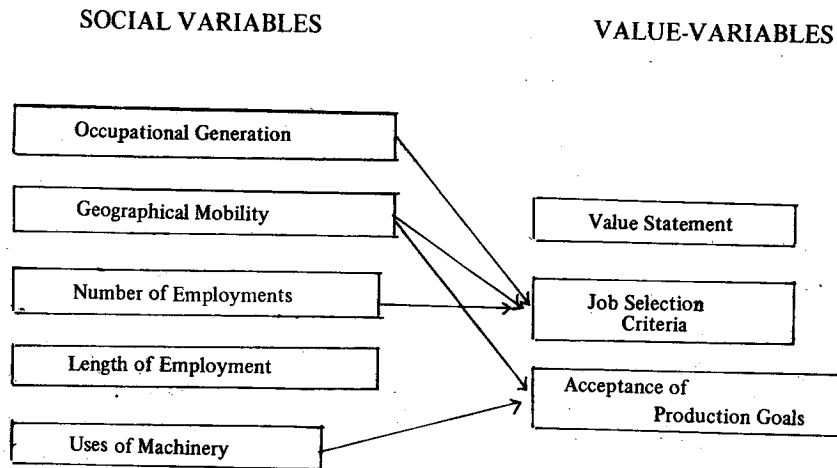SOCIAL VARIABLES

VALUE-VARIABLES

Diagram 3. *Relationships between Socialization
and Work Values*

Unlike what was predicted, no differences in the work value endorsed by the respondents are traceable to any of the socialization measures. All workers tend to regard work merely as a means to survival. Both indices of demographic status describe differences in individual criteria for job selection. However, among the three measures of occupational socialization, only the factor of number of employments relates to job choice criteria. Differences in the degree to which production goals are accepted are obtained among users and non-users of industrial machines, but no delineation occurs in terms of the other social factors.

Aspirations

The life aspirations of the respondents include self-centered and other-centered goals almost equally often. When examined from the perspective of sociodemographic status, there seems to be role inconsistencies. In terms of life aspirations, second-generation migrants and first-generation non-migrants aspire for self-centered goals while the two other sectors incline toward other-centered aspirations.

Industrial-urban life is stereotyped to be impersonal and self-serving. If so, then it is to be expected that longer socialization within this subculture would yield self-centered aspirations. However, the data seem to contradict this prediction while remaining consistent with this study's other observations. Thus, marginal groups in industry were found to have self-centered goals, while second-generation non-migrants (the "urban sophisticates") share other-centered aspirations with first-generation migrants (the "rural dwellers").

This result may be taken as another evidence for the continuing adaptive value of prevailing customs. Rural social life has been described in literature as other-centered rather than self-centered. Modernity has not shaken the foundations of this orientation. The findings also concur with other descriptions of the "modernizing" Filipino who has been described as still exhibiting traits properly belonging to pre-industrial cultures (Guthrie and Agores, 1968).

What seems to be happening is that it is those individuals at the crossroads of urban and rural societies who become momentarily shaken by conflicting demands of role expectations in either society. This phenomenon may be attributed to the fact that neither the rural nor the urban values have taken roots in the lifestyle of this particular group of people. Consequently, they become highly susceptible to value changes in contrast to the urban natives residing with their kinsmen who continue to appreciate and to live up to other-centered pre-industrial values.

Workers are differentiated only with respect to stated intentions to save for their education. A majority of those who have been employed for more than four years do not put aside money for this goal, while almost half of the more recent workers do so.

The life goals of workers are unassociated with their occupational histories. This may be interpreted from the viewpoint that industry fails to integrate all aspects of individual living (Anderson, 1971). As such, dreams, goals and incentives evolve independently of work experiences but may be related to other facets of the industrial-urban scenario—such as motives evolved from secondary associations, from media and from educational institutions (Moore and Smelser, 1965).

However, another outcome of socialization is illustrated by differences among the industrial workers in what methods to use to improve their skills. Line employees who are second-generation workers veer towards desires to return to school while first-generation workers prefer to undergo in-plant training.

The occupational aspirations of workers who have been in industry for less than four years ran counter to the findings obtained for first-generation employees—they prefer education to in-plant training to improve their work. However, it was seen that the younger ages of this latter group probably explains why they opt for education, so that age rather than length of employment explains the nature of their occupational aspiration.

Formal education decidedly provides fortunate workers an edge in job selection. It may even enable them to obtain higher-paying jobs. The given result thus depicts anew that longer exposure to industrial values results in more realistic assessments of occupational requirements. In-plant training upgrades only skills necessary within the establishment itself. Education can hone skills other than those needed in the company, or provide greater mastery of more precise skills required in present occupations, thus allowing greater leeway for upward occupational mobility.

