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ABSTRACT
        This study investigates the life of rural Filipino
teachers and assesses their role in civic or community improvement.
The purpose is to locate the activist teachers and further to explain
why certain people are more involved in the community. Two approaches
are used: first, ethnographic material from informants and personal
observations on the cultural and political context of education,
i.e., on the educational bureaucracy, village factionalism, and
occupational clique groups are presented as conditions for teacher
role behavior; second, interviews of over 600 randomly sampled
teachers and community members are used to relate selected
demographic and attitudinal factors to actual teacher civic
participation. This juxtaposition of the descriptive contextual data
and the survey data on individuals (presented in 63 tables) should
provide richer ethnography of the Filipino teacher and his
educational system and also provide a fuller explanation of general
and individual teacher civic role behavior. In sum, teachers, as a
community development resource, are reluctant "missionaries"
operating in a very difficult professional and cultural milieu.
Activist teachers are most likely to be professionally responsible
and have high community status. Practical recommendations and areas
for further research are discussed in a final chapter. Measurement
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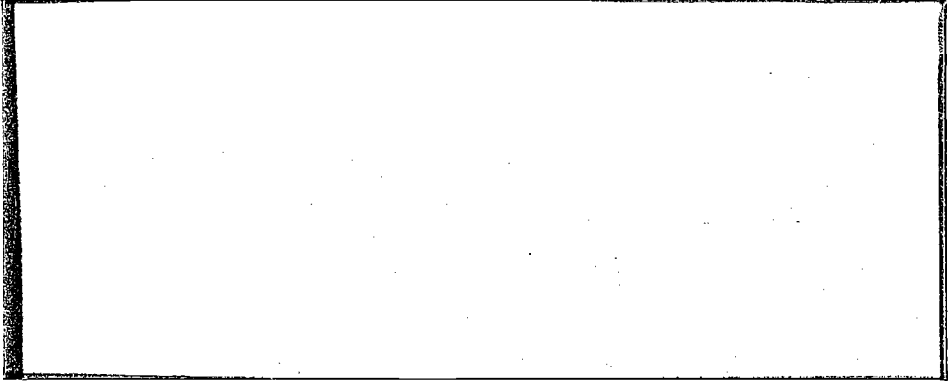
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CULTURE, POLITICS, AND SCHOOLS

IN RURAL PHILIPPINES:

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF
TEACHER COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

BY DOUGLAS E. FOLEY

ERUT-3

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FOREWORD

by Robert B. Textor

This study by Douglas E. Foley, currently Assistant
Professor of Education at the University of Texas at Austin,
examines the civic and developmental impact of rurally based
school teachers in a depressed area in Central Luzon.

We consider this work a particularly judicious and
successful combination of the "contextual" (ethnographic and
historical) method with the survey method. Primarily, the
contextual approach gets at what Sims refers to as the "environ-
ment" in ERUT Monograph No. 9, while the survey method gets at
the micro variables of individual decision, or rationalization.

Looking upon the Foley work as a whole, we might at this
point indicate a few summary intuitions. One is that the indivi-
dual teacher's professional self-image is indeed a factor of some
importance, and that the "right" kind of "professional" emphasis
in teacher education institutions is important, if the Philippines
is to reach developmental goals outlined by its leaders. A second
conclusion, however, is that without an alteration in the realities
of the "contextual" factors of life in the society, in the direction
of social justice and political efficacy for the general public,
it is questionable how much good even the best teacher education
program can do.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER I

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM AND PROCEDURES

Purpose of the Study

This study seeks to take a close look at the life of rural
Filipino teachers and to assess their role in civic or community improve-
ment. Two different but complementary approaches are used to describe
the culture and formal education in small rural Philippine communities.
First, ethnographic material from informants and personal observations
on the cultural and political context of education, i.e., on the educa-
tional bureaucracy, village factionalism, and occupational clique groups,
will be presented as conditions for teacher role behavior. Second, in-
terviews of over six hundred randomly sampled teachers and community
members will be used to relate selected demographic and attitudinal
factors to actual teacher civic participation. The purpose of these
data is to locate the "activist" teachers and further to explain why
certain people are more involved in the community. This juxtaposition
of the descriptive contextual data and the survey data on individuals
should provide a richer ethnography of the Filipino teacher and his
educational system. It should also provide a fuller explanation of
general and individual teacher civic role behavior.

This particular study does not fit precisely into the tradition
of educational evaluations of teachers and curricula. Many educators
may object to the limited formal observations in the classroom and the
limited evaluation of school programs. Unlike many studies in educa-
tional anthropology and sociology, there is little discussion of insti-
tutional socializing effects such as political loyalty, work ethic, and
ethnic tolerance. Consequently, there is little formal attitude scaling
or associating of institutional structures and practices with educational
outcomes (Barton 1959; Newcomb 1943). Nor are the schools studied as
cultural transmitters of either traditional or modern life styles and
values (Spindler 1963). Neither pupil-teacher interactions (Henry 1963),
nor curricular content (Thomas 1966) has been the main focus. Finally,
the study has no particular philosophical or theoretical position that
schools and teachers are rendering or retarding change, or preserving
tradition.

The study was designed to have both theoretical and practical
implications. First, to those interested in documenting social deter-
minism, the cultural and political forces upon teachers form an excel-
lent case for the limitations of individual motivations and choice.

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Second, to those concerned with why some citizens become more involved in community affairs, the data search offers an infant theory of civic participation. Third, to the educational planners and teachers, the study suggests a number of implications for teacher training, recruitment, administrative support, community relations, and professional incentive in the Philippines. Developing countries cannot really afford the luxury of narrow empirical research. Consequently, this study was designed as a broad treatment of the general state of the teaching profession and the specific potential of teaching as a community development resource. Hopefully, the study suggests a number of topics and directions for applied social science research on developing educational systems.

SOME PRELIMINARY THEORETICAL NOTIONS
ON CIVIC PARTICIPATION

Civic participation means affairs, events, and activities sponsored by groups and institutions beyond the kinship unit. Such activities are confined to geographically and politically defined small communities in nation-states. These events and activities would be accessible to all members of that geopolitical unit, particularly the group being studied. Participation will vary with each type of event or activity, but any form of participation involves some expenditure of time, effort, personal resources, and money. Another underlying assumption is that involvement is at least partially voluntary. These assumptions will be further explicated in Chapter VI. The problem of developing ethnographically sound participation scales for each type of activity will also be discussed in Chapter VI. In breaking down civic participation into categories, the following paradigm was developed:

1) Socially Integrative Events (community religious behavior)

2) Socially Disintegrative Events (political factions and partisan behavior)

3) General Political Participation (community events and media use)

4) Sponsored Community Development Programs (school and non-school)

5) Modeling Modern Behaviors (food production and sanitation practices)

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6) Community Social Fabric (ccmpadrazgo ties & welfare
        activities).

Throughout the study these types of participation will be explained in
detail. Cther possible forms of civic participation will also be sug-
gested.

A Theoretical Stance: Middle-Class Voluntarism

One philosophical or quasi-theoretical notion of civic parti-
cipation is that of middle-class voluntarism; i.e., those with more
education and professional standing are more prone to be civically re-
sponsible (Lipset 1966; Almond and Verba 1965). Much of modernization
literature contains the notion and conviction that middle-class people
are usually at the bases of civic and social reform movements, as in
the American progressive movement of the Roosevelt era. Often the
community development literature idealizes such a type, which may have
a strong missionary drive to uplift the uneducated, backward community.
Democratic methods of persuasion and example, and participatory deci-
sion-making characterize this approach for "modernizing" poor people's
attitudes and values. In essence, middle-class voluntarism is really
a form of the social welfarism or "noblesse oblige" so characteristic
of the elite. In applying this general notion to a study of Filipino
teachers it is reasoned that the more elite the teacher is, i.e., the
higher the economic status and professional standing, the more civi-
cally inclined and involved he will be. It is assumed, then, that
the general orientation of middle-class voluntarism is a cluster of
motivations and obligations more characteristic of the most success-
ful, high status or ideal types within a given occupation or class.
This is not unlike some of Merton's notions on reference group identi-
fication and occupational success (see Hymen and Singer, 1968).

Structural Constraints

Certain structural restraints such as sex, age, and residence
may, however, modify this general pattern of the high-status profes-
sional as a community activist. For example, Ziegler (1966) suggests
that men would be more active than women in political affairs. In
addition, Lipset (1967) suggests that women teachers are more active
than men in religious affairs. Age grading may also be important in
the highly traditional and authoritarian social system of the Philip-
pines. Younger people may not have as much access to certain types of
activities. Finally, residence in the community may be a necessary
condition for participation. Community activities after school hours
are difficult to attend if the commuting teacher has no personal or

public transportation. Conversely, residing in the community may actually restrict some types of behavior such as partisan political activities. This brief list of examples suggests a number of antecedent or intervening situational factors or social characteristics of participants which may also determine civic participation.

Alternative Explanations of Civic Participation

There are a number of other general social science notions which may help explain differences in the civic participation of Filipino teachers. Others might explain participation as a motivation deriving from a general high need for achievement (McClelland 1961). All walks of life or occupations have individuals who are highly competitive and aspiring and who possess strong internal drives to succeed. Another derivative of this motivational theory is the notion that people with very modern values (Kahl 1968) are more likely to be reformers or activists. Such people are more optimistic about progress, the political system, and themselves. They have some sense of social conscience to change the world for the better. Such general value orientations are not necessarily an achievement motivation, but they are related and high achievers would probably have modern values.

Others might explain civic involvement as deriving from more negative origins or psychological pressures from inconsistencies in the actor's life such as status loss or incongruence (Blalock 1968) or cognitive dissonance (Festinger 1957). For example, teachers who come from high-status backgrounds and were forced into teaching due to sibling position or loss of family status might seek to regain that status by becoming very active civically. Or teachers who strongly believe the presidential directives for teachers to reform and lead in their communities may be suffering from a discrepancy between their activist ideology and their inactivity in the community. To make the ideological and the actual more consistent, they might act out their ideological stance of being the activist.

Other theorists have tried to explain high job performance with the notion of job satisfaction, i.e., a happy worker is a hard worker (Hughes 1958; Bendix and Lipset 1966). Somewhat similar to this positive notion is the common anthropological view that people (teachers) who have a close affinity with village life and culture will be more empathic, less withdrawn, and ultimately more involved and accepted. This notion also has an empirical basis in much of the work done in sociometry and people perception, i.e., similar people associate with and choose each other for social and work relations. One could go on with other notions that might well be an explanation adaptable to the cultural and professional setting of the rural Filipino teacher. Initially, however, there is little to suggest ways in which such very general theoretical notions might be applied and operationalized.

Operational Measures

Many of the theories touched on above are motivational, (achievement motivation, modern value orientations, and cognitive dissonance); or they are motivational with a basis in social structure, (status inconsistency and middle-class voluntarism). Conceivably, any of the theories, with cultural conditions specified, might be useful. This study has very tentatively accepted the middle-class voluntarism notion as the most probable explanation in the Philippine setting. On the other hand, it is not clear what cultural or structural constraints may reduce associations between individual characteristics and civic activity. Consequently, the study will proceed very much in the tradition of Vidich and Bensman (1968) and will experiment with a variety of theoretical notions and variables. They argue that such an approach often produces better general ethnography and generates important hypotheses.

Several standard "objective" socioeconomic status measures (Gordon 1963) such as income, consumption habits, and father's occupation were used to differentiate among teachers. Professional behavior was indexed by using measures of in-service and curriculum development participation, reading habits, and educational attainment. What might be considered reference group identity was measured with several questions on desire to migrate and to be promoted. Job satisfaction was measured through teacher self-reports. Modern value orientations (not reported here) were measured by a series of modified scales originally developed by Joseph Kahl (1968). Rural affinity was measured by the amount of time spent in rural areas and assignment satisfaction. Status inconsistencies or status mobility were defined as intergenerational mobility, i.e., rise or fall of respondent from the father's occupation. To be sure, all of these measures of the proposed and the alternative theories can be questioned as valid measures of the constructs. They will, however, serve for the purposes of an exploratory study. The measures of primary interest, status ranking and professional behavior, are the most carefully developed of the measures used in the analysis. All specific measures and variables will be discussed more extensively in the appropriate data sections.

THE RESEARCH SETTING

A Tagalog speaking province (state) approximately four hours from Manila was initially chosen. Research was conducted in thirty small towns and villages of this province and centered within a thirty-mile radius. The towns ranged from class II to class VI municipalities. Municipality comes from the Spanish term "municipio" which is a geopolitical unit including a central market town and the surrounding lands

and villages. In this paper, municipality will refer to all settle-
ments, market town, the main settlement, and the villages. Ratings of
municipalities are based on number of councilors, population, land area,
and tax revenue. In this sample of towns, the number of councilors
ranged from four to eight, the population from 15,000 to 40,000 (the
municipality), and the land area from 33,000 to 78,000 hectares. The
towns themselves ranged from a major market town located on a national
highway to a small, isolated town without a market. The villages also
varied in their proximity to major roads, number of professionals,
property and income, and size of the barrio council. Most of the vil-
lages sampled were larger (500 to 3,000), more established, and with
complete elementary schools.

The province was a major rice producer, and several areas were
irrigated and used a double-cropping system. Some other important char-
acteristics of the province were: high in land tenancy (75%), high in
outward migration, without industry, electrified in most towns and a
few villages, well developed educationally (six colleges and twelve high
schools), and high in government development programs (rural community
development, land reform, agricultural extension). According to local
community development workers, the province was more progressive and
modern than the average Philippine province. Its proximity to Manila
and the large number of white collar workers commuting weekly to the
city were their criteria for progressivism. Paradoxically, however,
few provinces were more depressed through absentee landlordism and
tenancy. As in all towns and cities of the Philippines, there were
many squatters, and the land has been divided among tenants to the
point that even subsistence is difficult. Despite many signs of progress
such as electrification, schools, hard-surfaced roads, television and
radio, poverty was widespread. Getting three full meals a day was a
major problem for many families.

We, my wife and two children and I, resided in one of the main
municipalities in the sampling region of this province. The market
town of this municipality was clearly the focal point of the region in
the following ways: economic (a daily market, a town of major regional
landlords and rice dealers), political (home of several prominent
national politicians), bureaucratic (all major government agencies),
legal (district federal and agrarian relations courts), medical (two
small private hospitals and four private clinics), educational (a
private two-year college and two high schools), and entertainment (two
movies, numerous gambling places, four marching bands, one house of
prostitution). People from other towns in the region invariably re-
ferred to it as a "snob town," "a high-society place." It was a town
with many wealthy and professional people. Many grand old houses of
landlords, long since gone to Manila, stood gracefully rotting.

We lived in the large old house of a landlord who had moved
to Manila for the education of his children. The house was in the

very center of town near the market and surrounded by the church, the municipal buildings, and several schools. The municipality contained twelve barrios of varying sizes, one of which became the site of the case study on factionalism and education. This village was near the town, and participant-observation time was split between it and the town. The village's characteristics will be more fully described in Chapter IV.

This province and sampling region was chosen because many government agencies were actively engaged in community development there. In addition, this was an area of growing unrest among the peasants. It was assumed that if teachers are civically inclined, they would be especially active where the need or challenge was great. On the other hand, the activities of many other professionals and community development specialists could drive out rather than attract the teacher group. If this were true, teachers would express such opinions when discussing their role. In either case, specifying this general condition or state of development seemed a better test of the notion that teachers are playing an important civic role in the Philippines. Another very important, though incidental, reason for choosing the region was my own fluency in Tagalog and the region's proximity to my wife's ethnic group (Pampango).

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

As indicated, this study utilized two basic approaches, a structured interview schedule and supplementary informant and case study techniques. The actual mixture of the survey and the case study might be called a mini-survey or a macro-ethnography. The idea was to broaden the traditional anthropological case study and to deepen the standard survey approach. This, of course, will cause the ethnographer to be concerned with over-extension and the survey researcher with limited coverage. It would seem, however, that living in one community a year has some of the advantages of participant-observation and the quality of information that only social contact and acceptance can win. Conversely, a survey of thirty-five additional villages and towns helps reduce the idiosyncracies and particularisms of a single case. Other ethnographic-like approaches, such as open-end questions, were also built into the survey instrument and will be discussed and illustrated in the data chapters.

Sampling Procedures

The survey of teachers and parents was essentially a stratified random sample, after a limited geographic region was arbitrarily defined as the population. The sample of teachers was defined as all those presently employed in the public elementary schools. Community residents were all those permanently living in the politically defined units of the village (barrio) and the market towns. First, a list of all teachers and administrators in all the complete elementary schools of the region was compiled. Schools were then stratified on the basis of central town schools, barrio schools contiguous to towns, and barrio schools physically isolated from the town. Using notions of cluster sampling, 40% of the schools in the sampling region were chosen. Next, 50% of the teachers were randomly drawn from each school. This produced a sample of approximately 22% of all teachers concentrated in 40% of the sampling region's schools. Each stratum was also proportionately sampled. This sample is representative of the teacher and school types with some exceptions. First, since all schools without a complete elementary program were excluded, young teachers are somewhat under-represented, and small, distant schools and villages are totally absent. Second, since all administrators of the randomly selected schools were sampled, males are over-represented, if teachers and administrators are combined. Otherwise, the sample appears to be very representative of the region's teacher population.

A question might be raised as to why the geographic area was not broadened and the percentage from each school reduced. The main rationale was that a larger region was much more difficult to cover ethnographically and physically. A real attempt was made to know personally many of the sample and to gain some familiarity with the town and village histories. Some of the communities in the sample were also to be used as a cross-validation of the teacher survey. That meant doing surveys of the community members and follow-up informant work with community leaders. Such ethnographic approaches were more possible with a limited number of schools and villages.

The community sample was also stratified into towns and into villages of two types, and then broken down to residents with leadership positions (school and political) and residents without leadership positions. Again, each stratum was proportionately sampled. In the community sample, lists of households were obtained from the school purok (district) surveys. These appeared to be quite up to date, but several districts were sampled and rechecked for accuracy. The community sample was much smaller, sampling approximately 20% of the villages and towns and approximately 10% of the households in those communities. This produced a total of less than 1% of the region's population. The representativeness of the sample is difficult to estimate, since the population parameters are unknown. However, no systematic bias or misrepresentation was noted. The village and town leader strata

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are numerically over-represented (5% of the total sample). Barrio cap-
tains and councilors are not, however, as radically different from vil-
lagers on education, occupation, and income as might be expected.

Procedurally, the community sample differed somewhat from the
teacher sample. In order to facilitate the survey, one convenience con-
tingency (the option of either household adult) was used, if a 50-50
sex split was ultimately maintained. Fortunately, the survey was com-
pleted before the rains and the planting season started and there was
no difficulty in finding working male household heads. In the event
of a refusal, erroneous name, or transfer, another substitute was ran-
domly drawn from the original pool of names. The rate of refusal on
the community interviews was 2%. Approximately 5% of the original
sample was unavailable for various reasons and substitutes were ran-
domly redrawn.

Establishing Rapport and a Community Role

Before going to the provinces, a summer (in 1967) was spent
making contacts, getting approval, and interviewing in Manila at the
Bureau of Public Schools (BPS). Before entering any school, several
days were also spent at the division (state) office getting approval,
meeting people, and explaining the general nature of the research. A
memo on the purpose of the research team was also sent to all school
heads in the division. In addition, the researchers were introduced
and the research explained at several meetings of all district super-
visors (municipal level) and school heads.

Following the letter and the meetings, all central schools in
the eight sampling districts were visited. This was an opportunity to
become more familiar with the district and to meet many school adminis-
trators and teachers. Town mayors and other municipal officials were
also visited. During these courtesy calls, basic census-type data on
the region and the communities were gathered from municipal officials.
Such information could have been obtained more quickly from published
census and school documents, but this was an opportunity to explain the
purpose of the research to many inquisitive community officials.

At this point there was still very little contact with specific
barrio leaders and people. Most activity had been concentrated on the
town and administrative levels. By the second month of the pretest
period, research activity extended into the barrios to prepare for the
actual survey. This involved contacting barrio leaders in villages
where community members would be interviewed. A barrio site for the
ethnographic work was also selected. Ideally, it would have been
preferable to attend council meetings and PTA meetings in all the
places sampled. This was possible in the pretest sites, in the town

of residence, and in two other barrios. Later, these places became locations for informant work and case data.

In regard to my community role, I tried hard to be a student working on his dissertation. My father-in-law, a retired district supervisor, and my wife, a former teacher, were also invaluable in helping to establish rapport and acceptance. Initially, teachers perceived me as another Peace Corps teacher, but eventually word got around that I was not "just a PCV" but a research associate with a name card and title. It was, however, emphasized that I had taught in a barrio school two years and that our family was also one of educators. In general, teachers seemed to have little difficulty understanding the idea of a graduate student and his dissertation. Indeed, many were going through their own frustrations with an M.A. thesis.

Community people were, however, more unsure of my true identity and purposes. During several long conversations, community leaders expressed concerns that I might be a CIA agent or some kind of government spy. Some wishfully thought the research was a site inspection for a large water control project. Most people reasoned that any American who went to the trouble of learning Tagalog must be up to something more than a study of schools and teachers. Most people did, however, understand the idea of making a census or interviewing. People in this region have been surveyed before by government agencies and were not seriously skeptical of someone asking questions. In general, those sampled were very cooperative and open. Indeed, busy American schools and teachers would probably have been less cooperative and perhaps more threatened or bothered by such intrusions into their lives and work.

Pretesting the Instruments

Several different communities in a municipality near the research region were used for pretesting. A total of 40 teacher and 35 community interviews were conducted over a two-month period. The schedules went through numerous important changes in wording, question order, basic content and purpose. In the early stages the day's interviews were analyzed and re-edited every night. After about half of the interviews, a semi-final schedule was developed and used for a second pretest and for the test-retest procedure. After this laborious process, the final schedule was much more understandable, easier to administer, more comprehensive, less ambiguous, and more sensitive to the nuances of Tagalog.

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The Research Language

Using Tagalog instead of English improved the sensitivity and efficacy of the instruments. English was also tried during the pretest, answers to open-end opinion questions and histories of civic participation were far more naturally and richly elicited in Tagalog. English is the medium of instruction, and teachers certainly could have understood an English interview schedule. However, as other researchers have indicated (Bulatao 1966), Filipinos seem to express emotions and feelings in their native languages and more formalistic or business thoughts in English. School administrators often reverted to English for explaining lofty philosophical ideas of education or principles of administration. Conversely, the conversations in Tagalog took on a more intimate, less normative, and more concrete tone.

Despite the advantages of the native language, teachers were not forced to express themselves in Tagalog. As the Lynch study (1967) indicated, given a choice, a number of teachers preferred English over their dialect in the interview situation. This reflects their notion of a formal situation and the appropriateness of a formal language. It also reflects the enormous status English has and the anxiousness of people to prove they too can use the language. Interviewers always explained that since parts of the interview would also be given to community people, it was developed in Tagalog to serve both groups. Teachers were allowed to answer in any language or mixture of languages they wished. As a rule they used Tagalog with an occasional mixture of English and Tagalog. The important idea followed was to develop the instrument in the most natural idiom of the region and to systematize it for both groups. Ultimately, however, the Tagalog used was closer to middle-class Tidiom than to village idiom.

Selection of Interviewers

Because many open-end, follow-up questions were used, the training and quality of the interviewers were extremely important methodological considerations. Consequently much time and effort went into selecting, training, and supervising the interviewers. Initially, college students with training in survey research were to be used. But as local resources were checked, it became apparent that highly competent local educators would be more skillful and appropriate than college students. The superintendent's help was requested in selecting and temporarily releasing three teachers for approximately three months. In return they were to receive training in research which would make them a valuable resource for his division. He responded most enthusiastically and recommended three senior (35-42) people with M.A.'s and in responsible positions (two head teachers and a guidance counselor). Ultimately, a younger (27) model English

teacher replaced one of the three, and she proved to be exceptionally mature and dedicated.

There are several schools of thought on using a local person for interviews. In the anthropological tradition it is considered an extremely important way of developing rapport and trust in the research project; and the interviewers, if committed to the researcher, will also serve as a source of extra information, general guidance, and a powerful reality check. The interviewers were used as an indirect validity check on respondents, i.e., their familiarity with school conditions and teacher opinion was obvious to the respondent. Because the interviewers were so knowledgeable, it was hoped this made respondents avoid serious exaggerations of facts and opinions. However, the interviewers were not expected or encouraged to explicitly put such pressure on respondents. The danger of creating acquiescence to a peer might have introduced more bias than it cured. Consequently, the interviewers followed a standard, structured interview procedure using the schedule as it was with little or no personal interpretation, challenging, or rephrasing.

The problem of peers' interviewing peers was minimized by assigning the interviewers to no interviewees from their own schools and to a minimal number from their home districts. The status and reputation of the interviewers were used only in the sense of having them work in their own general region. In this way, they were known more as a professional acquaintance and were generally a distant peer. It was also strongly emphasized during training that the interview approach is easily biased by being personally too close to or distant from the interviewer. The interviewers were urged to exchange such cases, and at least a dozen such exchanges were made. The third check on this problem was to compare interviewer performance in and outside his own district. This is difficult to do statistically, since small differences may well be random or sampling errors. There were not, however, any large or obvious differences between the interviewers' performances in the two settings. One might expect more normative responses to the outsider, which was not the case.

The Interviewer Training

The training period lasted six full days. It began with a general introduction to interviewing techniques and to the research by lecture, discussion, and readings. The assistants practiced the schedule through peer interviewing. This helped illustrate certain points in the discussions. The second day was spent in the pretest site, and they observed Mrs. Foley using the schedule. In the afternoon the trainees each tried one interview under our supervision. The third day was a discussion session. Changes were suggested in the schedule,

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and the purposes of the questions and the coding rules were studied. At this point the interviewers began to understand what kind of information was needed. The fourth and fifth days were mainly supervised field practice, and each interviewer did five or six more supervised interviews. Almost all the interviews were followed by our critique and/or the critique of other interviewers. Attempts were made to illustrate minor differences in style, and a pleasant professional style was suggested. The sixth day was a summary and also included more practice on the coding guide. At this point technical concepts such as validity, reliability, and the relationship of the schedule and the coding rules were discussed. At no point, however, were the hypotheses discussed. The trainees worked on coding until reaching .85 to .93 level of agreement on all types of questions.

In many ways the practice sessions were a third pretest, and every effort was made to involve the interviewers in improvement and formulation of the schedule. Two of the interviewers proved particularly keen and helpful in the further development of the instrument. They were used extensively as key informants on the coding rules and question-phrasing. At this point the schedule did not change substantially, but a few rephrasings of words and a fuller probe sequence was developed. By making probing the interviewers' problem, they developed a very functional sequencing of subquestions.

Post-Training Supervision

When the actual interviewing began, my wife and I both continued to observe the interviewers at least three times a week for the first two weeks. After four days of interviewing the group met and discussed problems in administration, probe phrasing, and coding. Coding was practiced for the third time, and reliability was rechecked. The research group met every seven to ten days to share information and to keep morale high. After two very intensive weeks of supervision, it was clear that the schedule was being used correctly, often beyond what was done in the pretest. Consequently, the next two weeks were more free, and interviewers were observed only once or twice a week. During the fifth week observations were again increased to three times a week. There was also a long meeting to help avoid any lapse, or decay, in the quality of the interviews. The final week or so was more or less unsupervised.

Training for the community schedule was much more limited, since all the general training and two months of actual interviewing had been completed. The schedule was also very similar in content to the teacher interview. It was discussed and practiced for one day before the interviewing. Several differences in dealing with uneducated villagers were emphasized. Some of the language was simplified and the

need to be more deliberate and concrete was stressed. The interviewers were very mature and skilled in dealing with local people. Consequently, they were able to suggest many important simplifications. These interviews were carried out during the summer, and each interviewer was observed once a day. I was able to observe approximately one-fourth of all the teacher and community interviews.

Administration of the Teacher Interview

The teacher interviews were usually conducted at school in a vacant classroom or office or the respondent's own room. Generally, interviews were scheduled during free time, work education period, or after classes. Other teachers and principals helped by handling the respondent's class. At times the interviews were disruptive, but every effort was made not to distract teachers or to deprive students of class time. Procedurally, each interviewer went to a different district and fulfilled a set quota. The 340 interviews were done over a two-month period at the rate of four interviews a day per interviewer. The interview was in two parts. Part I was largely biographical and factual and was self-administered. Part II was a series of interview questions on actual community involvement, self-ratings of their profession, work conditions, and community position. The procedure was to distribute four copies of Part I on one day and schedule interview times for the following day. During this introduction the interviewers briefly explained the purpose of the interview and encouraged the respondent to participate.

After setting up the next day's schedule, interviewers finished the day's quota of four interviews. The interviews ranged from 50 to 90 minutes. Those going well into the second hour were definitely too long, and some interviews were split between two separate periods of the day. The interview schedule was organized so that the last 15 or 20 minutes dealt mainly with personal items such as job conditions or career plans. This technique helped to maintain greater interest. The more difficult or threatening opinion questions and the long case histories of civic participation were placed early in the interview. The length of the interview was not too burdensome a task for most teachers. Scheduling it during school hours helped make the interview seem less an invasion of personal free time and more a professional task.

Administration of the Community Interview

The community interviews were all conducted in the homes of the respondents. After constructing the lists and making the draw,

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barrio captains and councilmen were contacted. They introduced inter-
viewers to residents and explained why they were there. In some cases
the officials spent the entire day helping, but a point was made to
shift this responsibility to those being interviewed. Usually, the
first person interviewed accompanied the interviewer to the next re-
spondent and made the introduction. This worked very well because the
person already interviewed often made reassuring remarks. He vouched
for the inoffensiveness and ease of the interview. The research team
needed no introduction in the villages where expensive informant work
and participant-observation was done.

During the community interviews the entire team went as a
group of five to each village and spent several days until it was
finished. It took approximately three weeks to complete 250 inter-
views. Each village was done as quickly as possible to avoid contami-
nation effects from respondents' sharing questions and answers. Inter-
views ranged from 20 to 50 minutes, and the average was about 30 min-
utes. People in all villages and towns were open and cooperative, and
less than 1% refused to be interviewed. Very few people seemed sus-
picious. Some, however, were quite unsure that they could give the
"right" answers and pleaded ignorance. Most seemed to think of the
interviewers as census takers or government community development
workers. As the interviewing progressed, I was also busy talking to
the barrio captains, their councilors, and other innocent bystanders
about a wide range of topics. Information was collected on the vil-
lage, its farming and home industry, local politics, and ultimately
the teachers and the schools. Along with attending meetings and using
informants in the case barrios, this was a main source of more inform-
ally collected data.

The Mailed Questionnaire

The relationship of politics to promotion was a topic difficult
to approach in an interview situation. Consequently, a short self-
administered, anonymous questionnaire was developed. As with the other
instruments, it was pretested for word ambiguities and question order.
Administratively, the questionnaire was distributed in schools along
with an unmarked envelope to each teacher in the morning. The sealed
envelopes were then picked up in the afternoon. In some schools the
principal helped distribute and pick up the envelopes. It was made
clear in the instructions that the envelope was not for the BPS and
should be sealed in order to be strictly confidential.

The questionnaire took about 10-15 minutes. Judging from the
results and the follow-up chats with selected respondents, it was neither
confusing nor difficult. The representativeness of the results was also
checked with several informants. It was difficult to know how accurately

and honestly teachers reported their behavior on topics as sensitive as
the politics of promotion. Considering the topic, however, the data
seem quite frank and open. No doubt some crusading reformers have exag-
gerated, and others, fearing censure have under-reported on sensitive
items.

General Opinion Measure Approach

The schedule contains several questions on teacher opinions of
school programs, their job conditions, and teacher-community relations.
Either the Likert or Thurstone approach to attitude scaling might have
been used to develop unidimensional scales, e.g., professionalism
(Corwin 1964), modernism (Kahl 1968), liberalism (Ziegler 1966).
Rather than using indirect verbal statements, a more open-end approach
frequently used in anthropological studies was selected. Many questions
were what Selltiz (1955) calls the funnel approach. The respondent was
initially allowed to give relatively free, unstructured responses,
followed by more specific, structured probes. During the pretesting,
this approach did not seem to be eliciting serious response-set biases
such as acquiescence, evasion, and distortion. The subject matter could
be approached directly. This, of course, places more of a burden on the
interviewers and the coding system to consistently elicit and code re-
sponses. Interviewer training has been discussed and it remains to dis-
cuss coding procedures and measures of reliability and validity.

Ethnographic Validation of Coding Categories

A number of the coding categories should be scrutinized for
their ethnographic soundness. Initially, ranked categories of simple
lower-to-higher ordinal scales were established from work with infor-
mants and from the range of behaviors reported in the pretest. For
example, to develop a code for fiesta involvement or curriculum devel-
opment, the participants' definitions of what is active and a contri-
bution or a sacrifice were needed. The more formal work with a pretest
sample and several informants (the interviewers and several school and
community heads) was supplemented by personal observations and experi-
ence in Philippine village life and by existing studies of lowland
Christian groups. The rankings of civic and professional participation
are as valid as the combined ethnographic knowledge of the research
team permits.

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Open-End Coding: The Participation Histories

Coding the respondent's history of participation in various civic activities involved the interpretation of several open-end questions. The coding rules sought to compare a wide range of teacher ages and experiences. For example, how does one rank old teachers who have been active but are not presently active? Or how can one rank young teachers on the basis of their limited experience or time for involvement? In all the participation measures it was reasoned that young teachers who were active should be equated with older teachers presently active and with old teachers who were formerly active. The relationship between age and civic participation is curvilinear. However, the coding system tried to not arbitrarily penalize the very old and the very young, or to simply limit the sample to the middle cases. To be sure, the young who are coded "active" may not stay active, although the histories of middle-aged and old teachers reveal a pattern of long and continuous activity. Teachers active early in their career tend to stay active.

Open-End Coding: The Opinion Questions

A number of opinion-type questions were also asked on topics such as: job satisfaction, feelings toward prohibition of political campaigning, view of community school programs and curriculum, stereotyping of other community members, and reasons for entering teaching, migrating, teacher prestige, and for seeking a promotion. All of these opinion questions on the work conditions and programs of teachers were measured with direct questioning and respondent self-ratings. Intensive follow-up questions on teachers' reasons were also elicited (see Appendix A). Such an approach was used to avoid normative responses and to go more deeply into often contradictory and complex reasons not easily forced into simple positive-negative scales. This approach has, of course, many problems of reliability and subjective coding, and an enormous effort is necessary to reduce open-end responses to meaningful categories. In most cases a combination of several measures, closed-end, and open-end responses, were used to measure any teacher opinion. This procedure does not result in neat index or scale scores, and several measures of one sentiment area have been presented independently in the write-up. This may burden the reader with more tables and synthesizing, but this seems a richer, more honest way of presenting the data.

The first step in coding the responses was to have two of the interviewers place all statements into very rough lists of sentences. This established the range of actual Tagalog sentences used by the respondents. From this range the research team proposed a number of rough conceptual categories for grouping similar sentiments into more abstract

reasons. The two coders then rearranged the preliminary coding categories and tallied or narrowed the original list. The data were then organized for a third step of compressing or expanding the preliminary codes. I then summarized the original statements and categories into a final code.

One might complain that a great deal is lost in the process of compressing and interpreting the original responses. At least in the scaled statements, even if they may be simplistic and forced responses, the summarizing procedure is much more "objective" and potentially statistical. Serious subjective coding does not creep in, however, if the coder deals with what respondents said and not what he would like them to say. More difficult problems to deal with are coding the simultaneously positive and negative or contradictory reasoning sometimes present in open-end materials. Finding the direction in a series of statements, intonations, and wordings can be a difficult task. Generally, people were coded as mixed or contradictory rather than forcing them into a positive or negative stance. This tended to inflate the total responses somewhat, but it should not be considered double coding of a single reason or orientation.

Test-Retest Reliability

In order to determine the consistency or reliability of the instruments, teacher and community instruments were readministered to half of the pretest sample. In view of the fact that the instrument was very time consuming (teachers' average - 75 minutes, community members' average - 25 minutes), only a small sample (20) was retested. Compared to extensive item analysis techniques of large survey operations, the retest has real statistical limitations. On the other hand, Tables C-4 and C-5 (see Appendix C), will give the reader some idea of how consistently people responded to the various questions and to the total instruments.

Validating Self-Reports

No problem seemed more nagging than determining if the histories of participation were actually measuring participation. No simple outside criterion measures for cross-validating the participation measures were found. Peer and administrator ratings were considered, but they appeared too threatening and disruptive for what they might prove. To evaluate the teacher self-reports, three communities were asked to identify those teachers who were most active in the various types of community activities. Because many community members were not familiar with all teachers, any very comprehensive rating of each teacher by

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all community members was not possible. Consequently, the ratings were very open-ended and exploratory. Each respondent was shown a list of the teachers and asked to pick out which ones were most active in various community affairs. A cross-section of formal community leaders, who were assumed to be more informed, were also asked to rate local teachers.

Usually, one or two teachers in each village were cited as the most active in everything. Although this reputational method proved fairly consistent, it surely did not measure fine degrees of participation and may not have been comprehensive in coverage. It may also represent only local gossip or stereotyping of teachers rather than independent, objective ratings. At best this is a very crude cross-check of the self-reports on a few cases. Table C-6 (see Appendix C) shows how frequently those cases rated civically active in the self-reports were also rated active by community members. As the table indicates, the codings of activity are fairly highly associated with the community ratings.

Several other outside criterion measures were also considered. In the spirit of Unobtrusive Measures (Webb, et al., 1966), other measures of professionalism, traditionalism, and community participation not requiring formal questionnaires or interviews were sought. For example, the teacher civil service exam scores and their daily time book record might have been excellent behavioral measures of professional skill or commitment. It turned out that the tests were non-comparable over a twenty-year period due to several major revisions in content and scoring procedures. Nor were the time records accurate because hours spent in school were often misreported.

For civic participation, the lists of church officials or the minutes of the fiesta committee meeting might have been compared to the self-reported data, but the records simply were not comprehensive enough. The same was true of the provincial and district records on scout troops and on council meetings. Last, some of the observational work on teacher life styles, e.g., type of clothes, shoe style, also did not prove particularly useful as indicators of social rank. Social manners probably would have been a better indicator, but such an observational measure clearly was not feasible for a large sample. In short, no simple outside records, trace measures, or easy observational measures were found. Unfortunately, this placed more reliance on survey and informant work.

Participant-Observation and Informant Work

The other major source of data was from living in a community and participating in various community activities. I attended monthly conferences for all school administrators, several district and division

in-service training conferences, and approximately a dozen PTA and school-sponsored community school improvement meetings. I also attended several barrio and city council meetings in the three communities where the school-sponsored meetings were attended. Ideally, I wanted to do even more observations, but the pressures of developing and actually carrying out the formal surveys consumed more time and energy than anticipated. During these meetings I kept notes, most of which were further written up after the events. We also tried to socialize with teachers through parties and to join in other community celebrations and events. Since our house was very much in the middle of town, we were not isolated from the community. Simply staying around schools chatting to teachers during off hours and during lulls in conferences and meetings was another excellent way of collecting information.

My use of informants varied depending upon the topic. I used informants extensively for establishing the civic participation categories. I also used them for sensitive material on the promotion system, for the case materials on teachers as political "liders" (leaders) and mediators in political factions, and for locating and describing teacher friendship groups (barkadas). In the case of political factions, I initially established the family factions or alliances in the village through discussions on "who sponsored what projects" and "who was related to whom." Those topics led very naturally into discussions of why other families (i.e., the opposing faction) were not involved, who else was "with the de la Cruzes," and how long this had been going on. In the case study of factions, fifteen people, representing a cross-section on age, faction membership, and community leadership, were used. Conversations with individuals or groups of two or three lasted from an hour to four hours. In most cases, I spoke to the informants on several occasions. Eventually, three or four people became my most useful informants. The conversations ranged over a great many unrelated personal topics at times, and I never recorded anything until after going home.

In the case of promotions, the sample was from the following sources: follow-up chats with teachers after the formal interviews, two key division-level personnel, my father-in-law, two retired supervisors, and several disgruntled administrators who approached me about their abused and aborted promotion efforts. The interviewers also provided many stories of how promotion worked in their system. Since two of the interviewers perceived themselves as reformers of their school system, they were quite vocal. My sampling of informants on the politics of promotion was somewhat less geographically focused and systematic than the sampling of informants on factionalism. Informants were from several communities and several different administrative levels. I did, however, try to avoid only the disgruntled reformers to minimize exaggeration of problems. People who were retired or related to us and who had nothing to fear or no ax to grind were ultimately the most helpful, and probably the most objective informants.

In the case of friendship groups, informants were also used in determining the groupings of teachers. The initial informants in the three schools studied were selected from those interviewed in the survey. Several teachers who appeared to be professional leaders were casually questioned about teacher social life and friendships. The conversations invariably started on a general, abstract level and ended with the informants' illustrating their explanations by referring to specific groups in their school. The general groupings were ultimately determined from four informants and from observations of teachers eating and socializing during free periods and school meetings. After the general groupings were determined, two barkada members from each of the five barkadas were questioned for approximately one hour each. A few of the informants were reinterviewed to cross-check information from other informants. These data were supplemented with our own previous personal experiences in teacher barkadas, and with anecdotes from our team of interviewers. More description of informant work will be presented in the appropriate sections of the report.

CHAPTER II

THE PAST AND PRESENT IDEAL CIVIC ROLE OF TEACHERS

The next four chapters are devoted to a selective, educational
ethnography of the social life and working conditions of the rural
Filipino teacher. The social and cultural context in which teachers
and schools must function will be described as follows: 1) historical
background on the community school movement, 2) bureaucratic power and
political influence on teacher mobility, 3) village social structure
and political factionalism, and 4) teacher group solidarity and social
status. Conceptually, the ethnography goes from large to small social
units, i.e., from history to the educational bureaucracy to the village
to the teacher group. This description is based on case studies of one
village and one town and on the surveys of teachers and community
members. What generalizability the study has to other parts of the
Philippines and to other developing nations depends on similarities in
basic social structure, cultural values, bureaucratic arrangements, and
levels of societal development.

HISTORICAL PRECEDENTS:
THE COMMUNITY SCHOOL MOVEMENT

Since 1947, Philippine public schools have been engaged in a
wide variety of community improvement projects. Initially, the schools
emphasized teacher and pupil involvement in major physical improvements
of the community such as sanitary toilets, street cleaning and fencing.
But in theory the community school approach is far more than a few work
projects. It was originally a response to the war-torn, disorganized
community life after the Japanese and American occupations of World
War II. The school was to be an active moral force in reinstituting
education and village unity, eradicating poverty, and reversing the
general breakdown in morality.

Such educators as Aguilar, Bernardino, Gaffud, Guiang, Laya,
and Orata were Filipino nationalists. They sought to use the school
as an instrument of development before most political leaders conceived
of national community development programs. They proposed many reforms
in using the native vernacular, Filipinizing the American colonial cur-
riculum, integrating curriculum lessons with actual life experiences,

and uniting children and adults in learning about and solving community problems. This highly functional community and vocational orientation stressed problems of health, sanitation, food production, citizenship, literacy, and certain cultural traditions. All curriculum subjects were to be integrated around community problems. For example, a student would learn his numbers and health lessons while discussing the ways in which poultry projects alleviate nutrition problems.

Initially, the movement's founding provincial supervisors lacked the funds for producing materials and training other leaders. By the early 1950's two UNESCO missions had applauded this new approach and established a national training center at the Bayambang Normal School in Pangasinan (UNESCO Report 1966). The center combined the efforts of foreign advisers and national leaders to develop curriculum materials and to offer in-service seminars for selected public school administrators and teachers. The center, along with Asia Foundation and AID (formerly I.C.A.), also sponsored a number of school leaders in study abroad on literacy, food production, nutrition, and other specific skills. Administratively, the BPS assigned a superintendent and supporting staff to this municipality, making it an unusually well-staffed division. Bayambang, with the staff of a full provincial division, complete printing facilities, dormitory space, conference hall, and UNESCO faculty and transportation, was a show-piece of the movement. There is little question that this initial seed money and continuous flow of international visitors and publications helped sustain and publicize the movement.

Problems of the Community School Approach

A UNESCO publication (Fleege 1956), the annual superintendent's report (1953 and 1956), and a monograph by a former leader (Bernardino 1957) summarized various studies and criticisms of the movement. In recent times a growing number have continued the original critiques (Aguilar 1967; Bautista 1967; Gomez 1968; Sinco Report 1961). These studies point out many basic problems or symptoms of problems encountered with the approach: 1) overemphasis on projects and material success without changing attitudes; 2) parental apathy or negative reaction to children manually working outside school; 3) teacher overload and fear of academic losses; 4) teacher lack of community development skills and credibility as experts; 5) lack of administrative support and coordination among various government development agencies; and 6) lack of community orientation in teacher education programs. Several other basic factors, however, such as curriculum development mechanisms, teacher socialization, village social structure, and inter-agency cooperation, need more emphasis. Nor have several historical trends in the society been adequately related to the decline and fall of the movement. Hopefully, these added interpretations, based on interviews

of former leaders, observations in the field, and a literature review, will suggest other problems with implementing this curriculum movement, and its residual effects on the present civic role of teachers.

The Origin of Ideas

By the early 1950's schools and other national welfare and community development agencies were planning peaceful approaches to complement the military drive of Magsaysay against rural dissidents (Starner 1961; Abueva 1959). From the beginning, then, most school divisions and individual schools were directed to institute a broad-scale program of community improvement. Therein lies the fundamental problem. The program does not arise from the needs and aspirations of rural people and teachers but descends from the political and educational leaders in Manila. This ultimately creates a great deal of ritualistic and compliant behavior to fulfill set literacy or sanitary toilet quotas. Such compliance brings satisfactory efficiency ratings and promotions to school officials and peace to the parents from community development agents. Compliance does not, however, build a viable community development program.

The Organization of Curriculum Development

Second, this national curriculum reform movement created inherent contradictions in methods of curriculum development. The Philippine educational system is highly centralized in many respects, particularly in curriculum development. All books are selected and approved in Manila and sent to the provinces. Local curriculum development consists of individual lesson planning and learning to use new curriculum materials or guides from Manila. Very few principals organize their teachers to actually develop a local curriculum. Nor is the role of the school administrator essentially a technical one of developing and evaluating curriculum and instruction. School heads are administrative extensions of the division superintendent and district supervisor. They confine themselves to details of enrollment, attendance, minor personnel problems, checking nationally supplied equipment, and various administrative matters. They also must spend considerable time mediating political lobbying and intrusions into the system (see Chapter III).

Theoretically, a set of division supervisors in each subject area is primarily responsible for local curriculum development and implementation. These supervisors organize various division level in-service institutes and act as resource people. They are assisted by a designated set of "pilot teachers" in selected schools who lead

the district level in-service workshops. Each subject area holds a yearly 2-3 day division workshop for all district pilot teachers and administrators. Division workshops spawn 1-2 day district level workshops in each subject for "pilot teachers" from each school in a given district and all school heads. District workshops ultimately create school workshops for all teachers in all subjects led by the school pilot teachers. These various in-service institutes often involve large groups of teachers, and use lecture and demonstration lesson presentation procedures. Division level meetings in the region included up to two hundred pilot teachers in each subject. District level meetings involve several teachers from each school in the district. School level sessions usually include the entire faculty in after-school sessions.

Since nine subjects are covered, some form of in-service workshop is taking place for a given number of teachers on a weekly basis. This creates an enormous number of meetings, extensive report writing, and extra work for all teachers and particularly for the pilot teachers. This massive investment in time and effort usually involves practicing with sample lessons or units sent down from Manila. Such materials serve as models or examples of new approaches such as modern math, teaching English as a second language, and inductive science. With the exception of a few pilot projects, very little development in a given subject is possible. There are strong and competing pressures from the various subject areas to complete their yearly workshop activities and reports. This system of in-service workshops and the lack of adequate local curriculum leadership reduces local teachers to the enormous task of simply completing all the workshops. Such a structuring of leadership and activities is the antithesis of the way curriculum is developed in the community school approach.

Another closely related curriculum-building contradiction within the educational system exists between the reforming efforts of the specialists (math, English, science) and the community school generalists. Historically, the integration movement or the community school approach went through its heyday in the early 1950's (Bernardino 1957). By the late 1950's new national curriculum reforms were started in teaching English as a second language. In 1961 the BPS and the Peace Corps initiated programs to introduce inductive science teaching and modern math. This placed new pressures on the various subject specialists to increase their in-service activities. Integrating all these various interests into developing one problem-solving curriculum was never easy. But the old curriculum integration approach quickly fell from favor and foreign interest, personnel, and money filtered into new content areas. The subject matter specialists became the curriculum reformers of the 1960's.

The curriculum reforms of the subject matter specialists have been more widespread for several reasons, but perhaps the most fundamental is that they are operating within the natural structure of the educational system. They have developed their materials in various summer workshops, tested them in different local regions and then sent them down to local levels. There is little theorizing about locally developed materials. Teachers in the local areas can modify the basic approach given to them, but it is not assumed that they can or should build their own curriculum. Further, the new reforms are based on a fragmentation of the curriculum. Such an emphasis on specialized subjects fits well into the fragmented, competing structure of in-service institutes. Conversely, the community school movement was never able to develop detailed curriculum guides and easy-to-follow materials, and integrationists were not really able to subordinate the in-service institutes of subject matter specialists to their scheme.

The Organization of Teacher Socialization

Third, a great deal could be said about the lack of an adequate socializing structure to sustain the community school philosophy and ideal. Other studies have mentioned this lack of widespread reform in teacher training practices. At least 90% of the needed 15,000 elementary teachers are trained in private colleges and institutes (Swanson 1968). Many of these institutions are seriously lacking in facilities. They have virtually no libraries, few faculty members with even M.A.-level training, and are seriously overcrowded (Swanson 1968). Such schools have been accredited by the Department of Education but are not subject to strenuous curriculum control or supervision. Unlike the public normal schools and more prestigious universities, they offer little or no social science-based or community-oriented training. This ultimately throws the training burden on the in-service workshop system. The limitations of the workshops for serious retraining efforts have been discussed. In short, this leaves the movement without any real hope of socializing new teachers _or_ of resocializing older teachers.

The Social Organization of Villages

Fourth, another major structural factor, village social organization, has been suggested by an American anthropologist (Sibley 1961). In the classic tradition of applied anthropologists (Spicer 1952; Erasmus 1961), Sibley points out that many purok (neighborhood) organizations do not coincide with the actual social organization of the village. Those regions arbitrarily marked as puroks may include two feuding kin groups or cut across traditional work groups or patron-client

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relationships. Interestingly, such _purok_ organizing efforts had prob-
lems similar to Chinese communist organizing efforts which also created
arbitrary districts and work groups (Geddes 1963). Organizing non-
factional or artificial community groups would have become a major
problem, _but puroks_ may never have been seriously used to mobilize
people into functional action groups. Bernardino reveals that _puroks_
were often created in name only to fulfill administrative directives
(1957). The interesting point is not that this was a major problem in
most districts, but that educators were no more aware of the social
organization of the village than they were of the educational
bureaucracy.

The Regulation of National Government Bureaucracies

Besides basic problems within the educational bureaucracy, one
must also understand the inherent power struggles among national bureau-
cracies (Abueva 1959). The highly partisan and competing nature of the
various national agencies filters down to the town and village levels.
Theoretically, all agency representatives jointly work out a rational
plan for a given community's development. Unfortunately, each agent
must satisfy a series of special directives and is evaluated for his
response to his superior. Second, these agents must also cooperate
with the local officials who may also be feuding and competing. Essen-
tially, there are no rewards, incentives, or punishments for actually
working together. Each agency or local official is all too anxious to
win small victories over the opposition to gain the president's favor
and increase its budget or pork barrel allocation. To avoid the
rivalries and conflict of such a partisan, unstructured situation,
working independently becomes the safest, most effective solution.
Much more serious research is needed on the sociology of inter-agency
relations but the community school movement obviously suffered from
the struggles of these competing agencies.