SOCIAL VARIABLES   ASPIRATIONS
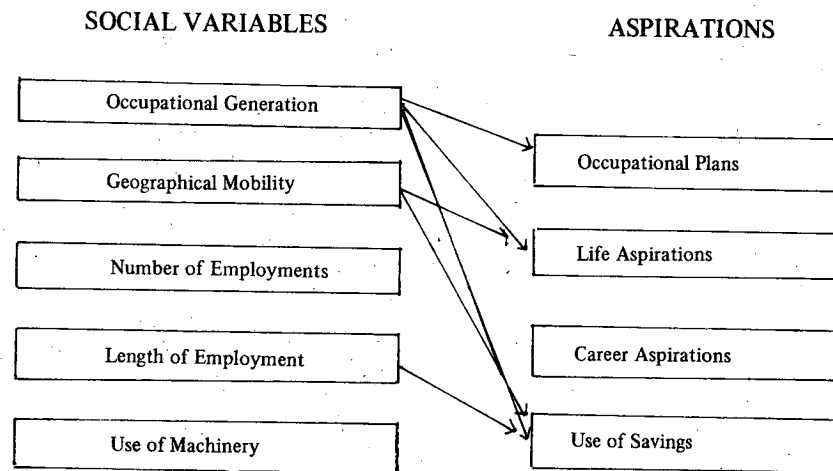
Diagram 4. *Relationships between Socialization and Aspirations*

The findings thus illustrate that it is socio-demographic factors rather than occupational history which can differentiate individuals in terms of their life and occupational aspirations. However, choice of goals vis-a-vis the careers of offsprings veers almost unilaterally toward professional courses.

Factors Associated with Work Attitudes and Performance

This study's conceptual position vis-a-vis the relationship of individual characteristics to work variables was founded on an expectation that socialization experiences would result in a myriad of describable influences over personality and work orientations. As it is, the results indicate that socio-demographic and occupational histories affect psycho-dynamic processes on only a limited scale, and that personality orientations remain similar across individuals with differences in social experiences.

The description of relationships between personality, values, aspirations and work, therefore, is primarily one between changing beliefs and values, on the one hand, and work satisfaction and performance, on the other hand.

Job Satisfaction Profile

Argyle (1972) enumerates the following causes of job satisfaction as describable from empirical data:

1. The *intrinsic nature* of work, which indicates that variety rather than repetitive functions, and autonomy rather than strict work supervision, results in positive work attitudes along with greater utilization of individual skills;

2. *Hours of work*, where shift work has been found to be generally disliked;

3. *Incentive conditions*, which implicate good pay, social gratification derived from occupational prestige, promotional chances and job security as satisfying conditions;

4. The *work group*, which associates positive attitudes with cohesiveness, popularity, small group sizes, and frequent opportunities for informal interactions;

5. *Supervision*, in which strong correlations with satisfaction have been described related to warmth of supervisors, personalism in dealings with workers, and worker participation in decision-making.

6. The *company*, wherein small enterprises supposedly have better satisfied workers, and which associates participative management and other structural aspects with job attitudes.

7. *Individual differences*, such as sex, age, intelligence, personality and work orientations, have also been related to satisfaction measures.

Given these determinants, what features of work at Alpha are potentially satisfying? The following statements describe the features of work at Alpha:

1. The work done by the respondent workers is highly repetitive and strictly supervised to suit certain patterns of garments design and quality standards. Skills requirements are minimal and no precise knowledge about the use of special machinery is required for employment. Most of the needed skills can be mastered in three days.

2. There are two work shifts for line workers at Alpha. Only monthly-wage employees may work outside of shift hours.

3. Alpha line workers receive minimum wages on an hourly wage basis. Their routinary tasks have low occupational prestige, promotional procedures are nonstandardized and no tenure is provided. Industrial recessions may result in the termination of services of even workers of long standing.

4. The work groups vary in size, from less than 10 to more than sixty workers. These groups are relatively cohesive, if cooperation and positive informal relations are indications of this variable. However, opportunities for informal interaction within the company are confined to office parties and union meetings. Off-hour social affairs are confined to smaller circles, usually representing provincial groups.

5. The supervisors are perceived positively by many workers. Some are considered approachable and capable of rendering assistance during emergencies. Others, however, are considered unfair and unkind.

6. Alpha Company has almost a thousand workers the year round, and the number increases by more than 200 employees during peak production periods. Managers fail to associate with line workers and work is directed from above. Work rules are strict on lax behavior, absences and other aspects of factory life. However, the personnel officers are warm and approachable.

7. The personality and work orientations of the workers are tied-up with pre-industrial patterns.

Given these facts, it may be deduced that only relationships—with co-workers and with supervisors—constitute potentially satisfying features of work at Alpha Company. The intrinsic and incentive aspects of jobs, as well as the governance of work, are linked to unsatisfactory job attitudes.