The Growth of Other Community Development Programs

Besides the five previously mentioned structural or organiza-
tional problems, hindsight reveals many related historical developments
which very likely affected the community school movement. First, the
government initiated a national community development organization
(PACD) and greatly extended efforts in agricultural extension, food
production and preservation, and rural health improvement. Second,
several private rural development efforts were also organized such
as the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement (PRRM) by Chinese
nationalist refugee, Jimmy Yen, and the Federation of Free Farmers by
Christian socialist, Gerald Montemayor. Finally, AID (I.C.A.) and

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JUSMAG advisors assisted not only the PACD but numerous other rural development programs such as road building, rural credit, barrio self-rule, land reform, and rice price supports (Rivera and McMillan 1954; Starner 1961). In other words, the community school movement was eclipsed by other government and private efforts to begin developing and enfranchising the politically restless rural people. As specialists began entering rural communities, teachers and school leaders deferred to this new breed of community development experts (Sinco 1961).

The Growth of Secondary Education

Second, since 1957 secondary education enrollment has increased 64%, from 392,768 to 645,229, which is double the population increase in the high school age group. Consequently, the percentage of high school age children in school has increased from 18% to 23% (Swanson 1968; page 9). In response, several hundred new private high schools, over a hundred public general and technical high schools, and over 1,000 barrio high schools have sprung up in the rural areas in the past fifteen years. This growth is still far below the demand, but it represents a 20% greater increase than the elementary enrollment (4,974,121 or 96% of the age group 7-12) (Swanson 1968; page 5). This trend reflects the near universal desire of parents for their children to escape poverty through education and a white collar job (Carroll, et al. 1968; Pal 1963). Education is often seen as the only hope of improving one's social and economic position, and elementary education and even high school education have become inadequate preparation for white collar jobs.

This strong public demand and the continued rise in minimum educational requirements have moved the elementary schools away from a heavy vocational or community orientation. In ranking curriculum subjects, parents and teachers generally agreed that English, Filipino, mathematics, and science were most important, and that work education, agriculture, home economics, and shop were less important. The parents would like the schools to provide more preparation for higher education and less community or work education. This emphasis can be seen in the data to be presented in this chapter (Tables 2.2, 2.4, 2.5). The growth of Orata's barrio high school movement to over 1,000 schools in less than four years is dramatic evidence of rural aspirations for higher education. Parents, despite their lack of formal education, also have some idea that school activities are the best training for higher education. This is not to imply, however, that parents are actively pressing for curriculum changes and control (see Chapter 4). At best, their preferences are known by teachers. Teachers and schools, then, are being socialized both from above (the current curriculum reformers) and below (parents) to gradually move the curriculum emphasis toward better

preparation for advanced education. No small part of this trend is attributable to the growth of, demand for, and growing access to second-ary education.

The Shift in Foreign Aid to Education

A third historical trend which eroded the community school approach was the general shift of foreign aid to education from grass roots, elementary education projects to higher education. Several international programs exhibit a pattern of starting with elementary education, becoming disillusioned with the enormity of the problems, and finally, shifting to "limited institution-building." UNESCO started with the community school and is presently running a teacher education program (University of the Philippines) for provincial leaders. AID was extensively involved in elementary textbook printing and scholarships to public school administrators. They have since phased out education programs, "in view of private foundation interest in educational development" (Westley 1967). Subsequently, the Ford, Rockefeller, and Asia Foundations have concentrated on faculty train-ing in higher education and a few key experimental projects such as the rice research institute, a business administration institute, and an Asian cultural center. Even the Peace Corps started in the village elementary schools and subsequently shifted primarily to public and private normal schools and high schools. Rural education no longer receives very much incentive from outside sources, and leaders in rural education have been left largely to their own designs and resources.

A Summary of the Community School Movement

A great many reasons have been presented to explain the decline of the community school movement. This analysis is, of course, a gener-alized explanation, and no attempt has been made to weigh the relative importance of each factor. Nor has the analysis concentrated on the many residual effects of the movement on the present community school and teacher civic behavior. What remains of the community school idea will be explicitly and implicitly presented in the ensuing discussion of rural schools and teacher civic behavior. It has been pointed out that the community school grew out of a real need but was plagued with important philosophical land organizational oversights. Many of these problems have been well documented by students of the approach, and this brief analysis simply seeks to restate the problems in a concep-tually different way. It appears that educators, in their initial enthusiasm to institute the approach, did not allow the idea to germi-nate and grow from the felt needs of teachers and communities. A great

many directives and program quotas came down to local schools, and many community projects and purok organizations were ritually initiated and superficially completed. In the process, leaders overestimated the capabilities of teachers and failed to fully anticipate the contradictions in curriculum approaches, the power struggles among development agencies, the complexity of community social structure, and the leaders lack of control over teacher socialization. Ultimately, the entire movement was eclipsed by various historical trends such as the rise of national community development programs, the growth of secondary education, and the shift of foreign aid to higher education.

NEW COMMUNITY SCHOOL APPROACHES

At least in the research area there has been a rebirth of the community school approach. The present director of schools, Juan Manuel, is a strong advocate of the approach, and President Marcos has made various efforts to enlist the public schools in his national development programs. Last year's themes were "social action year" and the "four challenges" of poverty, illiteracy, food production, and delinquency. President Marcos instructed the schools to do more on all of these problems. The First Lady also requested the help of the teachers in her beautification campaign. This consisted of teachers' providing trees and shrubbery for planting along the national and provincial highways. Students and teachers planted seedlings and donated time and money for constructing protective fences.

The president's major request of 1967 was for schools to teach about and plant "miracle rice" in demonstration school plots. Schools with extra land areas have farmers come in to plant and harvest the rice on a share basis. In the research region there was little evidence that those schools with plots were relating them to curriculum work or to practical agricultural training. Another major campaign was to mobilize teachers and students in various regional reforestation programs. This was occurring all over the islands and the province sent a number of teachers and scouts from selected schools to join the three-day ceremony and planting. There is, then, pressure from national political and educational leaders to involve the schools again in general community development and in the special presidential improvement campaign.

The type and degree of reinstitution of the community school approach undoubtedly varies from province to province. In our region, despite efforts of some school officials to develop a variety of programs, the main activity was community beautification campaigns. The entire purok program was geared to visits from the director of public

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schools and the director of adult and community education. These events were very much in the tradition of "palabas" (to show off or display) with a large fiesta-like program of entertainment and eating for the visiting dignitaries. The idea is to show the visitors impeccable hospitality and gratitude for their visit. Indeed, purely professional meetings would be culturally quite inappropriate. Any program must have singing, dancing, skits, and inspirational speeches by political and school leaders. Visiting officials also tour various sites that have been cleaned and painted. Upon arriving at the sites the visitors praise the work, and the host school and community officials humbly accept the praise and in return provide food and drink. Such events culminate a successful year of purok activities.

During the school year, purok activities were generally carried out twice a week for about one and one-half hours after regular classes. Teachers supervised their classes in street cleaning and asked parents to construct decorative flower beds and small picket fences on house fronts. Parents cooperated by either constructing or employing someone to construct these projects. Cooperation was very good in all municipalities and villages visited, although some people complained that decorative fences served no purpose. A second activity was some type of home food production project for each child such as a small garden plot, a pig, or several chickens. The home projects were particularly emphasized for the intermediate (5th and 6th grade) students. Teachers occasionally visited these projects, but no attempts to work with adults were observed or reported. Children seemed to be using the techniques of parents rather than following something new taught by teachers.

Specialization of Personnel and Programs

The new approach is a substantial retreat from the original scattergun approach of all students and teachers doing all worthwhile activities in all villages. Districts relied much more on a community education coordinator who was responsible for planning and assisting all district activities. The coordinator was usually a central school teacher who had been released from at least half his teaching load. He was responsible for the yearly district report, and for organizing community meetings, literacy classes, and beautification campaigns. This relieved other school heads and teachers of such administrative burdens.

A second form of greater specialization was in the programming of the total district program. Each district arbitrarily assigned to different barrios certain types of projects, such as literacy, string bands, sanitary toilets, or fencing campaigns. This gave each district a full range of programs without committing all personnel in all areas.

As previously mentioned, the general beautification campaign over-
lapped the specialization in other activities. In several districts,
the string band became very popular and also spread beyond the village
initially designated. Of all the activities, parents seemed most en-
thusiastic about their children learning to play music.

Characteristic of all these specialized projects was the or-
ganizing process of each barrio. Generally, the community coordinator
organized either "community assemblies" or "community leadership train-
ing workshops." The difference between the two approaches was not very
apparent. Both approaches used large opening meetings, inspirational
talks, singing, dancing, and an elaborate luncheon, and both elicited
public pledges of support from various political, civic, and religious
leaders. In several instances outside speakers from the rural health
or the community development agency made informative presentations.
With the exception of two villages, however, the meetings were not for
decision-making or planning. It was difficult to tell who actually
led, and school and lay officials seemed reluctant to appear too for-
ward. In addition, no working committees or responsibilities were
set up for the future. One exception was a village which decided to
invite a community development worker to teach mushroom culturing.
The villages made pledges to try this extra income producing technique.
Another exception was the previously mentioned district-wide beautifi-
cation contest. In general, the initial mobilizing meetings were not
followed up with more general meetings or with further community or-
ganizing in the puroks.

Coordination of Community Development Agencies

In theory, school programs and other community development pro-
grams overlap in many areas. A united front or common alliance to avoid
duplication was still being proposed. The present Adult and Community
Education division sponsored two major activities, literacy programs
and opportunity classes for adults. The Manila Community Education
personnel seemed to place much less emphasis on old community school
type activities. Literacy classes were conceived of as opportunities
to teach functional lessons on modern health, agriculture, sanitation,
and civic responsibility. This approach proposes to use other
specialized government workers in these forums. It also proposes to
encourage municipalities to create municipal committees for community
development. These committees are to include representatives from all
local and national agencies and institutions and to develop a single
plan of action.

Few literacy classes and even fewer examples of schools using
outside resource people were found. Only four of the eight munici-
palities had development committees, and those four were largely inac-

tive, meeting infrequently and without a working program. The munici-
pal meeting places displayed many signs with committee names and assigned
areas, but members conceded that the organizations were largely on paper.
One exception was the previously mentioned beautification program. One
other municipality was also quite active in road building, school con-
struction, poultry raising, and clean water and toilet campaigns. These
programs, however, were due to one powerful patron, a philanthropic,
progressive mayor who spent his personal time and money on the projects.
None of the municipalities observed exemplified the ideal of a unified
school-lay leadership. When community leaders did jointly plan commu-
nity development programs, they followed the president's example of a
brief, publicly acclaimed campaign on a particular problem. No examples
of long-term community organization and goal-setting were observed.

PERCEIVED CIVIC ROLE OF TEACHERS

Given such historical precedents and the community school move-
ment's present form, teachers and community members were asked for their
idealized view of a teacher's civic role. The measures were organized
into four major sections of data: 1) ideal time allocation of class-
room and community activities; 2) general perceptions of community
school activities; 3) perceptions of teacher community development
skills; and 4) stereotyping of community leadership groups. All these
data represent different measures of the respondents' normative views
and opinions of the civic or community role of teachers.

Ideal Time Allocations of Teachers

Each respondent was asked to select the percentage of time
they felt teachers should spend in community improvement activities
and in the classroom. Respondents, then, were asked to act as planners
and give an ideal use of time. This, of course, forced the respondent
to examine his educational philosophy and goals before choosing their
ideal time allocations. Interviewers asked the respondents to think
in terms of an eight-hour day and a five-day week. Some community mem-
bers and shy teachers were reluctant to act as a planner and to propose
changes, but most accepted the question as a problem of choice and a
chance to express their personal opinions. Community involvement was
defined as purok and PTA activities. The present policy, purok for
two afternoons a week and one or two PTA meetings a year, was labeled
as 90% in the classroom or academic. This judgment was reached on
the basis of frame analysis (Frake 1968) of the question during the
pretest. Teachers and community members reckoned the teacher's day

as shown in Table 2.1. A majority of parents and teachers (54%) were satisfied with the present allocation of time for community-oriented activities. But a substantial reverse of the two groups occurred on those desiring more or less community activity. Only 9% of the teachers wanted to allocate less time to community affairs as contrasted to 25% of the parents. Teachers were more interested in increasing community activities (34% vs 17%). Taken literally, teachers appear more community-oriented than parents. Combining "very academic" and "academic," parents also seem more interested in having the teachers remain exclusively in school (32% vs 63%). One possible explanation of this more vocational orientation of teachers is a fearful, normative response to the question. Some teachers may have been trying to please the interviewer by appearing to be staunch supporters of the community school notions. The open-end responses of the teachers, however, reveal other reasons why teachers seem more community-oriented, as shown in Table 2.2.

In defending their preferred balance between classwork and community work, teachers stressed the very strong vocational or terminal nature of education. Irrespective of how the respondents allocated time, nearly all teachers mentioned some terminal educational goals. Those teachers rated as "very academic" and "academic" gave more "academic" or non-terminal reasons, but most teachers are clearly less optimistic than parents about students' continuing their education. Generally, teachers feel that children should be oriented toward staying in the village and being better farmers and citizens. On the other hand, teachers feel that schools must prepare their children for college. Although this study did not specifically explore teacher expectations for students, these data and other observations suggest that teachers have rather low expectations for barrio children. This undoubtedly reflects the learning problems in rural schools such as teaching in English, the enormous poverty, and the high dropout rates. Such conditions make most teachers take a very pragmatic position on what the school's purpose is. A vocational or community orientation is considered more appropriate for the rural schools. Few teachers argued that community programs, vocational programs, and vocational curriculum lowered the quality of education.

Perceptions of Community School Programs

Closely related to the data on ideal time allocations and educational goals is the extent to which community members favor purok and PTA activities. Community members and teachers rated these community school programs as shown in Table 2.3. The survey reveals no difference between teachers and community members. Both groups strongly favor community-school programs. Comparing the PTA and purok activities, 20% more of both samples favor the PTA. Taking these data literally,

TABLE 2.1

Teachers' and Community Members' Ideal Time Allocations for
the Community and Classroom Work of Teachers

	Teachers	Community Members
Very Academic (100% in Classroom)	32(9%)	66(28%)
Academic (90% in Classroom)	183(54%)	124(54%)
Vocational (75% in Classroom)	114(34%)	39(17%)
Very Vocational (50% in Classroom)	11(3%)	5(2%)

Teacher N   = 340
Community Member N = 230

TABLE 2.2

Teachers' Reasons for Allocating Their Time Between
Community and Classroom Work

Academic Reasons	Number	% of Responses
More time in the classroom is needed . . .		
to develop a strong foundation for higher learning	86	(25%)
to increase pupils' general knowledge	67	(19%)
to improve pupils' self-expression	23	(7%)
	176	(26% of total responses)

Vocational Reasons	Number	% of Responses
More time in the community is needed . . .		
to spend teachers' time wisely (since the basic goal of literacy can be achieved with less class time)	148	(42%)
to develop better citizens and/or farmers	120	(35%)
to develop more happy, adjusted children	104	(30%)
to solve community problems	56	(16%)
to improve pupils' character and their work habits	11	(3%)
	509	(74% of total responses)

N = 340
Mean Response = 2.03
Mode = 2
Range = 1 to 4

TABLE 2.3

Teachers' and Community Members' Opinion
of Community School Programs

	Purok Activities		PTA Activities	
	For	Against	For	Against
Teachers	233(68%)	108(32%)	316(93%)	22(7%)
Community Members	162(70%)	71(30%)	210(90%)	23(10%)

Teacher   N   = 340
Community Member   N = 230

the community school programs are widely accepted and considered impor-
tant. The open-end data, however, present a much less positive response
(see Table 2.4). Despite the fact that 70% of the community sample
favored the programs, well over twice as many unfavorable reasons were
given in the open-end follow-up responses. Judging from the relative
number of positive and negative responses the previous 70-30% split
"for" the program (Table 2.3) is reversed to approximately a 70-30%
split "against" the programs. One methodological reason for this seem-
ing contradiction is, of course, that different types of questions pro-
duce different responses. Closed-end questions tend to produce more
normative, positive statements, and open-end questions tend to produce
more critical appraisals because the open-end question may be perceived
as a chance to complain. Further, what is often recorded as agreement
with a program or life situation (e.g., job satisfaction) in closed-end
questions is more an expression of resignation to the program or the
life situation. From the respondent's point of view, being against the
program or his life situation is neither very practical nor useful be-
cause alternatives are only hypothetical. Allowing, then, for some
exaggeration because the question was perceived as a gripe session, the
open-end responses seem to reflect more accurately the mixed, somewhat
negative feelings of teachers and community members toward such activi-
ties. Teachers as a group are, however, more positive (see Table 2.5)
toward such programs than community members are.

The most universal concern parents expressed was that classwork
might suffer (95%). Statements such as "children are only playing and
not learning," or "their heads are not properly filled with the school
lessons," were frequent. Second, parents were very concerned for the
safety and health of the children and felt they should not be working
as "street cleaners" (89%). Parents suggested that teachers also lose
status in this inappropriate role: "exhausts teachers and makes them
lose prestige" (61%), and "should be done by other community develop-
ment workers" (46%). Finally, many respondents also questioned the
value of the purok programs: "projects don't really teach community
people" (47%) and "projects lack follow-up, are usually unfinished"
(43%). Indeed, there was very strong unanimity on these four points:
classwork suffers, children's health is endangered, teachers become
exhausted and lose prestige, and projects are not very important ("don't
really teach people"). On the positive side, application of school les-
sons was, surprisingly, the most important argument for the purok pro-
grams. The other major reasons were related to the cleaning act itself
and its lessons on the value of work (28%), actual improvement (34%),
and the development of respect in children for their village (25%).
Combining these three, a substantial percentage saw a "lesson" or moral
value in these programs. In characterizing community opinion, however,
the programs are clearly of secondary importance to parents. Their
primary concern is that children stay in class and get "book learnings."

TABLE 2.4

Community Members' Reasons for Liking and Disliking Purok Programs

Positive Reasons	Number	% of Sample Responding
Community members like purok programs because they . . .		
provide opportunities for children to apply what they learn in school	171	(65%)
help improve and clean the community	80	(34%)
teach people the value of cleanliness and progress	67	(28%)
teach pupils to respect the community	61	(25%)
give teachers a chance to guide the community people	36	(15%)
teach pupils to finish work and avoid running around	21	(9%)
	426	(27% of total responses)

Negative Reasons		
Community members dislike purok programs because they . . .		
reduce classroom time, make classroom work suffer	220	(95%)
endanger children's health and safety	202	(88%)
exhaust teachers and make them lose prestige	165	(61%)
do not really teach community people	109	(47%)
should be done by other community development workers, not teachers	106	(46%)
lack follow-up, are usually unfinished	100	(43%)
embarrass parents who cannot oblige or contribute in expensive projects	93	(40%)
	1108	(73% of total responses)

$$
\begin{aligned}
N &= 230 \\
\text{Mean Response} &= 6.7 \\
\text{Mode} &= 5 \\
\text{Range} &= 3 \text{ to } 9
\end{aligned}
$$

The open-end responses of teachers appear more similar to their closed-end responses (Table 2.5) than in the case of community respondents. In general, the profile of teacher responses appears much more positive than that of the community members. Teachers believe that the purok programs are having a positive effect: "improve community and create progress" (36%), and "change people's attitudes" (20%). A minority percentage of parents also expressed similar sentiments: "help improve and clean the community" (36%), "teach people the value of cleanliness and progress" (28%), and "teach pupils to respect the community" (25%). But teachers are not proportionately as critical about the following disadvantages of the programs: "lower academic standards" (cm = 95% vs t = 31%), "increase work loads" (cm = 61% vs t = 26%), "lower teachers prestige" (cm = 61% vs t = 20%). Second, teachers do not seem to seriously question the value of their programs or emphasize the problems in implementing the programs. Parents emphasize the following: "projects do not really teach community people" (47%), "projects should be done by other community development workers, not teachers" (46%), and "projects lack follow up, are usually unfinished" (43%). Teachers mention none of these reasons. Instead, teachers are more concerned about lower standards, increasing their work load, and losing status and prestige.

Quite possibly, teachers are still responding more normatively in the open-end questions to appear loyal to the current school policy. Or teachers may consider the interview less a gripe session than community members do. In either case, the difference between the teacher sample and the community sample may still be an artifact of the questioning method. Or the difference may be real, and teachers are actually more enthusiastic about their programs than community people. In this sense, teachers seem to be overrating the popularity and importance of their programs. Community members, having experienced little change in their lives as a result of such programs, are not as optimistic as teachers. Data on the PTA suggest the same kind of differences and similarities, but both groups are so much more unanimous on its value that far less is said negatively. Part of the PTA data will be reported in Chapter IV to characterize school-community relations.

Perception of Teacher Community Development Skills

A second way of discussing teacher community or civic role perceptions is in terms of specific skills and abilities. Community members and teachers ranked teachers on skills ranging from planting gardens to voting. Respondents were asked if the average teacher knew more about such things than the common "tao" or person of humble origins. This sort of question may contain certain methodological problems, namely, arousing defensive answers and possible overrating or downgrading of

TABLE 2.5

Teachers' Reasons for Liking and
Disliking Purok Programs

Positive Reasons	Number	% of Sample Responding
Teachers like purok programs because they . . .		
improve the community and create progress	124	(36%)
improve the school curriculum and programs	107	(31%)
change some community people's attitudes	62	(20%)
improve school and community relations	44	(13%)
give teachers a leadership role	34	(10%)
make children better citizens, make them value work	17	(5%)
	284	(41% of total responses)

Negative Reasons		
Teachers dislike purok programs because they . . .		
lower academic standards	107	(31%)
increase teacher work load and time on job	92	(26%)
lower teacher status (should be done by other community development workers)	68	(20%)
lack community interest and participation	?	(2%)
promote dependent attitude in community people	5	(1%)
interfere with teachers' personal lives	4	(1%)
	390	(59% of total responses)

N   = 340
Mean Response = 2.0
Mode   = 2
Range   = 1 to 3

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the groups in comparison. During the pretest, respondents also rated such groups separately on a general scale of "very good" to "fair." As in measures of job satisfaction, respondents seemed to be giving positive, normative responses. The assumed indirectness of not having respondents directly compare groups in the same question introduced as many problems as it solved. Consequently, respondents explicitly compared each group, despite possible problems of evasiveness.

Few teachers gave indications of evasiveness; their matter-of-fact attitudes were surprising. Community members, particularly some males, seemed to react more. They tended to downgrade teachers and to upgrade their own group. Some women also tended to do the reverse. There were, however, no cases of a respondent's ranking either group superior on all questions. Since some skills indisputably the domain of each group were included, the question contained an internal validity or honesty check. It is possible that the observed over- and under-ratings balanced themselves out. Table 2.6 indicates the rankings of teachers and community members.

Table 2.6 presents a formidable array of data, but certain profiles seem clear. Teachers rated themselves high on all skills. Even on planting rice, 53% of the teachers felt that they knew as much or more than the ordinary villager. Further, teachers rated villagers somewhat high or knowledgeable only on practicing religion (27%) and poultry raising (22%). Judging from these ratings, teachers believe they have considerable potential for community leadership and the skills to actually assist community people on a wide range of activities.

Community members generally rated themselves lower than teachers, and to some extent they agreed with the teachers' self-perceptions. There are, however, several very important areas in which community members did not perceive teachers as more informed or skilled. They definitely acknowledged teachers as superior in teaching reading (99%), techniques of community beautification (60%), and knowledge of life in the city (59%). Community members also acknowledged teacher superiority in approaching political officials (50% or 92% same/higher), budgeting (48% or 92% same/higher), voting (28% or 86% combined), and gardening (26% or 54% combined). Presumably, community members think of teachers as more urban-oriented and better at cleaning up and decorating the community. They are, however, less willing to view teachers as superior on matters of political lobbying, budgeting, voting, and gardening, although they do not rate themselves as knowing more. In the open-end responses parents felt that the ordinary folk are fast learning such skills, "nowadays many farmers know how to ask favors, vote, budget money, and grow vegetables for supplements, too."

In the areas of planting rice (67%), poultry raising (50%), and religion (57%), community members were more sure they had superior skills and knowledge. The first two are closely related to the occupational

TABLE 2.6

Teachers' and Community Members' Perception
of Teacher Community Development Skills

	Teachers More Skilled	Both Equally Skilled	Community Folks More Skilled
Teaching Reading			
Teacher	336 (99%)	3 (1%)	0 (0%)
Community Members	227 (98%)	5 (2%)	0 (0%)
Planting Rice			
Teacher	· 99 (29%)	82 (24%)	159 (47%)
Community Members	31 (13%)	46 (20%)	155 (67%)
Voting			
Teacher	220 (65%)	114 (34%)	6 (2%)
Community Members	65 (28%)	134 (58%)	34 (15%)
Beautifying the Community			
Teacher	262 (77%)	71 (21%)	6 (2%)
Community Members	157 (69%)	61 (26%)	15 (6%)
Lobbying Officials			
Teacher	225 (77%)	108 (32%)	7 (2%)
Community Members	117 (50%)	97 (42%)	19 (8%)
Raising Poultry			
Teacher	99 (32%)	157 (46%)	75 (22%)
Community Members	40 (17%)	70 (33%)	116 (50%)
Knowing Life in the City			
Teachers	239 (70%)	85 (25%)	18 (5%)
Community Members	165 (59%)	80 (35%)	15 (6%)
Gardening			
Teacher	165 (49%)	161 (47%)	14 (4%)
Community Members	60 (26%)	159 (68%)	14 (6%)
Practicing Religion			
Teacher	119 (35%)	131 (39%)	90 (27%)
Community Members	39 (15%)	63 (27%)	133 (57%)
Budgeting Money			
Teacher	254 (74%)	75 (22%)	10 (3%)
Community Members	111 (48%)	102 (44%)	20 (9%)

Teacher N   = 340
Community Member   N = 235

role and lend support to arguments that community members do not per-
ceive teachers as community development leaders (Sibley 1961; Castillo
1967). Judging particularly from the follow-up comments, community
members do not perceive teachers as being able to give them advice and
assistance on basic agricultural matters. It is even questionable
whether they really consider teachers sufficiently more knowledgeable
on those categories mentioned as areas of improvement. There appears
to be a real difference between teacher self-perceptions and community
perceptions of teachers. Teachers consider themselves more skilled
and knowledgeable than community members do.

Perception of Community Leadership Groups

A third way of discussing teacher community role perceptions
was to have teachers and community members rate different "groups" on
interest and actual involvement in community affairs. The definitions
of these groups were more of a common sense nature than functional and
do not imply that the groups have a great deal of homogeneity or soli-
darity. Respondents rated the following "groups": 1) government of-
ficials, 2) government community workers, 3) the ordinary person/citi-
zen, and 4) teachers. The question emphasized that these groups were
not just the respondents' acquaintances or the officials of their
town or village. It was phrased to include officials, government
workers, ordinary people, and teachers in general, in other commun-
ities, at other times. Pretest frame analysis indicated that the
respondents actually placed people in such groups or categories. This
is, then, a measure of group stereotypes, with particular reference to
community involvement, in small rural communities (see Appendix A).

During the pretest experimentation, several phrasings were used.
Ultimately a distinction was made between "interest" in helping the com-
munity and "actual" assistance to the community. All respondents were
asked to rate each group and to give reasons for the ratings. Only
teachers were asked to distinguish between interest and actual help.
This was done to shorten and simplify the community questionnaire. The
first table, then, will reveal the pattern of ratings between teachers
and community members on the interest of all four "groups" to partici-
pate in community improvement projects (Table 2.7).

Both samples agree that government workers, government officials,
and teachers are very interested in improving the community. Only on
"ordinary persons" is there a substantial reversal, and 21% more teachers
rate them as less interested. Overall, every group in the community is
rated as interested in community improvement.

The second question, however, brings out some strikingly differ-
ent results. Only the teacher group was asked the follow-up question

TABLE 2.7

Teachers' and Community Members' Ratings of Community
Groups on Their Interest in Community Participation

	None/Little Interest	Interested/Very Interested
Government Workers		
Teachers	101(30%)	224(69%)
Community Members	72(31%)	161(69%)
Government Officials		
Teachers	56(14%)	272(82%)
Community Members	65(28%)	168(72%)
Ordinary Persons		
Teachers	218(66%)	109(32%)
Community Members	105(45%)	128(55%)
Teachers		
Teachers	53(16%)	274(84%)
Community Members	42(18%)	191(82%)

Teacher   N   = 340
Community Member   N = 235

distinguishing between interest and actual performance of these groups.
The following is a comparison of teacher responses on both interest and
actual performance (Table 2.8).

If the ratings on "interest in" and "actual performance" are
compared, a number of shifts occur. "Government officials" dramatic-
ally reversed from 84% interested to only 16% involved. To a lesser
extent the same decline is also evident in the ratings of "government
workers," from 69% to 54%. "Ordinary persons" shifted only 4% from 32%
to 28%. Interestingly, "teachers" remained high (81%) on actual and
dropped only 3%. Comparing teachers with other groups on actual in-
volvement, as rated by teachers, their group was by far the most active
(81% vs 54%), (28%, 19%). Other government community workers were rated
next most active (54%), then ordinary people (28%), and political offi-
cials a very distant last (19%)(see Table 2.8). Part of this differ-
ence may be due to very normative responses on the original "interest"
question. Such satisfaction and interest questions often elicit very
positive responses, irrespective of the respondent's actual evaluation.
Possibly the second distinction avoided or corrected for "acquiescence
set" on the first question. Or this represents the actual situation
where many people sincerely want to improve their community but are
unable to do very much. Such factors as poverty and lack of tax power
were not represented in the reasoning and sentiments of these responses.
Taking these data as a check on the first question, it appears that
teachers perceive themselves as the community leadership group.

To further explore the attitudes of teachers toward other
groups and themselves, respondents were asked why certain groups were
motivated to become involved in community affairs. This resulted in
some very complex but interesting open-end data which were coded into
a number of positive, negative, and neutral reasons. Negative reasons
include "obeying orders, avoiding embarrassment, self-interest, salary
only, and status recognition." Positive reasons include "concern for
community, high professional duty, assumption of leadership role, social
conscience/duty." Neutral reasons include "lack of time and funds" and
"availability of means and time." Table 2.9 is a characterization of
the groups on the basis of total positive, negative, and neutral reasons:
the profile that emerges from these data is similar to the question on
actual work done in the community. Teachers felt they had more posi-
tive motivations than the other groups. Government workers were rated
the next most positively motivated group with 102 actual positive and
96 neutral motivations. Neutral reasons might also be positive since
they refer to circumstances beyond the actor's control. The actor may
want to do something but lack the time and means. Government officials
were rated as having fewer positive motivations and a larger number of
neutral motivations. This rating is extremely critical when juxtaposed
to Table 2.8 where only 19% of the sample felt that government officials
were improving the community. Indeed, this critical view of the politi-
cal officials' motivations indicates a very real cynicism and pessimism

TABLE 2.8

Teachers' Ratings of the Interest vs Actual Involvement
of Community Groups in Community Improvement

	None/Low	High/Very High
Government Workers		
Interest	101(30%)	224(69%)
Actual	150(46%)	177(54%)
Government Officials		
Interest	56(16%)	272(84%)
Actual	274(81%)	66(19%)
Ordinary Persons		
Interest	218(66%)	109(32%)
Actual	245(72%)	82(28%)
Teachers		
Interest	53(16%)	274(84%)
Actual	66(19%)	261(81%)

N = 340

TABLE 2.9

Teachers' Ratings of the Motivations of Community
Groups for Improving the Community

	Positive	Neutral	Negative
Government Workers	102	96	227
Government Officials	96	102	184
Ordinary People	33	101	165
Teachers	201	64	110

N = 340

about local political leaders. In addition, ordinary people were perceived as behaving to please authorities or not having the means and time to do much.

In tallying the main motivations attributed to each group, the teachers were rated as "obeying orders" (88 negative motivations), "concern for community" (75 positive), "lack time/funds" (64 negative), and "are leaders" (47 positive). Government workers were rated as "obeying orders" (84 negative), "only after the salary" (69 negative), "high sense of duty" (67 positive), and "avoiding embarrassment" (59 negative). Government officials were rated as "having means and time" (75 negative), "self-interest" (69 negative), "only seeking community recognition" (67 negative), and "assuming leadership role" (32 positive). Ordinary people were rated as having "little means to help" (78 neutral) and "lack interest in improvement" (89 negative). There are other reasons, but these are the four major orientations mentioned by respondents for each group. These reasons are the bases for the table on group motivations. Again, they indicate the general positive self-rankings of teachers and their negative view of other groups.

A SUMMARY OF THE PERCEIVED COMMUNITY SCHOOL PROGRAMS
AND IDEAL CIVIC ROLE OF TEACHING

Ritual Community Programs: An Utang Na Loob Relationship

Perhaps the most general attitude toward the schools' community-oriented programs is passive acceptance. The most common expression encountered was, "they are there, why should we get rid of them?" Almost no one said they were of little or no value, that they don't solve major social and economic programs. The programs were not characterized angrily as a waste of time, nor were they extolled as essential to the community. Community members are more critical of the programs than teachers are, but feelings were not intense one way or the other. Most people seem to accept the programs as long as they are not too burdensome in terms of money and time. Further, the data on community perceptions of teacher community development skills suggest that teachers have more credibility in more limited, non-agricultural activities.

What appears to happen is a tacit agreement between a grateful community and their patron teachers. Education is highly valued: indeed it is the only real source of mobility out of the community and rural poverty. Parents are grateful for the teachers who come and serve their community. The school and classes are in many ways a gift

from these outsiders, and the community has incurred a debt of obligation (utang na loob) for this service. In return, parents help teachers meet the bureaucratic pressures from their superiors and the Manila office when the time comes for community activity. Parents and teachers go through a number of largely ritual interactions and activities centered around the community improvement portion of the school program. Teachers describe the new government programs and the quotas people should meet, and the community members respond. As long as the demands are not unreasonable, parents will cooperate in minor clean-up programs or occasional sanitation campaigns. School people never push too hard, and local people never balk too much. Neither side is embarrassed, and the community utang na loob is temporarily paid off.

The Overworked Professional: A Moral Stance

A second important insight which emerges from these data is that teachers feel exploited and overworked, alone in their fight to improve the community. Filipino teachers work long days and are frequently asked to make contributions to community affairs, participate in non-school projects, and carry on a school-sponsored community program. They are a responsible element in the community and they have a steady income. Because of their large numbers and visibility, teachers make good recruits for a mayor's beautification campaign, a priest's church improvement plan, and the home economist's formation of a women's club. Teachers form the shock troops in many ambitious projects of community influentials.

On one hand, the responses of teachers suggest that they believe in the old community school notion of the teacher as an all-purpose community leader, and that they have a rather high regard for their abilities and a rather low regard for the abilities of the ordinary person. On the other hand, they see themselves as essentially alone in trying to improve local communities. Worse still, they feel exploited by less "moral" groups and left alone to perform other people's civic duties. They receive very little praise and no extra pay for all these activities. What results is a generally accepted sense of community duty laced with ambivalence, resentment, and a certain amount of self-righteousness. The ordinary teacher, then, reluctantly seeks to play at least a marginal role in community development or community improvement.

CHAPTER III

THE EDUCATIONAL BUREAUCRACY AND
CULTURAL INTERMEDIATION PROCESSES

This chapter describes the organizational decision-making process on the vertical (promotion) and the horizontal (transfer) professional mobility of teachers (Becker 1952). This discussion of the distribution of decision-making power within the organizational hierarchy and the informal influences affecting decision-makers is basically a description of the professional context in which teachers work. The case illustrates the extent of teacher professional autonomy and power in the Philippines and suggests possible organizational incentives for teachers to work in community activities. On a broader level this case study also illustrates the extensiveness of cultural and political influences on Philippine public institutions. It becomes, then, a discussion of the structural relationships between the educational and the political system, and a discussion of formal organizations in traditional cultures.

The usual discussion of political influences on education refers to influences on curriculum content or the use of schools as an instrument of propaganda or the party line. In the Philippines, a relatively stable democracy, such problems have not yet become a major issue. The main outcry against curriculum bias has been raised by nationalists (Constantino 1966; Sison 1967) against American-oriented subject matter. American history is still taught in high schools; comparative literature essentially means American literature; American-style English is the model for grammar; and Americans have written a great deal of the history and social science literature. This cultural imperialism is obviously extensive in form, but its psychological effects are not as obvious and as well documented. Only recently have Filipino social scientists begun to discuss such effects on national character and cultural identity (Bulatao 1966). The question of American colonial influences on curriculum, and the related question of local political manipulation of the curriculum are important topics needing research. This chapter, however, will attempt to explore a more structural aspect of how the political system affects educational decision-making.

Public Education as a Pork Barrel System

The Philippine educational system must be conceived of as a
very important part of the national political pork barrel system.
Politics are constitutionally and culturally built into the public
schools in perhaps more ways than in most countries. The Secretary of
Education is a direct presidential appointee, and the lion's share of
financing for personnel, curriculum, materials, school buildings, and
administration comes from the national budget (Caroll & Keane 1968).
In practice, the educational system often helps local politicians at
all levels to develop and to maintain their political followings. In
a limited resource situation, politicians help school officials secure
budget items for personnel matters as well as materials for developing
the school plant and programs. Thus politicians are obligating impor-
tant community leaders and their followings through this personal pat-
ronage. A very symbiotic but often tenuous relationship develops be-
tween the community leaders, the politicians, and the school personnel.

Decision-Making in the Educational Bureaucracy

Theoretically, decision-making power is vested in the formal
educational hierarchy and the various administrative positions. There
are formal rules and standard criteria for selecting and evaluating
teacher personnel. In practice, however, no one person or single ad-
ministrative position makes a given personnel decision. Decisions on
personnel matters evolve from a bargaining process among school admin-
istrators, politicians, community influentials, and those teachers
seeking promotions. Depending upon the type of personnel decisions,
decision-making powers shift to different bureaucratic levels and to
persons outside the formal structures of the bureaucracy. A decision
to promote or transfer a given teacher reflects the relative strength
of several competing constituencies. A candidate for promotion forms
an alliance with some community influential, and this alliance is a
constituency or personal interest dyad which lobbies educational deci-
sion-makers much like political interest groups lobby legislators.
Quite often, however, the relationships between the go-between (the
lobbyist), the client, and the decision-maker become a formalized
social exchange relationship. Several anthropological concepts help
characterize such personal relationships.

Patron-Client Relationships

The previously described bargaining process which determines
teacher personnel changes can be conceptualized as one type of patron-
client relationship. Generally, the term patron-client refers to land-

lord-tenant relationships between the elite class and peasant farmers (Foster 1969). The tenants are often bonded in family ties, labor sharing, social welfarism, and other well established forms of reci- procity. Foster explains such relationships as dyadic contracts be- tween people that require or take on considerable dependence and in- debtedness. The dyad is a form of social insurance for both sides, and it survives because of the imbalance of power and services between the two parties.

Variant forms- of patron-client relationships can also be found between foremen and immigrant laborers (Handlin 1953), between ward leaders and voters (Lande 1966), between middle-class welfare workers and the poor (Gans 1962), and in the Philippine educational system be- tween teachers and school officials or outside community or political influentials. When found in an organizational setting and based pri- marily on assisting in promotion matters, such patron-client relation- ships are generally more ephemeral and flexible. There are, of course, examples of individuals within and outside the educational system who become "professional" patrons and repeatedly assist teachers on per- sonnel matters. In either case, the analogy of school officials and community influentials as patrons and teachers as clients helps char- acterize the bargaining and lobbying occurring to secure professional mobility.

Intermediation Processes

A second more general concept, intermediation, also helps char- acterize this bargaining process as a cultural aspect of Philippine society. Anderson (forthcoming publication) is struck by the extent to which all of Philippine society is pervaded by the use of a third person as a go-between or as a communication link. He notes that such interactions take various instrumental, affective, and judicial forms but suggests that all forms are illustrations of a more general intermediation process. Intermediation, then, is an important social process which integrates the fractionated, flexible, bilateral kinship structure of the Philippines at the societal level. This makes an im- portant conceptual and perhaps functional distinction between inter- mediation as a societal process and mediation and arbitration as a process of personal or group conflict resolution.

Others (Lynch 1964; Hollnsteiner 1963) have also suggested important cultural (avoidance of shaming and preservation of smooth interpersonal relations) and economic (limited distribution of wealth and power) reasons why the use of intermediaries is so basic to Philip- pine social life. In the Philippines certain people have personal re- lations skills and personal connections with influentials at all levels of society. Such people make excellent go-betweens serving those less

fortunate, i.e., those with less wealth, knowledge, and social skills. These "professional" intermediaries of patrons provide services in the same way professionals such as doctors and lawyers do. Their fee for approaching another person might vary from an unrepayable debt of gratitude (utang na loob) to the going rate of a lunch and a pack of cigarettes. Within the complicated and often cumbersome educational bureaucracy, many uninformed, resourceless people need a friendly patron and intermediary. The instrumental form of intermediation then, i.e., the patron-client-like relationship of politicians and administrators to teachers, describes the cultural nature of this bargaining process in the Philippine educational bureaucracy.

AN ORGANIZATIONAL MODEL OF EDUCATIONAL DECISION-MAKING

The general interaction between teachers, school officials, and community influentials has been described as, 1) a patron-client relationship, and 2) an instrumental intermediation process so characteristic of Philippine society. These characterizations of the interaction illustrate the quality of the relationships surrounding decision-making. But this does not explain how such relationships systematically affect decisions in the educational bureaucracy. A more organizational view of the decision-making process is needed to outline the key institutional variables affecting decision-makers. An earlier analysis of the community school curriculum movement (Chapter II) illustrates how highly centralized the Philippine educational system is. Paradoxically, decision-making on personnel matters, such as the location of power and the basis for decisions, is neither centralized nor decentralized. The authority for and the location of such decisions tend to slide up and down the hierarchical levels of the bureaucracy and to drift outside the organization toward powerful political and non-political influentials. However, before discussing the key variables in the slide and drift of decision-making power, the distribution of administrative powers must be outlined.

The Formal and Informal Distribution of Administrative Power

The individual districts rely heavily on the division and the superintendent (division or state level) to supply basic curricular, administrative, personnel, and professional services. Informally, the superintendent also frequently solves district problems such as conflicts over personnel decisions, book shortages, enrollment expansion and contractions, and school building shortages. Problems concerning

personnel decisions on promotions are often passed on to the superin-
tendent, and he acts as the final arbitrator and judge. Theoretically,
the superintendent and ultimately the national bureau must approve
almost every decision made on the district level. Even more important,
it is the superintendent who ranks principals and promotes and trans-
fers all district supervisors. If, then, a district supervisor still
aspires to further promotions or transfers, the superintendent has
considerable potential to control him. There are, however, many reasons
why the entire system is much more decentralized and more of an exchange
system than a strict hierarchy of superior and subordinates.

A district (municipal level) supervisor does not have the same
power as his rough equivalent in the U.S. (a superintendent of a school
district). For example, a district supervisor does not select and fire
his staff, or select his curriculum materials. He also has no source of
funds or budget. But within his own system he has a very powerful posi-
tion. A district supervisor is the main administrative arm of the
national school system and is often referred to as "the little superin-
tendent." He carries out the division-in-service programs of the super-
intendent and the staff of curriculum specialists. The district super-
visor approves and recommends requests for personnel, school buildings,
transfers, and item changes for all school administrators and teachers
in the district. The supervisor also determines the final efficiency
ratings of all other district level school personnel. Additionally,
he is ultimately responsible for all properties and equipment from the
division and national office such as books, curriculum materials,
science and athletic equipment, and other properties. In short, the
supervisor administers the personnel and properties of his district.
This means that the district supervisor is in a position to make a
number of favorable decisions on efficiency ratings, promotions, sick
leaves, school assignments, losses of equipment, and appointment of
individuals for extra professional credit conferences. This gives the
supervisor many ways of indebting his personnel to him through "favors."
Being so close to the district teaching force and the local communities,
the supervisor also knows much more about the school and the community
social structure, i.e., the local seniority rank of teachers and
strengths of community and teacher groupings and factions.

Although a district supervisor shapes very little educational
policy on matters of curriculum and instruction, he does influence the
extent to which local districts carry out the superintendent's direc-
tives. Some supervisors place a greater or lesser emphasis on given
curriculum reforms and the community-oriented programs. A district
supervisor can complicate the superintendent's task of satisfying
superiors in the national bureau or powerful political lobbies. If
a number of district supervisors do not submit their reports, the
superintendent's annual report on his progress and programs will be
much less impressive. Or if district supervisors do not help the
superintendent accommodate the requests of powerful politicians, the

division may lose the congressman's support. This would mean losing
his patronage for buildings and for staff expansion. Opposing a
teacher candidate backed by a powerful politician may also create con-
flicts which require the national bureau to investigate. The superin-
tendent, then, needs a great deal of cooperation from district super-
visors to accomplish educational programs, to avoid troublesome con-
flicts, and to build relations with politicians. Good relations with
superiors and important politicians, in turn, make it possible for
the superintendent to be a patron. He will have more favors to dis-
tribute to his supervisors. The more favors a superintendent has,
the more likely he is to maintain his control over district supervisors.

A Personalized Organizational Exchange System

What develops, then, is a complex system of organizational ex-
change between different administrative levels. The superintendent
provides the districts with their fair share of personnel items (new
positions and promotions), general curriculum materials, praise, and
promotions to high level administrative positions. In return, the dis-
tricts cooperate on in-service programs, annual reports, appointments
made due to political debts and pressures, and they reduce conflicts
among local school personnel. Organizationally, these exchanges are
supposed to occur irrespective of personal relations among the adminis-
trative positions. In the Philippine setting, however, such exchanges
become personal favors of the superintendent and of the district super-
visors. Both sides are continually building up debts (utang) and re-
paying them to maintain these personalized relationships and loyalties.
Some administrators further cement such exchange relationships by be-
coming ritual kinsmen (compadres or co-parents) with their superiors.
In addition, almost all administrators demonstrate their loyalty and
personal relation with a superior through lavish praise and hospitality.
The visits of superiors to the district are highly ritualized expres-
sions of reciprocity. It is difficult to conceptually separate what
is both a personal and an organizational exchange system. However,
within this exchange system are a number of important variables which
determine the slide and drift of decision-making power.

SLIDE WITHIN THE ORGANIZATION

The Type of Item

The first factor which determines the slide of decision-making
power is, to some extent, built into the organizational structure and

rules of the educational bureaucracy. The type of personnel item
generally determines the level on which decisions are made. There are
four basic types of personnel change: 1) getting a position, 2) getting
promoted to an administrative position, 3) transferring to a "better
school," and 4) changing an item such as a salary adjustment for annual
scale increases or for sick leave. First, obtaining a position gener-
ally involves national and provincial officials, but district super-
visors (of a municipality) also become involved as lobbyists in the
division office. Second, obtaining a promotion is decided between the
division and the district level, depending upon the type of adminis-
trative position. Third, obtaining a transfer of assignment is primar-
ily a district level decision, but a division superintendent might also
become involved as a lobbyist. Finally, changing a salary item is
largely in the hands of individual candidates. This depends upon their
resourcefulness in using informal channels and minor bureaucratic staff.

The Capacity of a Superintendent as a Patron

Second, a new superintendent inherits a division of school dis-
tricts. The existing district supervisors may be relatively unindebted
to him and more indebted to local and regional politicians and influ-
entials for their position and promotions. Some superintendents are
also clearly more skilled at personalizing the organizational exchanges
between the division and the districts. Over the years a superintendent
wins and maintains the loyalty of districts. A division, and the extent
of decision-making slide can be characterized by the general relations
and skills of the division superintendent. The more successful he is
at establishing himself as a patron to the districts, the less power
he will lose, or the more he will be able to minimize the erosion of
his power by independent district supervisors. Second, the slide of
decision-making power will also depend upon the particular relationship
between the superintendent and the district supervisor in a given case.
Some supervisors are the "favorites" or loyal followers of a superin-
tendent and are themselves deeply indebted to him for services. Others
are distant personally and must woo the superintendent or find other
means of getting their share of administrative services. The superin-
tendent-district supervisor relationship must be characterized, then,
on the extent of indebtedness of both parties.

The Relative Influence and Rank of District Supervisors

A third and closely related factor is the overall and the speci-
fic rank and influence of the school districts and their district super-
visors. Certain districts by virtue of their size and wealth are more
important than others. Further, some supervisors are more highly

respected by their colleagues and have, in a sense, a following. They
become the public opinion leaders on what is good educational policy
for the division. Their relatively greater influence might also be
based on being the protégé of a powerful politician or on having con-
nections with high political and educational officials in Manila. This
might mean that such supervisors can circumvent the superintendent's
office and get their own buildings or items for new teachers. The ef-
fect of this is to further strengthen the district and to weaken the
division. The superintendent has no way of stopping such local cir-
cumventions, since they are based on informal personal appeals and
relationships to powers outside the bureaucracy or above the superin-
tendent inside the educational bureaucracy. Indeed, for the superin-
tendent to disapprove of such independent entrepreneurship for the
good of schools in his division would certainly arouse criticism from
subordinates. In short, the slide of decision-making power on any type
of personnel item will also vary with the rank of the district, and the
entrepreneurship or personal influence (with both local and national
influentials) of the district supervisor.

DRIFT OUTSIDE THE ORGANIZATION

The General Relation of Administrators to Politicians

How much decision-making power will drift outside the organiza-
tion depends first upon the extent to which the National Bureau of Edu-
cation, the superintendent, and the division as a whole are indebted
to local and national politicians. This general relationship between
educators and politicians varies with different political administra-
tions and congressional regions. More important, however, is the ex-
tent to which a superintendent is personally indebted to regional,
provincial, and congressional politicians, and to Manila-based party
leaders outside his division. The superintendent's relation to politi-
cians ultimately sets the tone for the division. If the superintendent
comes from another province under the sponsorship of an outside politi-
cian, he may have no debt to local and regional political leaders. If,
however, the superintendent worked his way up professionally with the
help of various congressmen, mayors, and provincial officials, he may
be greatly compromised later. When a superintendent must pay off old
debts or is receptive to generally helping "the party," he may become
partisan and involve himself with the districts. A superintendent who
is continually disrupting district rank orders and cajoling supervisors
to cooperate, invariably escalates partisan behavior among the district
supervisors of both his party and the opposition party. This interven-
tion also signals teachers that they must search for personal sources

of influence to advance professionally. The region to be studied, then, should be ranked on the general politicalization of decision-making.

The Extent of Teacher Competition

Second, the drift of decision-making power outside the organization also depends upon the willingness and ability of teachers seeking a promotion to compete. If all teachers in the district are apathetic, unorganized, and passive, this variable has little general effect on defining the decision-making process. In the Philippine setting teachers do not band together to resist the practice of using outside intermedi-aries. Instead, teachers adopt their own patrons or intermediaries. This further fragments their group and pits teachers against each other for limited professional promotions. Consequently, the main effect teachers have on decision-making is in specific cases when several candidates willingly compete with each other. If several teachers use different strategies to influence the decision-maker, it may create a very different set of parameters for the decision-maker. For example, the different approaches to influence the decision-maker may cancel each other out. A common strategy of a candidate is to seek endorse-ment by the same strong politician as his opponent. This neutralizes the situation by equalizing the obligations on the decision-maker. Others may choose a powerful intermediary of the opposite party and intensify the pressures on the decision-maker. In other cases, the influence of one candidate may be so dominant that there actually is no competition. These few examples hardly exhaust the variety of ef-fects that competition between the candidates and their intermediaries has on the slide and drift of decisions. They do, however, illustrate that the approaches of individual teachers also define the decision-making process.