In reality, the findings confirm that relationship with people forms the basis of expressed job satisfaction. It is the most frequent reason given for liking present occupations. On the other side of the coin, poor factory con-

ditions and maltreatment of workers are given as bases for disliking work.

The results obtained from the garments firm are not unique. Arce likewise reports positive measures of job satisfaction in relation to perceptions of the company as a social unit (1978). In these two studies of garment workers, therefore, a common feature is that satisfactory attitudes are associated with positive assessments of social relationships.

Low wages surface as a dissatisfier when plans for interfirm transfers are examined. It has been observed that, while workers like their job because of social relations, many would still leave for better-paying positions. This confirms Slotkin's statement that turnover rates are associated negatively with occupational security (1960). It also tallies with other findings which link turnover to work monotony and low occupational status (Argyle, 1972, Vroom, 1969).

Lack of participative mechanisms in Alpha probably best explains the desultory and almost indifferent attitudes of workers regarding company procedures. Workers hardly care to give suggestions for improving recruitment, reclassification and termination procedures. This observation fits into the view that feelings of being essential members of the work team correlate with satisfaction (Crompton and Wedderburn, 1970). Thus, since workers perceive their views to be insignificant to management, they fail to make constructive suggestions and accept present conditions without question.

One measure of job satisfaction seemingly touches on the intrinsic value of work. Many workers signify that they prefer their present occupations to others at Alpha because they are already well-versed in these functions. Contrary to this, those who wish to occupy other positions do so because these other jobs are easier. In this case, the reward condition stems from ease in work accomplishment—either because the functions are already familiar, or the jobs are by themselves less rigorous.

Psychological Influences on Job Satisfaction

Kapwa-orientations are associated almost unilaterally with liking for jobs. Only *ambisyon* emerges as a differentiating factor. The data show that strong commitments to ambisyon result in job dissatisfaction, and vice-versa. Thus, Alpha workers with high ambisyon either aspire for supervisory positions in the company or desire to leave the establishment.

Life aspirations and work values also fail to predict satisfactory work attitudes. Only occupational aspirations are meaningfully related to satisfaction, such that workers who desire to continue their education wish to leave the company, while those who seek skills-upgrading from within the

company itself plan to remain longer. In addition, workers who are satisfied with their present positions plan to improve their work by learning from co-workers. Those dissatisfied, and who want other jobs at Alpha, prefer to have formal training—either through schooling or in-plant training.

These relationships have been interpreted in terms of individual perceptions that existing circumstances are potentially rewarding. Satisfaction is generated by aspirations that can be realized within the company. Formal education is perceived as incompatible to simultaneous work efforts; thus, this aspiration results in greater job dissatisfaction. Such findings are compatible with Vroom's analysis that expected rewards from occupying particular job roles are related to job attitudes (1969).

Not all the anticipated relationships between psychological variables and job satisfaction are realized in the study. In fact, only two factors meaningfully differentiate expressions of work satisfaction of individual respondents. These are *ambisyon* and occupational aspirations.

PSYCHOLOGICAL VARIABLES   JOB SATISFACTION
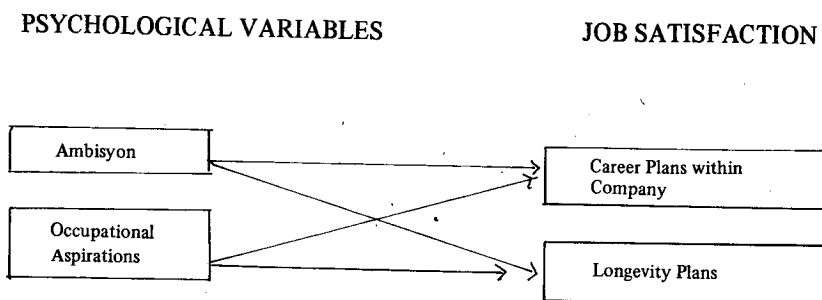
Diagram 5. *Relationships Among Personality, Aspirations and Job Satisfaction*

The given findings imply that the gross personality make-up of individuals does not influence assessments of work as satisfying or otherwise. Rather, it is those specific psychological processes, which can be directly linked with the career or occupational plans of workers, that are associated with job satisfaction measures.

Among several indicators of job satisfaction, moreover, variations and meaningful differences are found on only two measures—career plans within Alpha and longevity in the company.

Performance Profile

Productivity levels at Alpha tend to be low in relation to reported averages. Nevertheless, subjective ratings of work are high, either in terms of self-ratings or perceived supervisory ratings.