The Extent of Political Competition

A third, closely related aspect of the general political milieu is the extent of party and factional competition nationally, regionally, and locally. If a province or a municipality is devoid of any opposi-tion party or faction, the single political group has virtually an open field to use public institutions and agencies as a personal pork barrel. This is particularly true if the local monopoly party is sanctioned by the president. Conversely, the province may have a strong provincial governor of one party and an equally strong congressman of the opposite party. In such a situation the parties may act as watch dogs upon each other. They may reduce the most blatant acts of using personnel items as political pork barrel. There are, however, important drawbacks to

a political-educational milieu characterized by intense political (fac-
tional) competition. In such a milieu many politicians stand ready to
serve as patrons or intermediaries. The inherent factionalism in teach-
ing staffs also becomes more crystalized. Both teachers and politicians
feel a greater need to do battle and to use influence for personnel
changes. This, in turn, greatly increases the need for the superintend-
ent and district supervisors to cooperate and find solutions to poten-
tial conflicts. In other words, intense political competition is likely
to cause both slide and drift of decision-making power.

The Relationship of the Intermediary to the Decision-Maker

Perhaps the key factor which determines both the slide and drift
of decision-making is the kind of personal relationship the teacher has
with the decision-maker. The basis of the candidate's or the intermedi-
ary's influence over the decision-maker seems to depend upon two factors:
1) sanctions and 2) sentiments. In a relationship based on sanctions
the intermediary has the potential to indebt the decision-maker by his
ability to either materially reward or deprive him of something he values
such as his position, status, honor, or ability to perform his duties.
The most extreme example might be a teacher using the president of the
Philippines as an intermediary. A decision-maker who cooperates may be
able to approach the president for a favor and thus stands to gain a
great deal by cooperating with such a powerful potential patron. Con-
versely, to refuse the president may bring a transfer, loss of job, or
denial of school buildings and items for the school division. Any
decision-maker at any level will certainly consider the extent of sanc-
tions an intermediary or several intermediaries have. Most intermedi-
aries, of course, do not have the sanctioning power of the president,
but all intermediaries have to be ranked on their ability to materially
reward or punish a decision-maker.

The second basis on which an intermediary may influence a deci-
sion-maker is sentiment. This means that the intermediary has the poten-
tial to indebt the decision-maker by playing upon his sense of honor and
guilt about their affective relationship. The most basic reward for
maintaining the relationship is a feeling of moral rightness or fidel-
ity. The punishment for not maintaining the relationship is a feeling
of guilt and shame for infidelity or failure to live up to the obliga-
tions of the relationship. The most extreme example might be a teacher
using his relationship as the eldest son to persuade the decision-maker.
Since the decision-maker has a deep obligation to help his son succeed
in life, a promotion is consistent with that blood obligation. Most
relationships in this category, of course, are based on friendship,
ritual kinship (see Chapter VI for a discussion of compadrazgo or co-
parenthood), or affinal relations, and the sense of rightness or shame
they arouse may not be as persuasive as in a father-son relationship.

The relative effect of these two factors in any single rela-
tionship between candidate and decision-maker and intermediary becomes
quite complex. If several candidates are involved, the relative in-
fluence of one over the others is even more difficult to estimate. It
does, however, seem possible to give some general weighting to these
two factors. This weighting at least suggests how intermediaries are
selected and how candidates weigh their own potential for influence.
An intermediary who has both a strong potential for sanctioning the
decision-maker and a high degree of sentiment in their relation is
potentially the most influential. The intermediary who has neither
sanctioning potential nor high sentiment in his relationship with the
decision-maker will be the most ineffectual. The two intermediate
categories, high sanctioning potential-low sentiment and low sanction-
ing potential-high sentiment are more difficult to order. In general,
however, a powerful politician can almost certainly override a close
friend. A decision-maker caught between the material sanction of a
politician and the moral sanction of a friend or relative can more
easily bargain to reduce his obligation. The compromise is to play
upon sentiment and promise to fulfill that obligation at a later date.
This, of course, will vary with a given decision-maker and his value
orientations. His valuation of social relationships, personal ambi-
tions, and professional duty would create a composite of his reasons
for being swayed by one influence or the other. But more important
than the personal, ideological position of the decision-maker (Gross
et al., 1958) is the nature of the influences upon him. It is the raw
power or the culturally revered fidelity underlying the relationship
that determines the way most decision-makers will decide.

A Summary of the Model

The interaction of the variables under slide (the type of item,
capacity of a superintendent as a patron, and general and specific rank
of district supervisors) and drift (relation of administrators to poli-
ticians, the extent of political competition, the extent of teacher com-
petition, and the relative influence of intermediaries and/or the can-
didates) obviously needs more explication. Further, if the model were
to be used to describe and predict the behavior of given decision-makers
on given cases, the section on the basis of influence needs more refine-
ment. The initial purpose of this model, however, has been to simply
describe some of the key variables of the political-educational milieu
in the Philippines and to suggest the conditions under which decision-
makers operate. This provides a description of the educational bureauc-
racy in power terms and of the position of teachers in the all-important
process of professional evaluation and mobility. It also illustrates
the cultural nature of a system of social exchanges in the educational
bureaucracy. The data presented in this chapter will describe the ex-
tent of intermediation and the types of intermediaries used in a small

sample of schools in one division. Discussion of some important con-
flict-reducing or system-stabilizing mechanisms in the exchange rela-
tionships between educators and politicians is also included. They
illustrate some of the ways actors in this setting reduce or prevent
unbridled competition and conflict. The presentation of data will be
organized around the four types of personnei issues previously described.

OBTAINING A POSITION

All teacher candidates take a national civil service examina-
tion, and those passing it are the first to be employed. Since large
numbers do not pass the exam (often 50% plus), the division must then
rank all candidates, passers and non-passers, by their scores on a
division-sponsored test. This test consists of an interview and rat-
ing by the division superintendent or his division staff. These rat-
ings are based on English, training record, appearance, and person-
ality. All civil service eligibles must be placed in jobs before non-
eligibles, regardless of their scores on the division test. If pos-
sible, they will also be placed in their home districts and home town
or village.

The Extension Positions

Those positions which are new additions to a district are con-
gressionally funded, new budget items called extension positions. Each
regional superintendent requests, based on enrollment needs of his dis-
tricts, new extension positions. There is always a real shortage of new
extension positions granted, so superintendents usually over-request and
always expect to get less than needed. The Bureau in Manila then allo-
cates a certain number of positions (teacher and administrative) to each
division. These allocations are affected by the lobbying power of re-
gional congressmen and senators. Those divisions with powerful politi-
cal friends will invariably receive more extension positions. This is
particularly true if the congressman and the president are of the same
party. Once new positions are allocated to the division, the superin-
tendent distributes them to districts. His decisions are dictated by
real local needs, political pressures from communities, and his personal
relationships with district school and political officials.

Ideally, the superintendent could use his fifty or more new
positions (this figure varies widely with divisions and budget years),
to objectively meet district needs. Unfortunately, a certain percentage

of these positions come down already tagged for distribution to a con-
gressman's favorite district or teacher-client. It is extremely diffi-
cult to estimate what percentage of positions come already tagged. That
depends upon the strength of regional congressmen, the extent to which
local demands are channeled through local politicians, the closeness of
the superintendent to politicians (local and national), and the general
indebtedness of the Manila Bureau to a given national administration.
Several informants in the research region estimated that as many as 50%
of the new positions were already tagged. That leaves the superintendent
with very few untagged positions to fill requests from his subordinates.
Having so many tagged positions also means the civil service eligibility
list may be deviated from; consequently, many candidates are persuaded
to wait until next year before securing a job.

The Flexibility of Tagged Positions

        The flexibility of tagged positions illustrates the bargaining
nature of this entire system. Since tagging is not a legal norm or pro-
cedure, the national Bureau does not simply order positions given to
certain districts or individuals. To be sure, there are no written or
easily traceable communications. Each politician who has a candidate
gets a general letter from the Manila Bureau authorizing the division
to establish another teaching position. The candidate then hand-carries
the letter to the superintendent and verbally tells him he is from such
and such a district and village and has the blessings of X-congressman.
This procedure allows the Bureau to fulfill their obligations to respond
to the congressman. It also allows the politician to be a patron to one
of his teacher-clients.

        The division superintendent often follows the directive, but if
a fight from another qualified teacher with strong local or national
political backing seems likely, the superintendent may refuse or stall
the candidate. The possibility of open conflict, charges of corruption,
and even court cases or investigations from the Bureau must be antici-
pated by national administrators. For that matter, local district ad-
ministrators, political officials, and teacher candidates using patrons
or intermediaries must also recognize that relentless competition dis-
rupts the system itself. Consequently, not a small number of candidates
can be heard resigning themselves to waiting for another position or
arguing that one cannot fight "city hall," i.e., a more powerful patron.
Likewise, a good many politicians are participating in what might be
called a "pseudo-event." They are promising to help and are appearing
to be a patron with the hand-carried letter, but the necessary follow-up
may be lacking. Proving that the politician did not try his best to
help is, of course, extremely difficult.

Usually, a superintendent can judge the seriousness of a request
for a tagged position. The same holds true for the show of interest and
mediation on the local level. Any general letter of recommendation for
the establishment of a new position or transfer is usually followed up by
a personal communication. If the person acting as a patron does not
personally discuss the candidate with the primary decision-maker, the
request is not considered binding. The implication is that no one will
force the issue. This general use of formal communications and public
promises satisfies conflicting demands of many willing patrons and
clients. Without legal ground rules, such informal mechanisms for con-
flict resolution become necessary. Of course, no small amount of the
stability must be credited to the clients' acquiescence to stronger
patrons, and to the politicians' ability to avoid conflict.

Extent of Intermediation in Obtaining a Position

To assess the extent of the various influences described, a sur-
vey of those teachers originally interviewed was conducted. Of the 275
(91%) answering the anonymous questionnaire, 79% reported using some
sort of backer or intermediary to get a position while 21% reported
using none. When categorized into general types, the following groups
emerged as the intermediaries:

TABLE 3.1

The Types of Intermediaries Used by Teachers
for Obtaining a Position

National/Provincial Politicians	21%
Local Politicians	14%
District Supervisor	29%
Division/National School Officials	16%
Principal/Other Teachers	15%
Prominent Local Teachers (non-political)	5%

N = 275 of 340, 91%

Thirty-five percent of the patrons or intermediaries reported
were national and local political officials. The category "national and
provincial" lumps both congressmen and governors together. With the
exception of two high-ranking bureaucratic officials (an army officer
and a chief accountant), the bulk of the national political officials
was made up of the regional congressmen or people close to them such
as body guards, secretaries, and legal counsel. The same pattern was
true for provincial politicians, and sometimes the contact was with a

staff member of the governor and not the governor himself. In this
sample the governor was particularly active because he had a strong
provincial machine and had given a great deal of provincial and per-
sonal aid to schools. "Local politicians" in this sample refers almost
exclusively to mayors, although several cases reported going through a
barrio captain to the mayor.

In general the data illustrate the importance of local non-
political and political influences. Including all local categories
(local school officials, 44%, and local political and community influ-
entials, 19%), at least 63% of the initial intermediation or lobbying
is carried on by local people. This illustrates a number of important
aspects of how intermediation in the educational setting is structured
and is practiced. First, people generally go through channels and
start in their community or local school organization with more familiar
people. Second, the preponderance of local backers illustrates the
federated, reciprocal nature of the educational decision-making process.
The involvement of so many local principals and district supervisors re-
flects the extensive bargaining between the division and district level,
even though the basic decision is at the division level. Teachers,
rather than directly approaching the superintendent, use local adminis-
trators as intermediaries. Local administrators are only too happy to
mediate or to appear to mediate as the teachers' patrons. This indebts
teachers and thus increases administrators' control over their staff.
Third, the extensive use of local administrators reflects the lack of
connections most teachers have. Teachers with real connections will
circumvent local administrators and lobby decision-makers directly or
through national school or political officials.

PROMOTION TO ADMINISTRATION

The previous discussion on the use and extent of intermediaries
in obtaining a position also pertains to obtaining an administrative
promotion. There are, however, several new dimensions to the decision-
making process on such appointments. Theoretically, upper level appoint-
ments such as those of district supervisors and principals II (schools
of 25 or more teachers), are made on a division-wide selection of per-
sonnel. These personnel are ranked by the superintendent and his
division personnel, particularly the assistant superintendent and the
academic supervisor. Ideally, candidates with the highest efficiency
ratings, based on the following criteria, are promoted first: 1) edu-
cational attainment, 2) in-service training, 3) performance ratings
(accomplishments in improving school grounds, promoting school programs,
handling teachers), 4) outstanding accomplishments (awards, articles
published), and 5) potential for educational leadership (grades, effi-
ciency, experience).

These same categories also apply to lower level administrative positions, such as those of principal I, head teacher, and acting head teacher. The lower level positions are, however, assigned only to candidates from within the district. This greatly limits outside competition and shifts the decision more to the local district supervisor. But the final confirmation still rests with the division, and theoretically, with the national Bureau. Excessive outside interference into decisions on lower administrative positions may disrupt the stability and harmony of the previously described exchange system. A superintendent who meddles with local seniority/prestige rankings will inevitably encounter opposition to and subversion of his administrative objectives. Quite naturally, people in a school district attempt to keep the promotions within their ranks, and newcomers are not particularly welcome.

The Passive Resistance of Districts

One district observed provides an excellent illustration of passive resistance by districts. This small district had received a new supervisor from a large adjacent town. Various people in the interviews indicated that many teachers and administrators were disgruntled with the appointment of an outsider. They emphasized that the person was a weak administrator with a strong political backer. Their resistance took the form of half-hearted turn-outs at an important in-service institute and at the division-sponsored National Boy Scout Jamboree. There was also general grumbling at regional administrative meetings and pointed questions were asked of division personnel. Another form of resistance was the late submission of reports for the superintendent's annual report to Manila. If such district responses were widespread the superintendent would not be considered a very good administrator.

Conversely, the aggrieved district also found it necessary to "court" the superintendent. The district had to make him understand they bore no ill will for his seeming lack of interest in their welfare. This was clear in the elaborate preparation for the superintendent's monthly administrative meeting. The teachers planned a very extensive program, "a barrio fiesta," with expensive entertainment and luncheon. Many teachers and administrators commented on their attempts to show the superintendent they were not a district without gratitude to him. Of course, all visits from important administrative personnel elicit a hospitable response, but this district was clearly attempting to draw a fine balance between expressing discontent and gratitude.

This example illustrates the general nature of the division-to-district power balance. As previously mentioned, the division superintendent and the national Bureau ultimately decide or approve promotions. But a superintendent continually by-passing local candidates may lose

the cooperation of that district. The legitimacy of his power is based
on recognizing his obligations to preserve and not seriously intrude
upon local ranking orders. Such rank orders of teachers are often a
reflection of local family cliques and factions. They are intimately
connected with the basic social organization or social stratification
of a given community. Too much intrusion from outside decision-makers
in cases with competition and polarization could escalate into a variety
of administrative problems.

The superintendent does have considerable powers of persuasion,
e.g., obstructing the processing of district personnel papers, by-passing
the district for important national and regional in-service credit activ-
ities, rejecting requests for sick leave pay, not supplying adequate
books and athletic materials, and generally not being active in getting
new school buildings and teacher positions. Clearly, the superintendent
has a number of important powers, but the threat of passive resistance
techniques and of forcing administrative review from superiors on given
cases tends to balance his power. Unless either administrative level
has an over-powering political backer, this exchange system does not
easily break down.

The Promotion Criteria as an Administrative Pseudo-Event

Although an exchange system generally operates on matters of
promotion, the division superintendent does have powerful techniques to
legitimize his decisions. He or his staff can manipulate the "objective"
evaluation criteria. A superintendent can overrule the promotion rank-
ings of the lower levels by recomputing the various evidences used for
ranking the eligible candidates. Administrative candidates are ranked
on the following categories:

<div align="center">

Criteria Used for Professional
Ratings and Promotions
</div>

1.	Teacher Proficiency/Performance	10 points
2.	Educational Attainment	5 points
3.	In-Service Training Credits	5 points
4.	Scholarships, Grants	2 points
5.	Outstanding Accomplishments	4 points
	(extracurricular, e.g., scouts	
	published articles, school grounds)	
6.	Leadership Potential	10 points
	a. grades (25%)	
	b. three-year average efficiency (25%)	
	c. teaching experience (50%)	

The efficiency ratings are given by the principal or head teacher in charge of the teacher. In the case of higher administrators, the district supervisor ranks all school heads on quality of their reports, participation in school and community affairs, and comments from visiting division personnel. In theory, the rating is based on several observations of the teacher or administrator, but in practice the ordinary administrator has little time to carefully observe each teacher or lower level administrator. Local administrators, as indicated in the case study of curriculum/in-service activities (Chapter II), are frequently drawn from their schools into organizing extracurricular activities such as scouting, athletics, and PTA. Second, a tradition of "loose," relatively uncritical supervision also helps explain the lack of actual personnel evaluations. Face-to-face professional ratings can easily be misconstrued as a personal attack on one's integrity (amor propio) (Lynch 1964). Consequently, administrators are careful to avoid causing "hiya" (shame) (Bulatao 1964) and a possible loss of face in public. Third, administrators seem to have very little formal training in evaluating personnel performance, and rating forms and procedures for rating are lacking.

What results, then, is a set of efficiency ratings virtually identical for every candidate. Almost every teacher is rated very satisfactory, and a few are rated excellent. This lack of differentiation is also true of the administrative personnel. The category "educational attainment" provides little differentiation between candidates seeking promotion. Picking up the required courses in a local diploma mill is easy, and most candidates have very similar graduate credits for administrative positions. Almost no one finishes the M.A. thesis; consequently, the only differentiation will be on units. This same lack of differences generally holds true for leadership potential, particularly when grades, years of experience, and average efficiency are used. There is no weighting of grades on the basis of school quality, and differences between candidates at the administrative level are not great. The two areas of the entire promotion criteria which do seem to show variation are the in-service training credits (5 points) and the outstanding accomplishments (4). Achieving points in these categories is often due to support and recommendations from district and division level administrators. These high administrative officials select the representatives for in-service training conferences and award the certificates of attendance which gain professional points. In effect, this means that such categories give the raters leeway for adjusting the ratings.

In discussing the promotion criteria and general promotion procedure with district and division administrators, many claims and counter-claims of manipulating the ratings were reported. The division superintendent often recomputed the ratings given by local district supervisors. On the basis of new computations, such as new evidence of in-service

participation, extra courses, or an adjustment of maximum points possible per category, the local rankings may be shifted. If local supervisors are acting as a patron to a given teacher and a powerful backer, they may well carry the protest to the national level and request an investigation. Such action, of course, will cost time and money and in the long run will not gain a favored place for a district in the division distribution of rewards. If no one on the local level contests, the superintendent's rankings will determine which of several candidates gets the promotion. The aforementioned procedure is a common means of manipulating appointments within the district or for drawing candidates from a division-wide level.

In a related technique of manipulation, particularly on candidates for higher level positions (i.e., selected from the total division), weaker candidates are purposely chosen to oppose the favored candidate. There are many possible candidates with roughly equal efficiency ratings, but the superintendent previews several candidates and ranks the top three so that one is clearly superior on the "objective" criteria. To some extent this kind of "pseudo-event" is also used by district supervisors on lower level promotions such as head teacher. But this technique is more applicable on the division level since a great many candidates from different, unknown districts are considered. There is virtually no way a candidate from a given district can challenge the superintendent's final selection and prove he was unfairly excluded.

In summary, it must be emphasized that all selections are not made prejudicially, and the superintendent is not continually over-ruling subordinate administrators. As indicated previously, candidates usually must reach at least a minimal level of competence, and in a sense, all are legitimately "qualified" for the positions, promotions, and transfers. The real competitiveness of the system is in the skill of selecting a good patron and in his ability to persuade the decision-maker. The endurance of this complex exchange system depends upon give-and-take, teacher apathy, and conflict-reducing mechanisms such as tagging and the "objective" criteria for ranking. Attacking such institutionalized and formal mechanisms as unjust is difficult, and despite suspicion and grumbling, the promotion system endures.

TRANSFER OF TEACHERS

The third type of personnel promotion is moving to a "good" or preferred school. In the Philippine setting this generally means moving to one's home community and not necessarily moving to a school having a better program or administration. There certainly are differences between the overall quality of school staffs, their grounds and buildings, and

administrators. But such differences would not be as pronounced or as important as the social and economic advantages of staying in the home community. A teacher often inherits assistance in establishing a household, e.g., a plot of land, or building materials from the family compound. He is also close to family and friends in times of need and can solicit labor from poorer kin. In the case of an unmarried female teacher, being close to the family is necessary for protecting her honor and virginity. The family can also assist her in courtship and mate selection. In reverse, home residence also helps the family of origin through greater salary sharing and through raising the family community status. The Philippine family of at least one ascending and descending generation is still close-knit and residential and provides many advantages and forms of security.

The problems of overcoming past subordinate roles as a student and child, and the possibility of compromising professional standards to past friends and relatives generally are not arguments against home town placement. Indeed, the entire placement system is set up to allow and to encourage teachers to return to their home villages and towns. Every qualified teacher (The Teacher Magna Charta Law) is given the priority of returning to his home place. Consequently, moving to a better school in the Philippines generally means something quite different from the motivations of American teachers for transferring (Becker 1952).

Decision-making on the transfer of teachers is more the prerogative of the district level than in the two previous cases. But as in other personnel cases, the assistance of outside political patrons can be very important. This is particularly true if the district supervisor is indebted to local politicians. At the district level, personal relations with the supervisor also become very important. To gain insight into the role of the district supervisor, professional case histories of sixty-five teachers in one town and one large barrio were collected. This represents only a very small sample of teachers over a twenty-year time span and several different district supervisors. Despite these limitations, the statistics do give some feeling for the relative influences on the decision-makers. Unlike the data on promotions, the following data come from the actual decision-maker and were spot checked with the teacher in question.

Approximately 65% of those transfer cases sampled used some kind of intermediary. This is somewhat lower than the survey results on the use of intermediaries (65% vs 75%). Why more teachers surveyed report using a backer is not clear. Interestingly, most of the cases in the smaller study using a backer were not civil service eligibles. Those coded "merit" or not using a backer were transferred largely by applying and waiting from one to several years for an opening. Ultimately, their record and service were rewarded with the positions of their choice. This illustrates a point made earlier, that professional advancement is

TABLE 3.2

The Types of Intermediaries Used by Teachers
for Obtaining a Transfer (Case Data)

	Town	Village	Total
Political Influence	9 (22%)	5 (20%)	14 (22%)
a. national	(3)	(2)	(5)
b. local	(3)	(2)	(5)
c. informal community leaders	(3)	(2)	(4)
District Supervisor	8 (20%)	9 (36%)	17 (26%)
Division / National Educational Administrator	5 (10%)	2 (8%)	7 (10%)
Special Skills of Teachers	3 (7%)	1 (4%)	3 (5%)
Merit Basis	15 (38%)	8 (32%)	23 (37%)
	40	25	N = 65

possible without a backer. The reverse of this is that those less quali-
fied have a greater need to use outside influence.

In comparing local to national patrons, approximately 32% of the
intermediaries used were national political and educational officials.
Conversely, approximately 35% of the intermediaries were local leaders
or the supervisor himself. The third category of transfers is from
teacher merit and self-application (37%). This is roughly a one-third
split between national, local, and individual merit and effort. The
data suggest that the issue of transfer, though basically a district
decision, still has 32% non-community influence. These results may not
be generalizable to other districts. Informants, however, characterized
the district as relatively well-run and not dominated by political in-
fluences and administrative corruption.

Related Survey Data on Transfers
        A second set of data on the type of influences on transfers was
gathered from an anonymous questionnaire answered by 275 (91%) teachers.
Sixty percent of the sample reported using some sort of intermediary and
40% reported using none, compared to a 63%-37% split on the cases. The
backers were distributed among the following types:

TABLE 3.3

The Types of Intermediaries Used by Teachers for
        Obtaining a Transfer (survey data)

Political Officials   (17%)
    a. national   (7%)
    b. local   (7%)
    c. community influentials   (3%)
District Supervisor   (27%)
Division Superintendent   (9%)
Principal   (7%)
Merit Basis (no backer)   (40%)

N = 275 (91% of 340)

These data generally corroborate the case study data (see Table 3.2).
The case study data indicate that political officials are intermediaries
more frequently (22% vs 17%). Local school officials (principal and
district supervisor) are also more frequently mentioned as intermedi-
aries in the survey data (34% vs 26%). In this instance, none of the
respondents in the case study data reported using their principal. How-
ever, the case study respondents did list special skills of teachers as

the main reason for 5% of the transfers. This can be interpreted as the principal approaching the district supervisor for specially skilled teachers or males to improve his staff. In effect, then, the 5% listed as special skills in the case study data are actually transferred through the efforts of the principal. This leaves very little difference between the case study and the survey data.

Some General Dynamics of Intermediation

The actual cases help describe how intermediation processes and intermediaries function. Interchange between the supervisor and the superintendent is quite frequent. A supervisor seeking to keep his record clean will ask the superintendent to sanction or to offer a compromise solution for the inexorable political and personal pressures. Several transfer cases were decided only after the superintendent had ascertained the possibility of complaints from other candidates. In other cases the supervisor and superintendent effected trades between two lobbying teachers seeking transfers to separate districts.

Several cases involved lobbies from local leaders who strongly supported the schools. One barrio captain built the school room for his niece to assure her transfer. Another teacher's husband worked in the provincial engineer's office and frequently helped in school projects. A third case involved a helpful uncle in the Bureau of Public Works who often gave the community and the school gravel and road-maintenance assistance. A fourth patron, a high-ranking provincial engineer sent laborers and a gravel truck to work at the school and frequently helped in PTA projects. These cases illustrate a very basic norm that the school has utang na loob (a debt of gratitude) to a patron for services rendered. Consequently, the school should pay him back indirectly through his client, i.e., the teacher seeking a transfer. The district supervisor formally and informally spreads the word to his teachers that even the superintendent feels the school has a debt. He stresses that the school and he would be walang hiya (shameless, without gratitude) not to repay the patron. He appeals to other candidates to wait, to think of how difficult it is not to reciprocate. Of course, the argument is accepted because it is undeniably appropriate culturally.

The Personal Relationship of Teachers and Intermediaries

Teachers were also asked how they chose and approached their backer. Initially, the teacher estimates his ability to approach the decision-maker. This is based on his perception of his own abilities, the strength of other likely candidates, and the candidate's personal relation with the decision-maker. If the teacher is reasonably sure

of himself and has an effective relationship, possibly formalized
through kin or fictive-kin relationships, he may directly approach the
decision-maker. If, however, the teacher lacks such capacities he will
request help from an influential relative, politician, or person close
to the decision-maker. This intermediary then represents his client
and becomes a temporary patron. The survey data suggest the following
relationships of intermediaries to the teacher-client:

TABLE 3.4

The Relation of Teachers to Their Intermediaries

	Getting a Position	Getting a Transfer
Close Friend	37%	34%
Relative	30%	29%
Friend/Kumpare (Co-parent) of a Relative	20%	22%
Personal Kumpare (Co-parent)	8%	8%
Miscellaneous (Important Officials Not Related)	5%	7%

N = 275 (91% of 340)

It appears from these data that "relatives," i.e. ("relative"
and "relative through a friend/kumpare") are most frequently used as
intermediaries (50% and 51%). Next and very significant is a "close
friend" (37% and 34%). Every other type of relationship appears to be
relatively unimportant. The pattern was the same in the case studies,
but with an even higher percentage of relatives (57%). What the survey
data do not reveal is the extent to which teachers use someone else to
approach the backer. Based on an estimate from the case studies, ap-
proximately 55% of teachers using the intermediary ask someone else to
approach the intermediary. This use of an intermediary to gain an
intermediary protects the person requesting from the possible embarrass-
ment of a refusal. It also may be more effective. The first inter-
mediary may be more effective with the second intermediary who will
ultimately approach the decision-maker.

To an outsider, this use of intermediary upon intermediary may
seem extremely oblique and inefficient, but nothing is more culturally
appropriate. More and more Philippine scholars are recognizing the in-
tegrating and the instrumental importance of intermediation (Anderson).
Distinctions might also be made between forms of institutionalized in-
termediation in public bureaucracies that are culturally accepted
principles of social interaction and between forms that are primarily

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exploitive. Some forms of social exchange reflect strong affect, respect, hospitality, and loyalty. Conversely, some administrators and politicians have created a systematic form of private commercialism and exploitation from their position and they cynically use basically positive cultural values of social exchange. Teachers behave very much like disenfranchized peasants and accept all forms of influence into their selection and evaluation system.

<div align="center">ADJUSTMENT OF STANDARD ITEMS</div>

The final personnel problem of adjusting the payroll for raises, leaves of absence, transfer, or new items does not generally require the use of an outside patron. But unlike most U.S. school districts, the adjustments of such items are far from automatic. Teachers must keep a constant vigilance to get such items included on the administrative lists for approval in Manila. This is even true of newly appointed teachers who often wait months for their pay to clear the national accounting office. Procedurally, a teacher usually approaches the school administrator or district supervisor and requests him to follow up the item in the division office, or if very assertive, the teacher will go directly to the division. In some cases the local school clerk (central town school) evolves into a specialist at facilitating such papers. But since the district supervisor or his assistant, the central school principal, frequently go to the division office, they often handle such matters. Because item approvals often take months, teachers are willing to share a small percentage of the increase with those following up the item. The chief clerk who handles all division requests is literally swamped with papers. He handles all communications from all subdepartments of the national Bureau and from all the teachers in the districts of the division. To get a particular item selected for forwarding, the interested teacher will personally request the clerk to help and will thank him with a small gift of gratitude. If a local administrator is initially requested to facilitate an item, a small gift for his service is also in order. The same holds true for any contact made on the national level by the division or district person assisting the teacher.

An Organizational Intermediary

The other interesting informal development is a division liaison man. He ultimately takes all division papers to Manila and collects checks and other important papers from the central office. Administratively, no division has provisions for such personnel, but

any division looking after its personnel and interests is wise to
develop a division-level intermediary. Such a person, sometimes a
school principal, has interpersonal skills and contacts in the key
Manila offices (Personnel and the Bureau Director). This person be-
comes, in effect, the political lobbyist of the division in the BPS.
Informants spoke with pride of techniques the liaison officer and the
division used to get good service from Manila. The division always
had a big party for key bureau officials prior to school opening.
This expensive gesture assured the Manila personnel that the division
appreciated their services. Further, no liaison officer is effective
unless he knows how to treat his key contacts with lunch, or a pack
of cigarettes, or some candies. It should be made clear that not all
bureau officials will accept these expressions of gratitude, and a
given liaison officer quickly develops a "book" on bureau personnel
and effective operating procedures.

Extent of Intermediation in Item Adjustment

The incidence of using intermediaries for item adjustment is
difficult to assess. Perhaps almost all teachers have used local,
division level, or personal intermediaries to help get an item adjusted.
Those teachers without contacts and with little money, i.e., those most
like disenfranchized peasants, can usually find enterprisers to assist
them. In its most institutionalized form, district supervisors and
division superintendents take a regular percentage for services on all
cases. Quite often this is done through the supervisor's or superin-
tendent's clerk. In essence, the clerk becomes a double intermediary,
1) for his sponsor, the administrator, and 2) to his client, the
teacher. Many teachers expressed antagonism toward clerks and believed
that they were involved in such arrangements. In general, however,
small fees to adjust items are accepted as standard operating procedure.

TEACHER OPINION OF THE PROMOTION SYSTEM

The pervasiveness and effect of these various cultural patterns
and political pressures on the life of teachers can be seen from teacher
opinion data. Teachers ranked three personnel changes on the necessity
of a backer. A backer appears to be very important on all personnel
matters. The percentages for "quite difficult" and "very difficult"
combined were from 49% (new positions), and 74% (transfers) to 92%
(administrative promotion). This corroborates the informant data that
administrative promotion is virtually impossible without some sort of
influence. Transfer, being a local decision and less competitive in

TABLE 3.5

Teachers' Estimation of the Difficulty in Obtaining
Personnel Promotions without a Backer

	New Positions	Transfer	Administrative Promotion
Not Difficult	36 (14%)	4 (1%)	1 (0%)
Somewhat Difficult	91 (37%)	66 (25%)	20 (8%)
Very Difficult	84 (33%)	128 (50%)	111 (45%)
Impossible	44 (16%)	58 (24%)	122 (47%)

N = 275 (90% of 340)

some districts, is somewhat easier without a backer. Getting a new
position was ranked as considerably easier, and this does not corroborate
the informant data. The informant data suggested that it was increasing-
ly difficult to obtain new positions. As the number of candidates grows,
the competition for positions becomes fierce in overcrowded divisions.
Because of their preference for the home district or province, many
teachers are reluctant to take jobs in distant, undersupplied provinces.
There were also numerous reports of new teachers attempting to buy
positions, and many irregularities have been recently reported in civil
service examinations. It is very possible that older teachers, rating
this question on the basis of their experience, are underestimating
the difficulty of getting a position. Consequently, the data may not
account for very recent trends.

Teachers were also asked to reflect on the differences in using
a backer before the war and after the war. This distinction of pre-
and post-war is a natural historical breaking point that Filipinos com-
monly use in judging the performance of nearly all institutions. The
pre-war era was during the Commonwealth period, and the post-war period
is the era of independence. The general trend is very decisive and is
as follows:

TABLE 3.6

Teachers' Opinion on the Current Use of Backers
Compared to Pre-War Times

Much more needed now than pre-war	154 (60%)
Somewhat more needed now than pre-war	60 (22%)
The same now as during per-war	12 (47%)
Somewhat less needed now than pre-war	19 (7%)
Much less needed now than during per-war	20 (7%)

N = 275 (91% of 340)

An overwhelming majority (82%) believed that a backer is needed somewhat
or much more now than during the pre-war days. This is particularly
significant when intensity is considered and 60% feel it is much more
needed now. These data reflect the laments and criticism expressed by
informants and others in informal conversations. Apparently, there has
been a great increase in use of intermediaries, particularly politicians,
in recent times.

IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHER ROLE BEHAVIOR

Only a beginning has been made in describing the complex educa-
tional decision-making process on personnel items as a cultural phenome-
non. The implications, however, for the growth and maintenance of a
healthy, independent profession are clear. The lack of a well
rationalized bureaucratic procedure based on merit has a real effect on
lowering teacher morale. The open-end responses of teachers reveal a
great deal of cynicism and disenchantment with such a capricious system.
In addition, teachers are also realists, and assuming a moralistic posi-
tion is very difficult. Most teachers would qualify their criticism
with something like "that is life, what can you do?" (ganyan ang buhay,
wala tayong magagawa). Such resignation lowers individual teacher
morale and renders this professional group very passive and unlikely to
take collective action. Indeed, the tenuous nature of promotion, and
the strong patron-client relationship of teachers to administrators and
politicians at least partially explain the lack of teacher unions and
professional autonomy in the Philippines.

A second aspect built into the entire promotion system is the
emphasis on community activities and school-sponsored programs for the
community. In the promotion criteria considerable weight is given to
extracurricular contributions. Indeed, the school head must literally
"sell" school programs, enrollment needs, and school improvements to
local leaders. In the Philippines as elsewhere, a teacher who seeks to
rise must become an administrator. Becoming an administrator requires
good community relations skills, associations with local leaders, and
enthusiastic implementation of a superior's community school program.
This overlap of outside influence on promotions and the school-sponsored
community activities impels the ambitious, "good" teacher to be community-
oriented.

CHAPTER IV

FACTIONALISM, VILLAGE LIFE, AND
COMMUNITY-SCHOOL RELATIONS

Many cultural, organizational, and economic aspects of town and
village life affect the schools and teachers. This study, however, will
not exhaustively describe the social organization of any one "typical"
village and its implications for the educational process. There are
several excellent general ethnographies on the social organization and
life in lowland Christian peasant groups (Jocano 1970; Lynch 1959;
Hollnsteiner 1963; Pal 1963). There are also a number of excellent case
studies of single schools using an ethnographic approach (Wolcott 1967;
Singleton 1967; Warren 1967; King 1967). This study attempts a much
more selective ethnography of political factions in one village. The
purpose is to illustrate how village factionalism circumscribes the
civic and political behavior of teachers and how it transfers to the
school setting. A second and related set of data will also be presented
on the general school-community relations in small Philippine communities.
This includes discussion on the school as an indigenous institution, the
points of school-community conflict, and channels for school-community
communication.

Conceptualizing Village Factionalism

Village factionalism has been studied in many different cultural
regions with varying kinship systems and levels of socioeconomic develop-
ment (Beals & Siegel 1966; Wolf 1963). Most frequently, factionalism has
been studied in relation to political rivalries and political party mobili-
zation (Lande 1966; Hollnsteiner 1963; Mayer 1963; Nicholas 1963; Wolf
1963). None of these studies, however, develops a very comprehensive
model for establishing and ranking group solidarity and mobilization
potential for a given faction. The anthropological and political science
literature on factionalism has produced relatively few generalized de-
scriptions usable across cultural groups.

Most authors agree that factions are very flexible, impermanent
groups, particularly those in rapidly changing peasant villages with
bilateral kinship systems. A faction is conceived of as a quasi-group
or temporary structure emerging from more basic social structures such
as kinship, affinal relations, fictive kinship, and friendship dyads.

Perhaps the term "personal community" (Anderson forthcoming) or "alliance group" (Lynch 1959) best captures the emergent, instrumental character of factions in the Philippines. Factions, particularly if politically motivated, are usually the design of a relatively powerful, ambitious individual or core families. The faction leader(s) has built a following upon the social reciprocity required in kin, affinal, fictive kin, and friendship relations. In other words, the kinship system of Philippine lowland communities is not the sole basis for social organization. Power and status in villages is often expressed in factions which may cut across kinship groups.

Having characterized the Philippine bilateral kinship system as a more flexible mixture of ascribed and achieved relationships, it is clear that consanguinity and segmentation are less the basis of factions than in unilineal kinship systems (Davenport 1959). There are many variables and interactions between variables needed to describe factions. The following list of variables represents a very loose model for describing and ranking factions. The objective of the model is to outline a much more complex basis for solidarity than simply shared values (Durkheim 1964), or sentiment (Homans 1950), or kinship ties (Gluckman 1955). The model is a combination of diverse orientations to small groups and to village factionalism (Beals & Siegel 1966; Blau 1964; Gluckman 1955; Homans 1950; Mayer 1963; Nicholas 1963).

A DESCRIPTIVE MODEL OF FACTIONS

I. The Sociocultural Variables

    A. Type Kinship System
        (ideal role sets and reciprocity norms)

        1. structural basis of system

            a. blood kin
            b. affinal relations
            c. fictive kin
            d. friendship dyads

        2. tendency toward ascribed relations (unilineal lineage) to achieved relations (bilateral kindred).

II. **The Interactional Variables**

THE INTERNAL REWARD-SANCTION SYSTEM
(perceived/real)

A. Actor(s) Proximity & Interaction Frequency

1. physical closeness of group members

2. other forms of distance reducing communication
    technology

3. rituals, and events for systematic interaction
    within the group.

B. Affect/Sentiment of Group Members

1. extent of plus or neutral feelings among
    group members

2. a shared etiquette for expressing feelings

3. a formal reciprocity system for sentiment
    expression, e.g., gift-giving, ceremonial
    exchanges, public show of feelings.

C. Composition of the Group

1. degree of status, ethnic, language, and
    occupational homogeneity

2. specification of demographic types most
    likely to be involved in the desired col-
    lective activity of the faction, e.g.,
    young, educated males are easier to mobilize
    for voting

D. Mediation Mechanisms

1. specialists or leader having approval/
    skills to mediate internally

2. specialists who can negotiate beyond the
    group to enemies

3. extent of programmed or unbridled competition
    and conflict

E. Diverse Reward System

    1. a variety of roles, status, material,
       verbal rewards created and used by leaders

    2. existence of clearly delineated status and
       ranks

    3. extent of shared and intrinsically meaning-
       ful forms of rewards.

F. Common Values/Norms (perceived/real)

    1. a similar view of the "good life," and a
       belief in the group as the means to this
       end

    2. a moralistic view of the group's purpose and
       design idealized in their literature, folk-
       lore, or conversations

THE EXTERNAL REWARD-SANCTION SYSTEM
       (perceived/real)

A. Hostile Stimulus and Image-Management

    1. existence of a rhetoric or unity and a
       chauvinism toward outsiders

    2. existence of utopian, futuristic rhetoric
       for the glory of the group

B. Rewarding Environment

    1. extent of pork barrel or welfare state
       measures from macro-political system

    2. management of images and building expecta-
       tions of the leaders' unique outside con-
       nections

    3. extent of uncontrollabe historical factors,
       e.g., the administration, the market,
       seasonal effects

C. History of Group

    1. extent of inherited identity and orientations environment, i.e., the traditions of fighting corrupt, evil outsiders.

ORCHESTRATING INTERNAL-EXTERNAL
REWARD-SANCTION SYSTEMS

A. Factors of Leadership

    1. ideological, goal-setting skill

    2. legitimate power based on acceptance, instrumental value

    3. personal resources, e.g., personality, social skills, money, prestige, rewards

    4. managerial skill, e.g., managing divisiveness, goals, rewards, sanctions

    5. a core of leaders/ followers, i.e., loyal lieutenants, guards

The previous model would need a great deal more explanation if it were to be used in a formal test of propositions or to rank and categorize several factions. In this instance it serves to simply explore one case in a more systematic way. The model, then, will not be thoroughly explicated. Nor will it be explicitly used on all the case material illustrating the relation of factors to village education.

The key ideas in the model center around the notion of a strong leader or leaders orchestrating both internal and external reward-sanction systems. The important difference in this model is the emphasis on balancing internal and external rewards and sanctions. In other words, a given faction derives its solidarity from both internal or group characteristics, such as formal kinship obligations or personal dyadic relations, and from actual or imagined outside threats, such as hostile or competitive factions, and outside rewards, such as national pork barrel allocations. The precise mixture of internal and external rewards and sanctions greatly depends upon the historical precedents and the orchestration of faction leadership. This model tries to recognize positive and negative sanctions as internal and external to the group and as evolving from the orchestration of leaders. Various social structures interact but not without historical precedents and without human orchestration. Such a model really views factions as an emergent type of

social structure rather than as a static or ideal type. It also rejects
the opposite theoretical position that such structures are too imper-
manent for definition.

A CASE STUDY OF VILLAGE FACTIONALISM

In one relatively large barrio (2,500 and a school of 24 teachers),
the basic kin-based political factions and their relation to teachers was
established. This in no way represents the sum total of relations and
groupings in the village, nor is it a full ethnography of village life.
However, these historical cleavages do determine a great deal of village
social interaction and leadership. The initial feud between cousins of
the core family (the de Silvas) was traced back to 1910. The original
dispute was over land inheritance and boundary problems. At this point
an aggrieved male cousin (Mr. Olivia), those close to him, and his
succeeding two generations became an opposition group to the core family,
the de Silvas. For all intents and purposes, the Olivias became a
separate family-based faction.

History of the Dispute

In the early 1900's the de Silvas, and the Montanos, were the
large landed families and the chief overseers/managers of the major pro-
vincial political leaders and landed gentry. The Montanos and the de
Silvas were a loose alliance through the intermarriage of several indi-
viduals and numerous compadrazgo relationships. They were also related
to outside patrons of similar political parties, the present-day Liberals.
Conversely, the Olivias were initially a small group isolated from the
major village families. Their independent power came from several ag-
gressive leaders who, with considerable effort and some wealth, built
a following of neighbors, compadres, and outside connections to the
opposition party, the present-day Nationalistas.

The basis for an Olivia following was partially built from the
neutrality and proximity of the Domingo family, a poor newcomer to the
barrio. Part of this group were tenants to a large absentee landlord
in Manila. This landlord remained a political and unaligned with the
major landed gentry using the Montanos and the de Silvas. As result,
the Domingo group was freer to help build a base for the ambitious
deviant family, the Olivias. The other basis was through intermarriage
with several members of the large Montano family. There was, of course,
no marriage between distant cousins of the two feuding families, the de

Silvas and the Olivias. Consequently, any basis for numerical and re-
source strength of the Olivias came from cultivating others in and out-
side the village.

The Core and Peripheral Families

Without presenting elaborate geneological data on each group,
the factions will be characterized in terms of core and peripheral
members. The two factions in conflict were relatively small groups
(3 or 4 core families plus the descending generations of 10-20 families).
They also had a large number of peripheral affiliates through distant
kinship, affinal, and compadrazgo relations. Some of the peripheral
relations were readily mobilized, while others were reluctant to align
themselves with either faction. Approximately 30-40% of the peripheral
relations of both factions have equally binding ties with the opposite
faction. Consequently, such individuals are forced to remain neutral
or to engage in peace-making during conflicts. Of those more able to
side with one faction or the other, only individuals bound through a
strong dyadic relationship of mutual aid were really trusted to stand
for the group. Without very detailed analyses of reciprocity, one
cannot accurately describe group boundaries; but perhaps no more than
10% of the peripheral affiliates (20-30 families) are really trusted.
This means that approximately 5% of the families were central to either
faction, 10% were trusted affiliates, 40% were dually aligned, and 45%
were completely unaligned. At least in this case, a great many people
were excluded from the bifactional nature of the conflict.

Extent of Bifactionalism

This situation can be roughly conceived of as bifactionalism,
but there was no neat break between one group and the other. The com-
munity was basically bifactional in the sense that these two hostile
factions were the outside contact or patron for two other larger,
poorer, non-feuding family groups, the Montanos and the Domingos. In
other words, kinship groups are stratified, and the more influential
groups act as go-betweens or contacts for the poorer kinship groups.
Generally, the concept of intermediaries refers only to individuals.
In the case of the de Silvas, they were very closely connected through
inter-marriage to the Montanos. A powerful male Montano married a
daughter of the original de Silva family, and their son, a lawyer,
became one of the key local organizers of the Liberal Party. Several
other minor figures intermarried, and very extensive use of compadrazgo
relationships linked the key de Silva and Montano families. The same
pattern was true to a lesser extent between the Olivias and the
Domingos. The Olivias were also close to one portion of the Montano

group. In this case, the oldest Olivia son married a daughter of the
Montano leader. In short, considerable overlap exists, and this creates
internal conflicts in these factions.

General Barrio Leadership

The de Silvas were perhaps the most influential family in the
barrio. They still owned 30 hectares of rice land and had many profes-
sionals among their later generations. They dominated church, fiesta,
and school affairs, and the only irrigation facility ran through their
lands. Their reputation as community leaders was long and continuous.
The Olivias had proportionately fewer professionals and community leaders,
except in local politics. In recent years, their chief leader and patri-
arch had been the barrio captain and the vice mayor of the town. In con-
trast, no de Silva had been a formal political leader. A barrio captain
and several councilors in the affilated Montano group were as close as
the de Silvas have been to barrio political leadership. With the ad-
vent of barrio self-government (1950's), the Olivias entered the only
area of community leadership left open, local politics.

Political Mobilization for National Parties

Both groups have worked to organize villagers for opposing
national parties, and the de Silvas have been very powerful since the
early sixties. The lawyer-son was a kumpare (compadre) of President
Macapagal, and the town mayor was a first cousin of the family. Con-
versely, the head of the Olivia group was a close friend and kumpare
to a trusted adviser of a senior senator in the opposing party. Each
of these key faction leaders was also assisted by several other rela-
tives and friends, and they formed a clique of active organizers. Yet
interestingly, this split was not very evident in local elections.
None of the informants reported much destructive conflict over local
elections. In fact, the key de Silva leaders eventually assisted the
senior Olivia in becoming the barrio captain and later the vice mayor.
The de Silvas explained this default as something not important enough
to fight over. This may not be generalizable to other cases of local
factionalism, and some explanation of this is offered in the discussion
of regulating mechanisms.

During mobilization for national and provincial elections the
factional splits were much more alive and apparent. The local leaders
busily helped outsiders campaign, and rounded up the vote on the eve
of elections. At least in this case, only mobilization for outside
parties and elections seems to make the factions become political in
nature. A more exhaustive account of the function of local leaders

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(liders), campaigning techniques, and the flavor of Philippine politicking can be found in other studies (Hollnsteiner 1963; Villanueva 1966). These accounts of mobilization activities would not differ substantially from this case. This particular study also lacks the voting data necessary to verify the success of factional leaders and factional solidarity. Much more evidence is needed to verify that micro-structures (factions) are the bases of macro-political process (party mobilization) at the barrio level. The splits between factions and membership are easily established, but the actual group solidarity through voting is another matter. Faction leaders were pessimistic about many of their supposed followers. They feared that as many defected as followed.

Extent of the Feud

The original feud, based on land disputes, sustained itself over six decades through several important prohibitions on group interactions. First, neither family, although they were kinsmen, allowed the other to participate in labor and food sharing activities during various family celebrations, such as fiesta, Christmas, baptisms, weddings, and graduation parties. This exclusion of kinsmen from the intimate communal activities of the family unit is a serious social exclusion in a Philippine community. Second, courtship and marriage between distant cousins were strictly prohibited, and several cases of aborted elopements and severed courtships occurred. Again, this is a very serious exclusion marking a real social and affective distance between the two family groupings. Third, there were miscellaneous instances of conflict between both minor and major figures of both groups. One very serious personal affront or public confrontation between the major leaders occurred in the early 1950's and led to considerable polarization. Serious mediation efforts among key community and family members ensued for several years to avoid more conflict and formal litigation.

The factionalism of this community was pervasive and deeply rooted in the community history. On the other hand, open enmity was not readily apparent until some incident or competition between groups in public institutions and programs (see section on school affairs) activated the factions' leaders. Members of both factions readily expressed mild resentment and jealousy toward the opposite faction. But there appeared to be little continual conflict beyond backbiting and social avoidance among older, more polarized members. There was, however, minimal cooperation on community affairs, PTA projects, chapel maintenance, and fiesta committees. Such activities were either "theirs" or "ours." The community was neither in a state of tension and warfare, nor was it one happy, integrated whole. The two factions lived in close physical proximity and necessarily made accommodations

and practiced some social conventions. This outer mask of amenable
social relations was taken off only when events polarized the leaders.
Interestingly, the younger generation was prone to form friendships
with and to court contemporaries in the opposite faction. Elders had
to continually remind their youth that such behavior was unacceptable.

Regulating Mechanisms and Mediators

As in almost any factionalism, some people must regulate and
mediate the conflict. In this case, the large percentage of neutral or
relatively unaligned villagers served as a mediating factor. Key mem-
bers from both factions also lived in very close proximity, and in-
evitably had to participate together in community affairs. Even during
the most critical open confrontation of faction leaders, numerous fac-
tion members attempted to calm tempers and restrain the disputants.
But few of the peripheral people could act as go-betweens. In one
instance a powerful outsider, a lawyer related to both factions (second
cousin), was able to talk to both parties and help avoid a civil court
case. A second important mediator was a son of the de Silvas, also a
lawyer, and originally involved in the public incident. The son later
became a political adviser and kumpare to the older de Silva, and he
appeared to have been an important buffer protecting his father. This
was particularly true since the son was actually the political organ-
izer for their faction.