This inconsistency implies that the evaluation of work is not sufficiently explained by output. More likely, ratings of jobs are attached to affective measures of job satisfaction. In this case, workers may rate their work highly because they like their jobs. In fact, the supervisors themselves contend that work ratings at Alpha are pegged on work attitudes, attendance and discipline more than on volume of work or productivity.

Performance, as depicted by frequency of work infractions, is somewhat optimistic, since less than half of the respondents have been guilty of rule violations. Of those who committed violations, two-thirds were first offenders.

However, although majority of the workers conformed to company rules and had high job assessments, promotions were rarely given. Although majority have already been in the company for about four years and only five percent for less than a year, less than half of the workers had enjoyed promotions.

The low levels of productivity exhibited by many of the Alpha respondents indicate that there is an enormous leeway in the company for increased production. The problem, however, is clearly not a motivational one since high levels of job satisfaction are equally manifest.

Abegglen (as cited by Marsh and Mannari, 1976) contends that effective performance results from positive work values (Work-as-life). Since the present set of employees labor for survival, then it is clearer why motives for excellence or increased output are absent. Vroom (1969) supports a similar position and cites several studies which describe a linkage between effective performance and its consistency with other cognitions. Since work-for-survival places no premium on productivity, the Alpha workers produce poorly.

The nature of technology and consequent forms of managerial control have also been examined to understand industrial performance (Marsh and Mannari, 1976; Argyle, 1972; Woodward, 1965, 1970). Unfortunately, this structural aspect of work was not of concern in this investigation. Future research may consider looking into the influence of managerial control, technology level, manufacturing design and other work environment factors over performance.

Performance and Job Attitudes

It has been mentioned earlier (Chapter VII) that job satisfaction measures fail to be consistently associated with performance. Most of the observed findings are trend results rather than significant associations. These trends indicate relationships between (1) job liking and lower work ratings, (2) desire to remain in the company and fewer violations of rules, (3) desire to leave and higher productivity. In addition, it was found (4) that significantly more of those who have not been promoted are unhappy with their work.

Of the abovementioned findings, the second and fourth outcomes are easier to interpret. In both cases, there is a direct relationship between positive work attitudes and effective performance. These results tally with general expectations that job satisfaction redounds to good performance (Vroom, 1969; Gilmer, 1971, Argyle, 1972).

The second and third findings contradict assumptions from the social psychological literature but are in accord with the correlations described by Arce (1978). In Arce's study of a garments firm, significant though inverse associations are reported between satisfaction with present jobs, (1) job ratings and, (2) performance (average daily output). The present investigation of garments workers, while using slightly different specifications for job satisfaction, arrives at similar results, pointing to possible patterns of behavior in the Philippine industrial setting.

The observed negative relationship between satisfaction and ratings was related to the mediating role of ambisyon. Satisfied workers are found to be low on ambisyon. Workers with low ambisyon rate themselves poorly. Thus, it is expected that satisfied employees give low ratings to their work.

A similar syllogism fails to apply with respect to longevity plans and productivity. Both low and high scorers on ambisyon produce at low levels. In this instance, high productivity may be associated with plans to leave Alpha because of the low wage levels. Thus, workers adept at their functions prefer to seek employment in a company with better incentives.

Insofar as performance of work is concerned, observations taken from Alpha indicate slight differences in both subjective and non-subjective indices in relation to various measures of job satisfaction. Attitudinal sets, therefore, are apparently unrelated to completed work of the rank-and-file within an industrial establishment.
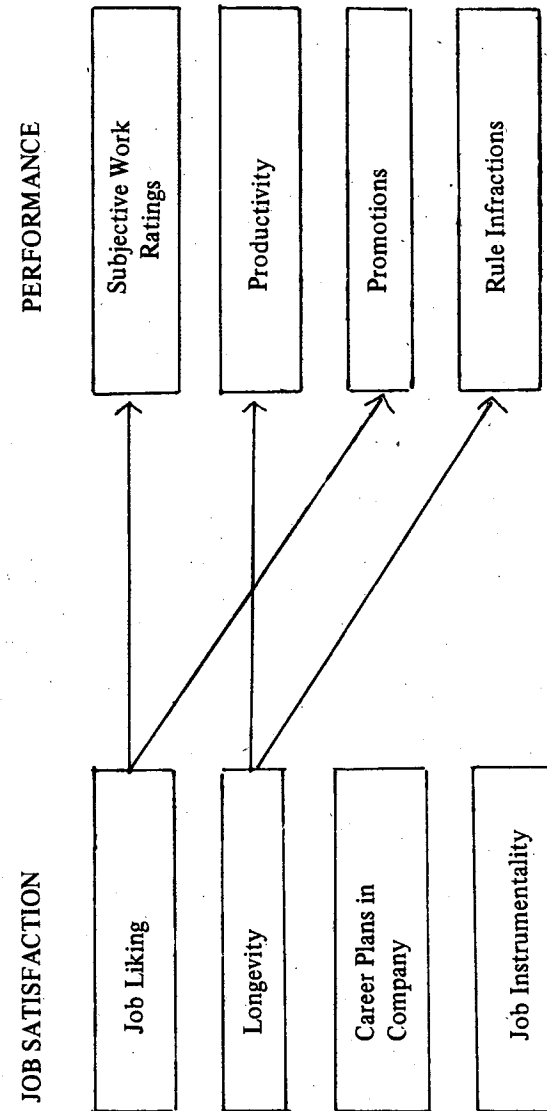
Diagram 6. *Job Satisfaction and Performance*