RELATION OF FACTIONALISM TO TEACHERS AND SCHOOLS

Teacher Membership in Factions

The teachers of the village were scattered throughout the two
factions and in other neutral families. Twenty percent were from the
de Silva group and another 30% from two closely related groups, the
Montanos and the Lacsinas. Only one teacher was from the Olivia group,
and the remaining 45% were from families not related to the factions
or from outside the village. Three of the five teachers rated active
in the community came from the de Silva faction and the remaining
two were from neutral families. There was little evidence that the
community factions polarized the teaching staff. The staff was not
divided into hostile camps. This group of teachers was characterized
by several informal cliques (barkadas) which showed instances of cut-
ting across faction lines. One clique was, however, basically an
extension of the de Silva faction, and they were clearly the leaders

of the school. This suggests that village social structure may deter-
mine staff social structure (see Chapter V).

The relative lack of staff conflict was especially interesting
since two de Silva faction teachers were power figures in their group.
One older, unmarried female teacher clearly had a following of people
who were influenced by her opinions. She often acted as a mediator or
adviser to extended family members such as uncles, nieces, and cousins.
Others in the group perceived her as a helpful, wise, and fair woman.
Although she was an important internal faction mediator and adviser,
she also considered herself something of a community and school peace-
maker. This would suggest that her civic role was not unlike her fac-
tion role, and that faction leadership is not necessarily mutually
exclusive of community leadership. Typically, the school head is cast
in this role, particularly on community-wide projects and general
school-improvement projects. In this case the current principal was
rated as rather withdrawn and without "pakikisama" (social acceptance
and social skills). Several respondents stressed that the previous
principal had been very good at getting everyone to cooperate on school
matters.

The great bulk of teachers in factions, however, were not parti-
cularly leaders in their extended family. There were examples of
teachers educating and loaning money to relatives (see Chapter VI).
But these are not examples of internal faction leadership or external
partisan or non-partisan behavior. To fully explore teacher roles inside
and outside factions, data are needed from many villages. It would seem,
however, that only a small percentage of teachers will be wise elders
and opinion leaders in their extended families. Further, few teachers
are likely to be community-wide mediators and opinion leaders. This
would undoubtedly be contingent upon their social and technical skills,
time to be involved, and personal relations with the opposite factions.
Preliminary evidence suggests, however, that teachers and other middle-
class people do not play the role of community mediator as often as
theorists on participatory democracy might hope.

Teacher Political Partisan Behavior

Another role both aligned and unaligned teachers might play is
that of a partisan campaigner for given candidates and parties. Inform-
ants reported that the previously mentioned woman leader and another male
teacher from a non-aligned family were very interested in and outspoken
about politics. Another older female teacher from the town and a former
shop teacher were also rated as quite interested in politics; i.e., they
had a propensity to discuss candidates and their views publicly, and
to attend political rallies. But the majority of teachers were rated as
rather neutral, or as interested but afraid to voice their opinions.

This strongly supports the survey findings that few teachers actually participate in political events, but 35% feel restricted by the campaign prohibition law (see Table 4.1). The existence of community pressure was underscored by reports of forced teacher transfers. In six different communities, teachers had been transferred for being "too political." Although there have been few such transfers, these cases illustrate the potential power of the community.

The survey also explored the problems posed for teachers by having political candidates in the family. "Family members" included first cousins and in-laws of the immediate family. Thirty-four teachers reported having political relatives, and almost all indicated this could and did present some role conflict for them. They felt obligated to assist their relatives, but relatives also understood that teachers had to be careful about open campaigning. Most resolved the problem by modest efforts, e.g., "to be sure and say good things about their relative and party." The most common phrase used was "not to be too vulgar," which means to avoid the usual outpouring of attacks and sentiments in campaigning. Teachers did not feel they could talk politics on the school grounds, but such discussions could be conducted discreetly in the community. What a given teacher must do, of course, varies with the closeness of the political relative and the importance of the office. Communities are reluctant to accept open, aggressive partisanship in teachers, but talking and arguing politics in small gatherings is another matter. Perhaps 15-20% of the teachers actively discuss politics with community members. Barrio captains and village councilors interviewed gave similar estimates of teacher participation.

The case materials suggest several possible generalizations about types of teachers who may be more partisan than most. Teachers in factions are immediately suspect and must try scrupulously hard to avoid being too openly partisan. The exception is the active teacher who is a leader both within and outside his faction. Small group theory suggests (Hare 1962) that high status group members and leaders are more likely to deviate than low status members and followers. This suggests that teachers not strong within their faction or teachers foreign to the old ruling families of the community will have greater difficulty being partisan. Conversely, teachers who are strong within their faction and recognized outside the group will be allowed to deviate more, or be more partisan. Factionalism will neutralize most teachers, since they are not strong, assertive faction members or independent community influentials of wealth and status. A small percentage of teachers, however, will be partisan precisely because of factionalism and their role within a faction.

Further Partisan Roles: Various Types of Political "Liders"

To supplement the case study of factions, the teacher survey
was used to search for potential "liders" (political ward leaders).
Teachers reporting high general political participation, and with
unusually large numbers of compadrazgo relationships, and with out-
spoken views of the law prohibiting campaigning were identified.   Key
community informants were then used to check the extent of their parti-
san political behavior.   No more than eight people of the 340 sampled
stood out as potential "liders."   Of course, this approach undoubtedly
overlooks the minor forms of faction leadership and participation
found in more careful micro-analysis.   The few cases located have been
developed into a typology of teacher-liders: 1) the traditional lider,
2) the satellite lider, and 3) the lider-mediator.   Such a typology
might also be applied to other types of professionals and middle class
people of the villages.

Teachers as Traditional Leaders

There were two conspicuous examples of teachers with large fol-
lowings and extensive political capital in the community.   In both cases
these were head teachers in barrios, and they were members of politically
active families.   Both, one a woman and the other a man, had worked
their way up through the educational system (21 and 23 years) and were
deeply tied to their communities through compadrazgo relationships (96
and 71) and large extended families.   After hours of discussion with
both, it was evident that they were "liders" for national parties and
helped mobilize barrio residents to vote.   Neither could actually go
around visiting and wooing voters, but their positions and extensive
contacts with community members allowed them a more low-key, long-term
access to voters.   Both had a long history of affiliation with members
of the national parties.   The woman, in fact, was considering running
for mayor, an office her brother had unsuccessfully sought.

Both these people performed many informal services commonly re-
lated to the role of a "lider" for the villagers.   The powerful, unmar-
ried matriarch appeared to be the general adviser, or ward-healer, in
a number of ways.   She had substantial poultry and piggery projects, a
few hectares of land, a jeep, several well educated siblings, and even
occasionally ran a mahjong game in her house.   Her house was often a
center of community activity; when this head teacher mobilized her
school and PTA for clean-up campaigns or for general ground improve-
ment, the support was widespread.   Brief conversations with community
residents indicated that people were "paying her back" for her many
services to families of the community.   She had developed a consider-
able following of loyal people who felt indebted to her.   The extent
to which her activities crossed faction lines in the village was not

established. Impressionistically, her family so dominated the village that there was little factional conflict. This would partially explain how a principal could be so openly partisan without having the community demand that she be transferred.

The second case, a male head teacher, lived and worked in a relatively isolated, smaller village. Unlike the woman, his family was less politically inclined and far less wealthy. He had worked his way up and, according to residents, had a following of people indebted to him. His strength was a fierce loyalty to the barrio and its problems of water erosion and boundary disputes with another barrio across the river. Being one of the most diplomatic and articulate of the barrio leaders, he had emerged as counselor and negotiator between several families and the outsiders. As in the other case, the community support and cooperation was apparent in school-ground improvements. Barrio leaders enthusiastically endorsed the head teacher. He was very close to the barrio captain, and a staunch advocate of the new land reform law. He was one of a very few teachers (see Chapter VI) actively engaged in land reform education. The combination of the head teacher and his cousin, the barrio captain, also made a very large voting bloc in this small village. As in the other situation, the dominance of one faction-party appeared to protect the head teacher. The other important factor, absent in the first case, was his important non-partisan assistance in land problems. In many ways, this individual transcended the ward leader role and would be even less likely to very openly canvass voters. Nevertheless, he too had a following based on service and could mobilize in a low-key manner.

The Satellite Lider: The Middle Class Professional In Factions

Several other head teachers and teachers might appropriately fit into a category of satellite or secondary lider. Three other male educators had many kumpares (35-45), and were acknowledged by local village leaders as active in politics, i.e., occasionally attended meetings, and liked to discuss politics. As, however, in the case of the very active women in the factional study, these people were not considered "liders" by the local barrio captain and the two councilmen interviewed. They were members of important local families, and two of them were in a family-based faction with opposition. Whether they were leaders and mediators within their faction was not established; that requires considerable knowledge of each faction structure. Interviews with these respondents and several village leaders suggested that their political role may be to extend the faction to non-kinsmen.

These cases suggest that middle-class professional people, in this instance teachers, may form necessary and important supplements to a given faction. The more community-wide leaders a faction has, the

more chances it has to increase its non-kin or affinal relationships through compadrazgo or friendship dyads. On the one hand, this increases the number of followers for a given faction. Simultaneously, it also increases the number of villagers who have affective and/or ritual relationships in several factions. In the case on factionalism, a preponderance of professionals appeared to serve two purposes: 1) they strengthened the faction in numbers that might be politically mobilized, but 2) they also increased community integration by increasing the numbers of cross-affiliated people. These three cases, although highly exploratory, suggest that future studies of factionalism should make greater distinctions on the composition of such groups. These studies should also explore the recruitment and stabilizing functions that middle-class professionals such as teachers may be playing.

Balancing Political Demands: The District Supervisor

Perhaps the most involved school personnel are the district supervisors. In many ways being a supervisor is as much a political role as it is an administrative role. School administrators, given the nature of community factionalism and the strong community emphasis of schools, are likely to be more politically interested and involved than teachers. District supervisors are frequently approached by local politicians and leaders. The supervisor is partly responsible for personnel assignments and for the distribution and allocation of school building materials (see Chapter III). On these issues the supervisor must balance pressures from above in the Bureau of Public Schools and from below in the communities of his district. Few district supervisors, except those from strong political families, will align themselves too fervently with any particular group. This is partly a function of the assignment policies. Younger district supervisors are seldom assigned in their home towns. This allows them to avoid strong political alliances. The older supervisor usually works himself into a home town assignment prior to retirement. This is the twilight of his career; consequently, the supervisor seeks peace and harmony rather than political connections. There are, of course, exceptions to this pattern. The ideal supervisor, then, seeks to balance various demands for personal favors. If one group is favored, there are ways of concealing this and of appeasing the loser later (see Chapter III).

Factionalism in the Classroom

The discussion has been concentrated on the partisan behavior of school personnel as a consequence of factionalism. Several of the teachers and the principal also reported pressure from the Olivias and the de Silvas on the matter of awarding student honors. Within the last

fifteen years, several incidents of conflict have occurred regarding
honors. There were charges and counter-charges that teachers had been
unfair in recording honors. The fact that the Olivias have very little
connection with the teachers made them particularly distrustful of
teachers. Unfortunately, the principal, also related to the de Silvas,
was not in a position to effectively mediate.

Such incidents do not disrupt the school, but they do have a
constricting effect on teachers. If each faction were equally repre-
sented at teacher level, the outside community conflict would almost
certainly manifest itself in staff conflict (see Chapter V). The effect
of factions or other groupings can also be seen at the student level in
peer groups. Nydegger's study (1966) of a very small Ilokano village
noted the solidarity of sitio (hamlet) mates in play groups. Most sitio
mates are all related, which illustrates how kin and kin-factions will
be reflected in school social life. The present study has little data
on such phenomena, except on the issue of who gets honors. Further
studies on teacher treatment of factional or sitio groups, both in the
classroom and on the playground, are needed.

One other piece of interesting evidence emerged from a survey
question on the value of a law prohibiting teachers from campaign ac-
tivities (see Tables 4.2 & 4.3). Parents, in their defense of the law,
argued that it restrains teachers from placing pressure on the children
and parents for supporting certain candidates. A significant number of
parents (22%) feared that without the law teachers would lower the grades
of their children. Teachers would use this approach to persuade or
punish parents for their political affiliations. In the same question,
parents (27%) also argued that the law was bad because it prevented
teachers from being political leaders and from helping the politicians.
These percentages seem high enough to infer the existence of such par-
tisan activities or at least the inclination in some classrooms. It
would seem that a small percentage of teachers in nearly all villages
is engaged in such partisan activities.

Factionalism in School Projects

Related to conflict over grading was an incident involving the
management of funds for building a prefabricated schoolroom. The PTA
president belonged to the Olivia faction, and the principal and key
teachers to the de Silva group. The PTA president and the present bar-
rio council, also basically Olivia, planned to manage and build the
schoolroom without assistance from the school staff. The school staff
countered with figures and plans showing that at least one-third of the
appropriations for building would be wasted or misallocated. There were
several PTA meetings on the management of this project. Ultimately, a
compromise solution of a joint committee was reached, but not without

considerable debate and enmity. In some ways this case illustrates the
classic conflict of professional vs lay control of the schools. In the
typical Philippine village, school teachers and administrators are not
accustomed to villagers making policy; consequently, this would be taken
as intervention. Since factional acrimony also underlay this conflict,
a compromise became even more difficult. Without village leaders per-
ceiving this as a factional dispute, the question of lay control would
not have arisen. There probably would have been little serious opposi-
tion to teachers or a joint committee managing the project from the
beginning.

This same sort of factional conflict also emerged in other,
more minor PTA projects, such as the fence, stage decorations, and
flower planters. In these instances, the general community was en-
listed to contribute to the projects. Two projects nicely illustrate
the functional nature of factional competition, if properly rewarded
and channeled. First, one faction publicly gave money for stage decor-
ations. Almost simultaneously the other faction's key members responded
with "much needed" decorative flower planters for the walkways. Second,
the fence was partially built by one group and partially by the other.
Initially, both groups complained about getting equal and proper recog-
nition on the hollow block concrete panels. Eventually, each group
was given equal recognition in flowery speeches at public PTA meetings.
In this case a kind of "keeping-up-with-the-de La Cruzes" seemed to be
operating. This case was reminiscent of the factional disputes reflected
in the municipal women's clubs studied by Hollnsteiner (1963). The dif-
ference, however, is that PTA's are theoretically universalistic commu-
nity organizations, and a school administrator can legitimately help
mediate and channel the dispute.

The Political Role Conflict of Teachers

A great deal has been said about the overlap of politics and
education in the educational bureaucracy (Chapter III) and in the village
context. The partisan tendencies of teachers have been described as in-
herent in these social organizations. These data do not, however, ade-
quately illustrate the pressures on the teachers' political role and
their adaptation to this setting. Both community members and teachers
were asked their opinion of the law prohibiting teacher campaigning.
They were also asked what positive and negative effects such a law had
on the schools, communities, teachers, and children. This series of
questions (see Appendix A) helps illustrate the political climate of
village education.

The table suggests that both groups generally favor the law, but
a substantial number of teachers (35%) are dissenters. The extremely
high pro-law response of community members may somewhat overstate their

TABLE 4.1

Teachers' and Community Members' Opinion of the Law
Prohibiting Teachers from Political Campaigning

	For Law	Against Law
Teachers	222(65%)	118(35%)
Community Members	227(98%)	7(2%)

Teacher   N   = 340
Community Member   N = 234

feelings. The normative tendency is to be a good citizen and agree with the laws. The more mixed (positive and negative) open-end responses of community members suggest that they too have doubts about the law. On the other hand, these data should not detract from the fact that community members were more sure than teachers that the law is necessary. The following open-end set of reasons gives a better profile of the previously described community pressures and teacher role conflict.

A substantial majority of the reasons (t = 62% and cm = 66%) were arguments for the effectiveness of the law. Both groups generally agreed that the law: 1) reduces personal conflicts and improves community relations for teachers (t = 47%, cm = 44%); 2) reduces community conflict and partisanship (t = 22%, cm = 13%); and 3) creates better working conditions and job performance (t = 20%, cm = 65%). The majority of community members (65%) were deeply concerned that children will be neglected if teachers become too involved in politics. Closely related was the concern that teachers might punish the children of parents in the "wrong" political party by lowering grades or withholding honors (22%). The implication, already discussed earlier, was that teachers will try to convert parents politically by punishing the children academically. Parents also mentioned obtaining aid for their school, and 35% felt that non-alignment was the best way of getting pork barrel. If the school and teachers are not openly committed, either party can be appointed. On the other hand, 35% also felt that the best strategy was open alignment and loyalty to one party (see Table 4.3). Although no majority opinion exists, these data reflect the importance of partisanship for getting school buildings and equipment.

Both groups' reasons for being against the law were more similar than those for being in favor of the law. Both groups generally agreed that the law limits the citizenship rights of teachers (t = 20%, cm = 34%). A similar percentage from both groups also felt that teachers should but could not properly advise and enlighten the community on political issues and candidates (t = 29%, cm = 23%). They also tended to agree that the law makes being a ward leader or assisting politicians more difficult (t = 10%, cm = 27%). The differences in these responses are also interesting from several standpoints. First, only 10% of the teachers were concerned about losing the chance of being a political leader. In contrast, more community members (27%) mentioned that teachers could be good leaders. This implies that they have experienced teachers' being leaders. Second, teacher partisan political behavior as a part of village life is revealed in the statements that teachers can help their relatives who are candidates (13%). Third, many more parents were willing to gamble on a partisan approach to school pork barrel (35% to 4%) than teachers. In general, however, teachers and community members give similar reasons as to why the law is not good for the teachers, the school, and the community.

TABLE 4.2

Teachers' and Community Members' Reasons for Favoring the Law
Prohibiting Teachers from Political Campaigning

Teachers (n = 340)   Community Members (n = 230)

Comparable Reasons

Reduces personal conflicts and   Reduces jealousy, conflict, and
improves teacher community   bitter feelings - 102 (44%)
relations -   161 (47%)

Reduces conflict and problems   Discourages a split in community
for the community - 77 (22%)   by parties -   32 (13%)

Creates better professional   Keeps teachers from neglecting
working conditions and   job and pupils - 148 (65%)
performance -   71 (21%)

Non-Comparable Reasons

Keeps political interference   Makes asking for aid from all
out of schools -   54 (16%)   political parties possible -
                                                          80 (35%)

                                        Discourages teachers from putting
                                        pressure on parents by lowering
                                        their children's grades -
                                                          51 (22%)

                                        Preserves teachers' non-partisan
                                        role as poll chairmen and clerks -
                                                          20 (9%)

Total Positive Reasons   Total Positive Reasons
            361 (62%)   433 (65%)

TABLE 4.3

Teachers' and Community Members' Reasons for Opposing the Law
Prohibiting Teachers from Political Campaigning

Teachers (n = 340)   Community Members (n = 230)

Comparable Reasons

Limits teachers' freedom of speech   Reduces teachers' freedom in a
and political participation -   democracy -   78 (34%)
            69 (20%)

Discourages teachers from   Discourages teachers, who are more
advising/helping common people   informed, from enlightening people
in politics -   95 (29%)   on the issues -   54 (23%)

Makes being a political leader   Discourages teachers from being
very difficult for teachers -   ward leaders for the politicians -
            36 (10%)   62 (27%)

Reduces chances of political   Reduces chances of political aid
aid because the school is too   because the school is too partisan
partisan -   11 (4%)   81 (35%)

Non-Comparable Reasons

                                      Prevents teachers from helping
                                      their relatives who are
                                      political candidates -
                                                  25 (11%)

Total Negative Reasons   Total Negative Reasons
            211 (38%)   246 (35%)

    Mean Response = 1.7   Mean Response = 2.9
    Range   = 1 to 3   Range   = 1 to 5
    Mode   = 2   Mode   = 3

A Summary: Teacher Political Role Conflict

The data on political factions and on opinions of the campaign
law suggest that Filipino teachers experience considerable role conflict.
Teachers often get a position or promotion through a political patron.
Other teachers have relatives in politics. Many also belong to factions
which are in active partisan competition with other factions. Indeed,
politics is a great fascination for people in the Philippines, and
teachers are no exception. In short, there are a number of factors
pushing teachers toward active partisan political participation.
Whether they are paying off a debt to a political friend, helping a
relative, or simply interested, 35% of the teachers expressed some dis-
content over being restricted politically (see Tables 4.1 and 4.2).
Many teachers also believe they know more about campaign issues and can-
didates and should help inform community members. Some of these dissent-
ing teachers would like to take a greater role in political education
and persuasion of community members. Of course, a much larger percentage
of teachers are not interested in becoming involved in partisan politics
and ardently seek a neutral position. But those teachers who are inter-
ested in greater participation invariably encounter community opposition.

A Cultural Adaptation to Partisan Behavior

Community members acknowledge that partisan alignments can bring
in more pork barrel and that teachers can be informed political leaders.
But many more compelling arguments for the law prohibiting teacher parti-
san political behavior are presented. Parents are very afraid that the
school's primary function, academic development of children, will deteri-
orate if schools and teachers become too partisan. In addition, commu-
nity members argue that teachers will lose peace of mind if they engage
in political debate and vote mobilization. Parents also fear that
teachers will express this partisanship in the classrooms against their
children. This, in turn, may escalate existing political feuds and
possibly destroy the school. Community members recognize the political
knowledge of teachers and their right to be less restrained politically,
but they deeply distrust the idea of schools and teachers being too in-
volved in partisan politics. There exists, then, a strong force within
the community to preserve the only relatively non-partisan institution
for the people. The school is virtually the only way out of village
poverty, and parents will not risk its destruction. They will seek the
transfer of teachers and principals who become "too political," and
lesser forms of social control such as gossip and complaints are ever
present. From a cultural point of view, this is a collective adaptation
or mechanism for protecting an important, highly functional local insti-
tution, the village school.

Other Controls on Partisan Behavior

The Philippines has been described as a highly political environ-
ment. Factionalism often pervades the social life of communities, and
political intrusions into the educational system are extensive. The data
on kin-based factionalism, however, suggest that simply because teachers
are faction members does not necessarily obligate them to be active in
partisan politics. In general, teachers are not powerful members or
leaders within their own factions. They have neither the wealth nor
the status to emerge as ward leaders. Faction members, even relatives
who are political candidates, do not seem to place strong pressure on
teachers to actively help their cause. Politically partisan family mem-
bers realize that teachers are required to stay neutral, and they do
not expect extensive activity from their relatives who are teachers.
This, of course, does not preclude some more subtle campaigning, i.e.,
"arguing about politics," particularly in the case of politically in-
terested (may hilig) teachers. In general, however, extensive bifaction-
alism does not necessarily lead to automatic partisan behavior by teachers.

The second strain toward partisan political behavior is the pre-
viously explained use of political intermediaries to gain professional
promotions. Many teachers develop obligations to politicians for their
assistance in getting a promotion. Theoretically, those teachers and
administrators being helped by politicians become potential vote organ-
izers for their patron-politician. However, upon closer examination
of these temporary patron-client relationships, it becomes clear that
neither side perceives the obligation as intensely binding. Indeed,
there is much deception among politicians in pretending to help, and
teachers are deeply cynical about the magnanimity and honesty of most
"politicians." Unless there is some other form of reciprocity such
as blood relations or a personal friendship, neither side expects too
much. A politician cannot blame a teacher (client) for not deliver-
ing the vote, since teachers are supposed to be non-partisan. There
are exceptions, of ourse, but the extensive interference of politicians
into teacher personnel matters does not seem to create a highly partisan
group of teachers. Again, there are powerful sentiments in most com-
munities to keep the schools and teachers from becoming embroiled in
partisan politics.

A perhaps more tenable argument for teacher inactivity in parti-
san politics can be found in the nature of the group. Teachers will be
discussed extensively as a group in Chapter V. Data on social background,
life style, social relations, self-image, and community status will sug-
gest a number of factors that tend to isolate teachers or make them in-
active civically. No small part of teacher non-partisan political be-
havior can be explained by the fact that almost 80% are women, and women
are traditionally not as politically active as men. Second, teachers
simply do not have the wealth and family position to lead in partisan
politics. Finally, teachers would probably not score very high on a

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test of political ideology and power striving. They come from humble
social backgrounds and do not seek more than a simple, comfortable life
in their communities. They have little faith that becoming politically
active is a better way than teaching to express any idealism they may
have.

GENERAL COMMUNITY-SCHOOL RELATIONS

The case study on factionalism and its effects on school pro-
grams and teacher behavior dealt with a specific aspect of village life
or social structure affecting formal education. There are, of course,
many other aspects of village life, social organization, and tradi-
tional belief systems which affect the operation of schools. Further
discussion might have been presented on how the agricultural cycle
(planting and harvesting) and community celebrations (fiestas) affect
attendance patterns. Or the effects of general poverty and poor
nutrition on student motivation and achievement could have been ex-
plored. The relation of folk beliefs in the supernatural (Lieban 1967)
may also have important effects on concept acquisition and student
understanding of causality. A complete list of other contextual fac-
tors important to education would certainly include many other prob-
lems. This second set of data does not deal with any of the afore-
mentioned aspects of social context, but it does attempt to present
a general description of the school as a community institution.

Some Approaches for Characterizing Schools

In much of the traditional literature on community-school rela-
tions the purpose of ethnographic description is to characterize schools
as congruent or incongruent with broader enculturation processes. Edu-
cational institutions are characterized as foreign (modern) to indigenous
(traditional) transmitters of culture and values (Spindler 1963). Schools
preserving and transmitting the local culture practices of the community
are basically indigenous institutions. Often local people formally and
informally control such schools. Conversely, schools created expressly
for the purpose of assimilating the community into a "higher" culture
are basically foreign institutions to the village. Usually such schools
are staffed with urban non-villagers or people with different cultural
and ethnic backgrounds. Of course, in practice most schools are a mix-
ture of both new and old ideas and values.