Work, Values and Personality

Performance variables fail to be associated with cognitive measures. Value expressions, aspirations and goals signify no relatedness to work behavior. Those ideations which can be meaningfully linked to work performance have not been pinpointed.

Personality measures are conceivably associated with self-assessments of performance. Both indicators tap personal biases of individuals. Among the personality indices, those who rated high on ambisyon and pagkamatulungin also had higher ratings of work. However, orientations favoring pagkamahiyain and pagkamagalang yield lower work assessments. Neither kaugalian nor pagkamapagkumbaba appear to influence performance, though the obtained relationships are in an inverse direction.

The instrumental functions of ambisyon and pagkamatulungin in generating favorable job attitudes and work accomplishment have already been described. Within this context, it is reasonable to find that subjective ratings become associated with stronger commitments to these traits.

In contrast, the negative relationships between high work ratings and adherence to pagkamahiyain or pagkamagalang point to the non-instrumentality of these behaviors in industrial activity. The presently described findings focus on performance as the element of work affected by these *kapwa*-orientations. Obviously, occupational socialization weakens these traits inasmuch as they hinder effective work undertakings.

In sum, tests of association between values, personality, or work attitudes, on the one hand, and performance, on the other hand, yield insignificant results. It is highly probable that structural variables in the industrial enterprise play a weightier role in affecting the nature and quality of work.

Added Insights: Age, Sex and Civil Status as Influences

Although age, sex and civil status are unrepresented in the conceptual model, tests of associations between these variables and some psychological indices were undertaken. Underlying these measurements were suppositions that these factors have been implicated in studies of values, personality and performance as differentiating variables.

Age. Differences in values relative to age of workers were examined. Only two significant results emerge. One, the occupational aspiration of re-schooling is expressed more frequently by workers less than 21 years of age than by older ones (65 percent and 36 percent, respectively, $x^2 = 6.663$, 1 df, p < .01). Two, the desire to save money for parents is a value among younger workers more than older ones (71 percent and 48 percent, respectively).

Civil Status. Value expressions related to savings are likewise associated with individual civil status. First, more unmarried workers tended to save for their own education (43 percent vs. 5 percent married ones). This result is highly significant ($x^2=19.81$, 1 df, p < .001) and indicates that marital responsibility deflects from goals for self-advancement. In fact, 56 percent of married workers want to save for their children's education in comparison to only 30 percent of the single workers ($x^2=7.83$, 1 df, p < .01), which supports the prior result. Third, slightly more married than unmarried respondents have self-centered aspirations (58 percent vs. 44 percent), which could be a reaction to feelings of "relative deprivation" in terms of the difficulties in obtaining self satisfaction when burdened with a dependent nuclear family ($x^2=2.26$, 1 df, p < .10).

Sex. Women are different from men with respect to certain personality orientations and performance indicators. Women are almost equally divided on the prevalent and emergent dimensions with respect to kaugalian; 71 percent of male workers, however, have prevalent orientations ($x^2=3.042$, 1 df, p < .10).

On performance variables, it was found that except for the first level, there are slightly bigger proportions of female than male workers in each productivity level. Forty-one percent of male workers, by contrast, have outputs belonging to the lowest productivity level. Thus, women workers tend to be more productive than men workers in this garments firm.

More efficient performance by females is also evidenced by their involvement in fewer rule infractions. Of the violators, 46 percent are males and only 23 percent are females despite the fact that the females comprised a larger proportion of the sample ($x^2=7.347$, 1 df, p < .01).

However, more males have been promoted at Alpha (58 percent vs. 40 percent of females). When viewed against the productivity figures, it appears that promotions are noncontingent on output ($x^2=4.219$, 1 df, p < .05). Hopefully, types of work mediate the apparent association between sex and promotions at Alpha.

IX

Insights, Foresight

The results of this inquiry into the social psychological features of work generate the following insights.

First. During the present transition of Philippine society from agriculture to industrialization, the psychological portrait of semi-skilled workers appears to be overlaid with values of the emerging social system, while primed to the textures and colors of the prevailing culture. As such, personality and values can not be described clearly as influenced by one or the other social formation.

Second. The primary value of work to semi-skilled workers is economic in character. Such an outlook pervades despite individual differences in socialization to industrial values. This economistic view is reflected in the identification of extrinsic reward features of work as salient to occupational selection and job satisfaction.

Third. The influence of the prevalent culture is also discernible in social relations within the work setting. Reciprocity relations underlie behavior at work, and positive views on social interaction within the factory form the basis for job liking.

Fourth. Work values and existing incentive structures result in a negative view of manufacturing labor. Workers dream of upward occupational mobility, either through formal education for themselves, or through the professional training of their offsprings. Those with high achievement orientations and high productivity desire most avidly for occupational mobility and, unfortunately, perceive the attainment of this goal as outside of their present place of employment.

Fifth. Low levels of productivity characterize the performance of this sample of semi-skilled employees. The personality, values and work attitudes of these individuals fail to explain this phenomenon adequately. The determinants of productivity apparently lie outside of individual character.

Sixth. Achievement orientation appears efficacious to work performance while pakikipagkapwa hinders it. Such a relationship between personality orientations and job ratings emerge in the face of the continuing hold of pre-industrial values over psycho-dynamic expressions.

Broadly speaking, this study describes a continuity in the beliefs, values and traits of agricultural and industrial workers. However, indications are also in evidence which may be interpreted to mean that these prevailing patterns are in the process of re-examination and possible overhaul. It is evident that some orientations of the prevailing culture are being weakened in the industrial work situation, while others are reinforced.

The image of the worker in the future may predictably reflect more clearly any of these changing values and orientations which will retain their adaptive importance to the individual. In the meantime, socialization factors are seen to be poor predictors of value and personality orientations. There are apparently other—or more diverse—cultural influences over personality development.

Appendix A: The Physical Setting

Alpha Company is located on a sprawling compound within a residential subdivision. Its main gate recesses a little from the subdivision street and is guarded at all times. To gain entry, workers are required to show their I.D. cards. Visitors are requested to signify their business in the company and are asked to have their "passes" signed by the parties visited within.

There are three principal structures visible from the gate as one enters. The main building occupies most of the space in this compound, and is a one-and-a-half storey edifice housing the manufacturing area and the managers' offices. The main floor of the building is used principally for production, with a small enclosure housing some of the administrative offices immediately facing the entrance. Overlooking the entire span of the production area, on the second floor, are the offices of the General Manager and the Plant Manager. Thus, the ceiling of the larger space on the first floor used in manufacturing is at level with that of the offices on the second storey. The units of the production area have windows open on all sides with some roof ventilators. The offices are enclosed in glass and airconditioned, probably to minimize the noise of the industrial sewing machines.

To the right of the main building is a smaller structure which is also used as a sewing area, and houses the company's maintenance unit. It is separated from the first building by a cemented road along which containerized vehicles park. These vehicles are loaded with finished garments from the side door of the main production area, and the finishing department opens onto this exit.

On the other side of the main edifice is the supplies warehouse. From time to time, men with trolleys loaded with various raw materials move between the two buildings. Behind these buildings, in a separate structure, one finds the employees' cafeteria.

On the right side of the main gate, several smaller units stand against the wall of the premises. These structures house the company's medical and dental clinics, and the personnel manager's office. Just outside the gate, in the space between the street and the recessed entrance, "carinderias" and small canteens patronized by the workers line both sides.

At the time of this study, in 1980, Alpha Company had expanded its operations such that a second compound had been established exclusively for the manufacture of gloves. The compound described here, therefore, is engaged solely in the production of jackets and rainwear.

History and Organization of Alpha

Alpha became a joint-venture corporation in 1966, when a U.S. based garments firm participated in the equity holdings of the company. Prior to this time, Alpha was essentially a family corporation. It started out as a small home industry manufacturing handkerchiefs. As the quality of its workmanship became widely known, contracts from garments manufacturers abroad started flowing in. Since the joint venture, however, Alpha produces goods exclusively for the foreign partner, but is only one of the contractors of the mother company in Southeast Asia.

In its present organizational set-up, control over operations of the factory in the Philippines is vested in the General Manager, who represents the original Filipino corporation. The Plant Manager, however, is a foreigner and represents the equity partner in the United States. Other key positions under the General Manager include the Personnel Manager, Materials Manager, and Controller Officer.

The Plant Manager has direct control over production. The production units include product development, cutting, sewing, quality control and finishing. Products Development is the source of garment patterns for sewing, as well as samples of new styles. There is one supervisor in this unit who oversees the work of the samplers (sewers). The patterns are used in cutting the various materials used for the jackets to be manufactured. An over-all supervisor heads this department and is assisted by six other individuals. Work in the Cutting Department includes cutting jacket paddings (linings) and garments shell, spreading, bundling, duplicating, slitting, transferring and marking materials. Cut materials are then fed to any one of the sixteen work groups in the Sewing Department. Each of these groups consists of supplies feeders and sewers (or machine operators). They are overseen by a group supervisor and his/her assistant. Quality Control also has direct links with the Sewing Department but has its own production staff who do button-holing, issuing of garments for revision, and fixing of minor sewing defects. The Finishing Department is the last production unit headed by an over-all supervisor. Its sub-units include revising, snapping, and packing. There are six other supervisors under the Head Supervisor and 10 Section Heads who oversee different aspects of finishing tasks. It is in this Department where accessories and garment tags are attached to the finished jackets. When all these are done, each product is placed in polyethylene bags by the "poly baggers," sorted by sizes, by orders and destination, and finally packed into cardboard cartons. These labelled cartons are then loaded onto containerized vans waiting outside the exit of the Finishing Department.

Production activities are assisted by workers of the Warehouse Department and by Maintenance Personnel. Stocks of necessary raw materials are fed to production by warehouse workers. Electricians, mechanics, carpenters, janitors and utility men oversee the lighting, mechanical and other infrastructure needs of the production units. The Personnel Department is critical also to operations. Recruitment of workers, wage determination and maintenance of smooth labor relations comprise part of its responsibilities.

Policies for Recruitment, Promotions and Terminations

The policies, rules and regulations promulgated at Alpha essentially follow the principles laid down in the Labor Code of the Philippines and other legislations covering the rights and privileges of workers. In addition, some of the regulations and the penalties attached to violations of these are in accordance with provisions in the collective bargaining agreement.

The Personnel Office of Alpha has an established personnel recruitment procedure. Applicants in production are selected on the following bases:

(1) the applicant is between 18 to 35 years of age, except when extraordinary talents and skills are evident, in which case the age limits may be waived;

(2) he/she has the appropriate educational or technical background necessary for the position;

(3) has been determined to have good moral character and physical condition;

(4) passes aptitude tests and/or a trial period for determining skills.

Regardless of whether an applicant is hired, each person seeking employment must satisfy the following requirements:

(1) fill out an application form and present ID pictures, school transcripts, birth certificate, police and character references and clearance, social security number, residence certificate and tax account number;

(2) take qualifying tests as required by the company;

(3) comply with any other requirement which the company may, from time to time, require.

According to informants, applicants entering Alpha usually undertake a three-day training period to familiarize them with the work requirements of

the positions being applied for. Work during this period is not paid. If the applicant qualifies, he or she is then taken in first as a temporary employee. Some years back, temporary employees were usually taken in as "casuals," that is, as employees given specific temporary assignments. Recently, however, new recruits have been employed as apprentices first before being given casual positions. Transfer to a regular position cannot usually be enjoyed until after six months in the company.

Termination of workers with at least a year's service is not permissible unless cleared with the Regional Office of the Ministry of Labor and Employment. Multiple violations of the company's rules and regulations, however, may be used as the grounds for terminating any employee.

Temporary lay-offs of workers are also experienced periodically at Alpha. Reasons for this include a shortage of orders from abroad and lack of materials. The casual employees, expectedly, are the first ones to be laid-off. A slump in the volume of production usually occurs between January to March. On the other hand, recruitment of additional personnel often becomes necessary by June, when orders for garments mount and can no longer be filled by the regular workforce.

Promotional procedures followed at Alpha could not be shared by the Personnel Manager. Such procedures are based on merit ratings and the rating system is held confidential in this company. However, ratings and promotions essentially follow the guidelines laid down by the multinational partner.

Rules, Regulations and Disciplinary Measures

The blue collar workers of Alpha observe shift schedules. The first shift during the research visits was from 6:00 a.m. to 2:30 p.m , with regulation 15-minute break periods and lunch breaks within. Workdays are from Monday to Saturday. During the time of the field visits, there was no second shift at Alpha. Later, however, the second shift was reopened, from 2:30 p.m. to 10:00 p.m. Whenever business is brisk, first shift workers may be asked to work overtime for part of the second shift schedule. This usually occurs in July or August of the calendar year.

Strict observance of work hours is practiced, so that disciplinary measures are instituted for tardiness and absences without official leaves (AWOL). A first offense of tardiness at Alpha warrants a written reprimand, a second offense results in a one-day suspension, a third offense gets a two-day suspension and so forth. Suspensions result in loss of pay and cannot be charged against vacation leaves. Twelve cases of tardiness within a year may result in the employees' dismissal.

Penalties for AWOL follow similar patterns. One-day absences warrant written reprimands on the first offense. Longer AWOL periods result in suspensions for the first offense, and longer suspensions or dismissals for multiple infractions of this rule.

Apart from these regulations on punctuality and attendance, Alpha has corresponding provisions governing the following acts:

(1) Destruction of company property;

(2) Disorderly conduct, which includes reporting to work under the influence of alcohol, sleeping in the line, gambling or drinking, fighting, threats, intimidation, insubordination and coercion, extortion, carrying firearms/other deadly weapons;

(3) Violation of security and safety measures, like smoking in "No Smoking" areas, unauthorized repairs or adjustments of machinery and equipment, wasting time, and unsanitary or poor housekeeping procedures;

(4) Acts of dishonesty, like falsification of time records, forgery, false claims, lending of ID cards, false statements;

(5) Commission of acts considered as crime under the laws of the Philippines;

(6) Other acts deemed prejudicial to the Company, including divulging confidential information, perjury, selling or soliciting orders for merchandise within company premises, lending money to co-employees at usurious rates, failure to report loss of company property or offenses committed against rules and regulations, deliberate slowing down of production, carelessness or inattention to work.

For most of these rules and regulations, a first offense merits a suspension. The graver violations, e.g., destruction of property, criminal acts, possession of deadly weapons and usury, merit a dismissal even at the first offense. Suspensions may again be given as disciplinary measures for many of these rule violations.

Since the company has an active worker's union, infractions of rules are reported to the grievance machinery which represents both labor and management. This body examines reported violations and decides whether or not corresponding penalties are warranted. In cases where workers can prove they have been unjustly charged of some infractions, suspensions may be lifted and records of offenses are withdrawn.

Workers' Organizations: History and Accomplishments

Alpha Workers' Union was established in 1970, after what the officers describe as a bitter and heartbreaking struggle with management. Since its inception, this labor organization has been affiliated with one of the oldest labor federations in the Philippines. From the beginning also, Mang Lino,* the union president, served as the leader of the workers. He has since served five terms as president: from 1970-1974 (two years per term) and from 1975 to 1980, with three-year terms each.

Mang Lino presently works full time as union president at Alpha. Regardless, he gets an "honorarium" from the company. Prior to the organization of the union, Mang Lino was already a supervisor at Alpha. He had risen from the ranks, having been employed with the company from the time it was still a small home industry.

Besides the president, other officers of this union include the vice-president, secretary, treasurer and auditor. Apart from the first two officials, the other three officers are women. There are 11 members in the union's Board of Directors, seven men and four women. All of these officers and board members are active in either production or non-production work in Alpha. Unlike Mang Lino, they have to file for union leave each time organizational activities require their participation.

The Alpha Workers' Union is the sole bargaining unit in the company for hourly wage workers. Its membership encompasses all regular workers of Alpha, from whom union dues are collected monthly through salary deductions. The union constantly acts to service the needs of its members and management.

Among its most significant accomplishments, officers point to the fact that the union has successfully countermanded recommendations resulting from a time-and-motion study. This study, according to Mang Lino, was undertaken to encourage workers to work faster. During the demonstration period of the project, individuals who could finish the most units of garments were given monetary incentives. Photographs of these employees were also taken and displayed. The union objected to this incentives system since they believed that it would only result in a continued escalation of quota requirements. The exceptional work of a few individuals, they said, would lead to a burdensome work obligation on the part of less able workers. "Trabahong kalabaw at trabahong kabayo ang mangyayari sa amin" (We would be made

*Names given here are not the real names of the workers.

to work as heavily as carabaos and horses") Mang Lino avers. After a general meeting of the union on this matter, the workers were able to quash the continuation of the time-and-motion study.

Presently, although some production units have to fulfill minimum quota requirements, no incentives are given for surpassing these quotas.

In 1980, during an exceptionally hot summer week, workers in some groups decided in unison to demonstrate against the oppressive heat in the factory. For two or three consecutive days, at prearranged periods in the afternoons, the employees stopped their work for about 15 minutes and fanned themselves. No word of reprimand from the supervisors could stop them. As a consequence, the company has since promised to install more ceiling ventilators in the factory premises.

Despite these significant gains, the day-to-day problems which the union has to face are many. Workers' grievances range from complaints about implementation of rules on tardiness, poor working conditions, to nonstandardized promotional procedures and obsolute rules and regulations. A strike notice, in fact, had been filed mid-year, but the Personnel Department has successfully delayed this by negotiating with the union officers.

Relations between the personnel manager, personnel officers and union leaders appear satisfactory. The personnel manager and personnel officer, both women, are affable, charming and approachable. They are respected by the union leaders, who in turn are given the respect due them by management.

POSTSCRIPT

This study was completed in 1981. Before the monograph could come off the press, Alpha Company closed down and all the workers were laid off, as an effect of the economic crisis experienced by the garments industry between 1982 to 1984.

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