Judging the traditionalness and/or the community orientation of
the schools and teachers, and the extent of lay control, can be done in a

variety of ways. One other possible approach used in Indonesia (Thomas 1966) applied content analysis to textbooks, asked teachers to report their use of community resources, observed teaching procedures, and reported the community use of school facilities. The purpose of this study was to evaluate rural schools' community-development orientation and their efforts to improve community life. There was little concentration on the continuity-discontinuity of the enculturation message.

This particular study was not designed as a thorough study of the enculturation message or as a comparison of schools to determine their relative community improvement orientation. However, informal and formal observations have been collected which help describe the rural Philippine school as a community institution and as a community-improvement institution. Data will be presented on the school curriculum, school-community formal communications, community interests and pressures on school policies and teacher behavior, and the major points of conflict between the school and the community. All of these data further supplement the initial case study on factionalism in exploring the contextual factors in village life which affect teacher civic role behavior.

Financing and Developing a School Site

In characterizing Philippine public schools it is important to understand that they are largely created and financed by the national government. The national budget supplies all funds for teacher salaries and basic textbooks, and a large percentage of funds for school buildings. Local initiative provides the school grounds and certain temporary structures (toilets, lunch counters, fences), and furnishings (desks, blackboards, book cases). General grounds development such as vegetation, water supply, play area, and play equipment also come from local labor and contributions. Often such improvements are solicited from local political candidates. This general financing scheme is true of all local schools. The relative balance between sources of finance depends primarily upon the political color of a given community and the fundraising skill of the local administrator. The administrator's orientation, credibility in the community, and connections with influential outsiders are important factors; however, the political alignments of the municipal and the village leaders appear even more fundamental, since such alignments partially circumscribe what even a very enterprising school administrator may be able to do.

Actually starting a school depends upon local initiative. First, villagers petition the district supervisor. The supervisor then requests a teacher and appropriations for a building from the division office. Obtaining the school site and often the first classrooms is the responsibility of the community. Getting a full enrollment and

increasing it over the years is the task of the teacher(s) assigned
to the community. Since there is a large surplus of teacher candidates
waiting for positions, school administrators are very active recruiters
of students. This helps reduce the number of individuals lobbying on
the district supervisor for positions. As teaching positions are ex-
panded the supervisor can simultaneously win community loyalty, relieve
lobbying pressures, and receive kick-back for the new appointments. In
short, after initial local requests, the momentum for educational expan-
sion often comes from teachers and administrators. As the institution
develops, community people gradually finish out and improve their
school.

Curriculum Orientations and Effects

A number of observers have discussed the discrepancies or cul-
tural discontinuities of the Philippine school curriculum and its
socializing or enculturating effects. On a very broad level, Lawless
(1967) suggests that a number of important contradictions render school
lessons on citizenship and egalitarianism unrealistic. Many of these
contradictions, e.g., gambling, vote buying, vengeance killings, feudal
patron-client relationships, nepotism in public institutions, token or
ritual Christianity, are, of course, to be found between the ideal and
the actual practices of any society. His point that they exist in
Philippine society has, however, been well documented by progressive
Filipinos seeking educational reform (Peralta 1955; Constantino 1966).

Other studies done by Philippine anthropologists and educators
(Arquiza 1967; Jocano 1970; Makil 1963) have suggested more specific
contradictions or discontinuities in the school curriculum and Jocano
and Makil emphasize that the school lessons on drinking milk, using
toothbrushes, combs, and handkerchiefs every day are unrealistic in
the poverty of the barrio. Makil also suggests that the home economics
curriculum teaches girls to prepare meals they cannot afford to buy and
to do fancy needlework and sewing on machines which are not possible
in their homes. Hart observed that gardening is generally done by
girls at home, yet the school teaches boys gardening, too. Arquiza
notes that some teachers antagonize local people by deriding folk
healers as "quack doctors." Although none of these studies is a
detailed curriculum analysis, they all begin to illustrate some cul-
tural discontinuities or "urbanisms," i.e., aspects of the curriculum
inappropriate for rural life. Such studies need to be carried much
further for the purpose of analyzing how to improve and rebuild the
general curriculum.

Another theme in the studies of social scientists who have done
some observations on Philippine schools (Grossholtz 1961; Lande 1966;
Nydegger 1966) has emphasized the modernizing effects of schools. These

authors generally contend that the schools are the chief source of new, modern ideas in a relatively closed, isolated barrio life. The school curriculum teaches about causal science and health, democratic notions of government, the cities and industrialization, and modern agriculture. None of these studies was intended to systematically measure the political socialization effects (Almond and Verba 1965) or the value enculturation effects (Spindler 1963) of schools, but nevertheless, these authors express varying degrees of faith in the school as a modernizing instrument. The philosophical argument of this position is that schools must present new and discontinuous ideas to restructure the culture. If the new nation-state is attempting to present new institutional forms, the schools should and must become the chief instrument of this policy. The previous concern or argument that such discontinuities may be alienating or may reduce community cooperation and individual learning (Arquiza 1967) is of secondary importance for those interested in the schools as a modernizing agency.

Some Observations on Current Curriculum Directions

As indicated in the introduction, this study lacks a thorough empirical study of either curriculum orientations or effects. However, some curriculum and classroom practices are so widespread that careful participant-observation will capture what is generally happening in the "typical" village or central school. The residual effect of the community school movement on community programs was described in Chapter II. Effects of this philosophy of an integrated, community problems oriented curriculum were also apparent in the curriculum materials and the practices of teachers. Although content specialists have taken the initiative from the integrationists (see Chapter II), the new reformers were also trying to make the curriculum more Filipino and more adapted to the rural areas. But as some studies have pointed out, the textbook writers and planners in Manila too often define what is Filipino by their urban, middle-class Christian values. In fairness, however, almost all subjects used many local objects and problems to illustrate their lessons. In math, avocados and mangoes were counted instead of apples. In science, bamboo levers and pulleys are used to demonstrate principles of physics. In readers, the contents were often about big families, fiestas, and local Filipino folk stories and beliefs. Extracurricular activities also helped revive Filipino songs, dances, musical instruments, and sports. The extensiveness of this curriculum renaissance or nationalization can only be shown with more careful historical documentation of content shifts, but the community school movement appears to have accelerated the Filipinization of the curriculum.

Some efforts have also been made to integrate community problems into all the subject areas, but community problems have not become the

bases on which lessons for all subjects are built. Lessons about community problems were more characteristic of the social studies curriculum. Social studies focused primarily on the home, community life, civic duty, morals and character, and the geography and history of the Philippines. The social studies emphasis on community problems actually reflects the move away from an integrated approach to a specialized, compartmentalized curriculum approach. Generally, however, notions of geography, civics, history, and government were taught in very old-fashioned rote ways emphasizing names, dates, and chronology. Very little of local scholars' recent work on developmental economics, politics, and culture change has penetrated the school curriculum. More recent problem-solving and empirical approaches to social studies materials seem to be neither understood nor used in the classroom. As yet, local scholars and nationalists have not led in developing such elementary school materials.

The typical lessons emphasized cleaning the community, minding parents, and listing local problems. The curriculum approach to community problems often merely identified commonly recognized problems such as poverty and disease. Root causes or solutions were rarely suggested. There is far more emphasis on character building than on community building. Most teachers interviewed felt they could talk about building character and being obedient, but they feared that people might misunderstand talking about the causes and solutions to community problems. Any sort of critical analysis could be a source of conflict with parents, administrators, fellow teachers, or politicians. Teachers were very cautious about expressing what might be conceived of as personal, partisan viewpoints. Ultimately, of course, what teachers emphasize is also a reflection of their training. Highly professional faculty and courses do not exist in the ordinary teacher training institute. Teachers are simply not trained in the critical, inductive tradition of social science.

From observations in the research site, it would also be difficult to characterize the school curriculum as a very radical source of new ideas. First, the region had many other government agencies introducing philosophical and technical ideas about agricultural development and land reform. Second, a very active underground political movement was also likely to stimulate more adult discussion and discontent for the children's consumption than a very non-controversial school curriculum treatment of dates and names of political officials. Third, widespread use of the mass media and the nearness of urban areas also introduce a great many "modern" economic, political, and social ideas. In such an urbanizing setting the curriculum is more likely to be a secondary socializing force. Of course, a study of the diffusion of ideas from a variety of sources is ultimately needed. The relative effects of school curricula and the teachers' transmission of such curricula cannot be adequately discussed without more experimental studies. However, the observed materials and the teachers' attitudes, although not exhaustively studied, cast doubt on the potential of the curriculum.

Schools as Community Centers

Schools in Philippine towns and villages were frequently used by community members. All schools served as voting precincts during local and national elections. Almost all schools surveyed have periodically allowed community groups to use the school buildings or the concrete play areas for assembling the community. Often these were recreational events such as the yearly fiesta dance or a movie sponsored by some company such as Pepsi-Cola. Younger males of the community also frequently used school basketball or volleyball facilities in the late afternoons after school. In many of the schools visited, government (PACD) multi-purpose cement projects for recreation and rice drying were within the school grounds. Occasionally a community also places its artesian or community well in or near the school grounds. Several of the thirty schools surveyed had a community clinic or community building constructed from national sweepstakes funds. The barrio council can and occasionally does use such a building. Generally, however, the barrio officials meet in their houses where the problems of lighting, serving refreshments, and obtaining permission and the school key are avoided.

The community use of school facilities varies greatly with the conditions of the school and the alternatives available. In the market towns other recreational facilities and meeting places often exist in the municipal plaza and the municipal buildings. In very small and poor communities the school may not have any facilities. Generally, better financed schools in the medium-sized (150-300 households) and large barrios (300-500 households) would be providing facilities for the community. Such schools periodically allow the community to use the school grounds and buildings. These arrangements are usually made through the head teacher or principal and the barrio captain. Consequently, the extent of community use of school facilities also depends upon the personal relations skills and the politics of the school administrator. Schools are clearly one important meeting place in the smaller communities, and in this sense they are integrated into the community. Use of school facilities can, however, become a source of conflict between teachers and community members.

School Communication Channels: The PTA

In the Philippines there are no citizens' school boards or lay leadership in school affairs beyond PTA organizations. All decision-making on the nature and content of school activities is made by school officials. The PTA is primarily an agency for obtaining community labor and contributions to fully furnish and to beautify the school buildings and grounds. PTA meetings are also very delicate, formal interactions to build community support. Teachers know parents resent being asked too often for contributions. Yet parents know they must contribute or

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TABLE 4.4

Community Members' Interest in School Programs, Activities, and
Policies as Rated by Teachers and Community Members

	Responses of Teachers		Responses of Community Members	
	Interested	Not Interested	Interested	Not Interested
Acquisition of New Buildings	183 (67%)	145 (33%)	57 (24%)	176 (76%)
Change in Curriculum	44 (14%)	244 (86%)	13 (6%)	228 (98%)
Personal Behavior of Teachers	152 (58%)	108 (42%)	13 (6%)	220 (94%)
Appointment of New Teachers	109 (40%)	161 (60%)	3 (2%)	231 (98%)
Progress of Children	239 (88%)	31 (12%)	89 (38%)	146 (62%)
Transfer of Teachers	79 (31%)	183 (69%)	6 (3%)	227 (97%)
Development of Community School Programs	242 (88%)	33 (12%)	52 (25%)	176 (75%)
Use of School Facilities	150 (55%)	120 (45%)	30 (13%)	203 (87%)
Development of PTA	189 (70%)	82 (30%)	35 (15%)	197 (85%)

Teacher N   = 340
Community Member N = 233

their school will be poorly equipped. Teachers also feel parents ex-
pect them to contribute too much of their salary for school supplies and
improvements. Judging from the open-end responses, this was the main
source of tension in community-school relations (see Table 4.5).

During the yearly or semi-annual PTA meetings it is important
that parents make grand gestures of willingness to help the teachers.
Teachers must then respond by also pledging that they too will give time,
effort, and money. This highly stylized and ritualistic exchange was ob-
served in eight different PTA meetings. Such mutual public proclamations
of loyalty to school and community progress help reduce friction and
possible claims that one group is not doing its part. A definite "we"
and "they" relation between parents and teachers exist. Another char-
acteristic of the meetings is the lack of mutual decision-making.
Typically, teachers indicate the priorities or needs and then request
community members to help. Those parents who help will ultimately have
some say on certain technical or aesthetic points, but they usually
do not set the priorities. Traditionally, the school head and the
teachers initiate the needed improvements of the school, except in the
case of permanent school buildings. In this case, the barrio council
and PTA leaders often play important roles in requesting school build-
ings from political leaders.

The PTA as a political lobby group is one aspect rarely covered
in the study of Philippine Public Schools. As indicated in Chapter III,
politics and education overlap, and education is one of the largest pork
barrel items in the Philippines. Acquiring school buildings from
national budgetary allotments and war reparations money is a highly com-
petitive process not unlike getting a promotion. There are many ways of
obtaining prefabricated school buildings. The particular approach used
depends upon the combined skill, aggressiveness, and personal connections
of local political and educational leaders. Some communities approach
politicians in a large group. Others select an individual who has a
relative or friend in a high Manila office. The requests of a group or
an individual can be channeled through the local mayor and local con-
gressman, or these representatives can go directly to higher level
decision-makers and distributing agencies such as the Army and the rural
community development agency (PACD).

Several principals stood out for their ability to get school
buildings from contacts in the army and the PACD. One town with a local
congressman, and another with the division superintendent were able to
obtain many buildings. But irrespective of the approach, a formal resolu-
tion of the barrio council is usually drawn up for the person or persons
actually approaching outsiders. If no particular person has "kapit"
(pull or connections), a group approach may be used. On these occasions,
the PTA and local government and school leaders are operating as a team
for the entire community. Since this entire process varies with politi-
cal administrations and availability of funds, no systematic analysis

TABLE 4.5

Community Members' View of Teacher Professional and
Social Behavior and Characteristics

Specific Classroom Behavior (Professional and Social)	Number and % of Sample Responding
Grading and Giving Honors Unfairly	70 (20%)
Punishing Children Physically	67 (19%)
Shaming Children	50 (14%)
Swearing at Children	40 (12%)
Slapping Children	39 (10%)
Teaching over Children's Ability	33 (9%)
Being Angry, Moody in the Classroom	32 (9%)
Overlooking Slow Learners	29 (8%)
	369 responses

General Professional Behavior/Qualities

Gossiping on School Grounds	61 (17%)
Failing to be More Intelligent than Parents	48 (14%
Cheating on Time, e.g., "Arriving Late and Leaving Early"	42 (13%)
Lacking Interest in Job, e.g., "Only after the Money"	35 (10%)
Staying on the Streets, e.g., "Fooling Around"	33 (9%)
	219 responses

Personal Qualities/Behavior

Being Unsociable	67 (19%)
Drinking Alcohol	11 (3%)
Lacking "Honor," Lying, and Cheating	10 (3%)
Neglecting to Pay Debts	9 (2%)
Chasing Women	5 (1%)
Gossipping Excessively	5 (1%)
	107 responses

Major Miscellaneous

Sending Children on Errands	122 (37%)
Asking Contributions without Receipts or Explanations	85 (25%)
	202 responses

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N               = 275
Total Responses = 367
Mean Responses  = 2.9
Range           = 1 to 5
Mode            = 3
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was attempted. This is, however, a very important topic for further research.

Community Interest in Educational Policies

To this point village schools have been characterized as primarily a national institution maintained for the community. How much community interest or pressure exists on important issues was also surveyed to assess the extent of community influence and control. Both teachers and community members rated community interest on issues ranging from the personal behavior of teachers to curriculum matters (see Appendix A).

There were several interesting contradictions in these data. Parents generally rated the community interest much lower than did the teachers. Only on children's progress did a substantial number of parents feel the community was interested (38%). This reflects the parents' very general attitude about not being "pakialamero," i.e., not putting one's nose into the affairs of the school. Those issues most important to parents were: children's progress (38%), acquiring new classrooms (25%), and developing community programs (25%). Conversely, teachers understood the question as meaning how much parents were engaging in "pakikialam" (interference, intervention), and presented a situation full of pressures upon teachers. First, parents indicate little community interest or pressure on teacher personnel matters, but more teachers felt they were interested in appointments (40% vs 2%) and transfers (31% vs 3%). Second, proportionately more teachers also felt that community members were interested in getting new buildings (67% vs 25%) and using school facilities (55% vs 13%).

A second and closely related aspect of the dramatic differences between teacher and community responses is the fatalism or resignation of parents toward non-involvement. Parents accept the fact that they do not control or should not interfere with the school. Few community members report that people have an interest in the affairs of teachers. It is indeed true that only a small percentage of community members are actually involved in school improvement. Teachers generally interact with this small group in the PTA during negotiations for using school facilities and for getting new buildings. Having rather low expectations as to the number of parents who should be involved, teachers report that community members are generally interested in the various school activities. From the teachers' point of view there usually seem to be sufficient numbers of community people to help maintain the school. If two or three farmers who can fix the roof and the fence step forward, the community is actively involved. Likewise, if the yearly PTA meeting and the community clean-up are attended, people are quite interested. The community data suggest just the opposite, i.e., community members

indicate that they have little interest in community school programs
(12% vs 75%) and the PTA (30% vs 85%).

Only one issue brought out common agreement between the samples.
Both groups reported community interest in changing curriculum as low
(86% vs 95%). In matters of curriculum, often the most crucial issue
in small U.S. towns (Vidich and Bensman 1968), community members evince
almost no interest and exert no pressure. This is a crucial illustra-
tion of the relative lack of local control and the potential foreign-
ness of the Philippine village school.

Community Interest in Teacher Behavior

In a series of open-end questions, teachers were asked if com-
munity folks were interested in how well the teachers do their jobs and
how they act in the community. Implicit in the question was the extent
to which community members concern themselves with teachers' professional
and personal behavior. More than 75% of the teachers felt that parents
were quite interested in how the teachers behaved in the community and
how they did their job. The majority of the examples given were not
unlike community pressures reported in the small towns of the United
States (Cook 1939; Waller 1967). Teachers often feel as if they are in
a goldfish bowl and must behave formally and properly to retain the
community's respect. Teachers are expected to dress properly, greet
people and act with sobriety and piety.

In the Philippines, however, there appears to be a more relaxed
attitude on drinking, homosexuality, and bisexual affairs of teachers..
Several cases of homosexual female administrators and extra-marital rela-
tions between teachers existed, but communities seemed to tolerate such
deviance, if done discreetly.

Instances of drinking on the school grounds also did not seem
to arouse parental criticism. This may be a reflection of the greater
tolerance of homosexuality, male extra-marital practices, and drinking
in the culture. It is also true, however, that community members expect
teachers not to set such examples. This attitude came out in a number
of the open-end questions. Such data illustrate a wide range of be-
havior subject to indirect community social control through gossiping
and public complaining.

These data are not, however, a fair, balanced representation of
community satisfaction with the schools and teachers. No data are re-
ported on community likes because only 35 positive responses were coded.
The survey probably elicited a large number of negative responses be-
cause villagers are rarely able to express their frustrations to school

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officials. The interview may have been perceived as a "gripe session" or a fact-finding commission on educational reform. This is not to argue that very real dislikes and dissatisfactions with the schools do not exist. But if community members had been asked to generally rate the job teachers and schools were doing, the responses probably would have been more positive.

Points of Conflict: Soliciting Funds

Soliciting funds at the PTA meetings or through notes sent home was considered an issue by 25% of the sample. Parents claim that asking for contributions is fine if teachers explain why the contribution is needed. Occasionally teachers ask for small sums of money for book fees or miscellaneous expenses without an explanation. There may have been an explicit understanding or a past agreement, but many parents do not receive or remember such information. They become upset with the "new" requests. Conversely, teachers resent the pressures to reciprocate with personal contributions to encourage parents. Teachers feel they already spend considerable sums for teaching aids, books, athletic meets, and treating visiting school supervisors (Chapter V). Parents are not aware of such pressures, and they also overestimate the amount teachers are paid. Soliciting funds, then, is a classic and rather typical example of general misunderstanding and lack of communication on both sides. It also illustrates the very real tension in often fragile community-school relationship. Frequently, each side feels aggrieved and is ready to believe the worst about the other.

Sending Children on Errands

In the Philippine village and town schools teachers and adminis-trators very frequently use older children to run errands. Quite often this may be to send notes, visual aids, books, and other materials be-tween classrooms. Children are also asked to clean the chalk boards, teachers' desks, principal's office, and other facilities. Not infre-quently, however, children are also sent to fetch things a teacher has forgotten at home, to buy treats for visitors and teacher, and to send notes to outsiders. Parents object particularly to their children being sent off the school grounds. More progressive educators also object to this practice as being authoritarian and teaching little self-reliance and democracy. For many parents such usage of their children is an af-front. A number of parents suggested that teachers must not respect them and their children if they treat them like servants. Conversely, teachers justify such practices as training for work education and citizenship. It should also be pointed out that the practice of adults' using unfamiliar children to run errands is common in many rural areas.

Classroom Disciplining

The remaining items deal with the disciplining techniques of teachers such as punishing children (19%), shaming children (14%), swearing at children (12%), and slapping children (10%). Data on why teachers are losing prestige also suggested that teachers were poorer in maintaining discipline and more permissive (see Chapter V). Other data collected but not included in this paper also indicated that parents gave more strict guidelines for classroom discipline than teachers. Perhaps parents are for strict discipline until it is applied to their children. Observations of Filipino teachers also revealed a great deal of shaming and corporal punishment in the classroom. Perhaps teachers are permissive until confronted with an unruly class of 60 students. Without a careful study of classroom disciplining or the level of parental tolerance for punishment, describing acceptable forms of punishment is difficult. Parents express concern, but if punishment is fair and with a purpose, classroom disciplining techniques will not become a conflict area. Corporal punishment is an acceptable socializing technique among lowland Christian groups (Jocano 1970; Nydegger 1966).

A SUMMARY: THE SCHOOL AS A COMMUNITY INSTITUTION

It has been suggested that the school is basically a national institution. Local community members have very little control over school policy and school curriculum. Some communities contribute many supplementary facilities, but personnel, curriculum materials and buildings come from the national government. The curriculum is in a state of transition and has been going through a Filipinization process. Instruction has shifted to the vernacular in the lower grades, and many community problems are built into the materials. Less and less blatantly western or urban Filipino readers and texts are being used. A revitalization of folk dancing, singing, string bands, and literature in the vernacular is also occurring. This would seem to indicate a local, indigenous movement, but all of these trends have been initiated by national and regional school leaders. Local communities are receptive to such changes, but the changes did not occur because of strong local pressures. Community members do not generally demand a significant role in school affairs and policy-making. Nor are they always anxious to develop the school site, if the aid and labor can be gotten from national pork barrel.

On the other hand, community members are clearly affecting teacher personal behavior through such social controls as gossip. Many teachers feel constrained to behave publicly in prescribed ways, and

community members criticized teachers on a wide range of personal and professional behavior. Second, teachers also experience community control over their political behavior. Overt partisan activities are particularly restrained, and teachers believe that excessive interest in politics can lead to conflicts and problems. Third, parents favored reducing community improvement for more class work, while many teachers felt that schools should prepare people for life in the community. These forms of community control have adjusted the schools and teacher orientation more to community needs and wishes. A characterization of the schools as either foreign or indigenous is, of course, an oversimplification. It has been suggested that the school system is basically a national institution, but various curriculum changes, attempts at community-oriented programs, and unplanned restrictions have made the schools more indigenous. There are, however, many points of tension and a need for even greater integration and communication.

School-Community Communication Structures

Community-school relations can be characterized as lacking communication structures or channels. The PTA is really the only formal channel. But PTA communications are more in the nature of teacher directives than exchanges, and the meetings reach only a few people. The PTA does not allay the many suspicions and correct the misinformation evident in community attitudes about teacher professional and personal behavior. The PTA does, however, often work as a political lobby group of school and community leaders to vie for national pork barrel appropriations. The community school programs also fail to provide real communication channels. These programs are largely task-oriented and no longer attempt to include adults. Adult education programs are poorly financed and sporadic, and meet infrequently.

A number of potential conflict areas such as grading and honors, soliciting contributions, using children on errands, using and misusing school property, and doing community development work, may arise in the community. Schools appear to vary greatly on the extent of these problems. Some schools could not leave any valuable property unlocked. In other schools community members zealously guarded and fenced their school grounds, and theft was unknown. Generally, however, adequate forms of periodic community-school interaction did not exist. These data suggest that a number of factors may account for such differences. Administrative leadership generally sets the tone of school-community relations, but the politics of communities and the social isolation of teachers are also important factors.

CHAPTER V

TEACHERS AS A COMMUNITY AND A PROFESSIONAL GROUP

This final chapter on the social context of formal education
deals with important characteristics of teachers as a group. Teachers
will be described in terms of their 1) social origins and life style,
2) social life and group relations, 3) self-image as a professional
group, and 4) occupational and community status. The composite of these
data should help characterize teachers as a community and a professional
group. Their potential as a community development or leadership resource
is reflected in much of these data. What teachers can actually do civic-
ally as a group or as individuals is at least partially a function of
their group characteristics, i.e., the way they perceive themselves, what
they value, and their personal relations and position in the community.
A great deal of information on their educational philosophy, their per-
ceived civic role, and their professional and political setting has al-
ready been presented. These data will further elaborate the description
of rural Filipino teachers.

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LIFE STYLE OF TEACHERS

A variety of measures on teacher origins, urban experiences,
consumption habits, and value orientations are included to describe
teacher life style. The data for this section come from three sources:
the teacher survey instrument, the daily participant-observations, and
informant interviews. One major portion of important data, a series of
modernism-traditionalism value scales (Kahl 1968), will not be included
in this particular report. What follows, however, should sufficiently
characterize the group.

The Rural-Urban Origins of Teaching

A group's origin often reflects its present source of motivations
and potential for action. The origin of the sample might best be de-
scribed with the following kinds of information: 1) rural-urban origins,
2) social mobility, and 3) urban experience. One of the most uniform
characteristics of the teachers surveyed was their rural origins. Vir-
tually all members of the sample grew up in small towns or villages. A
breakdown of teacher origin is shown in Table 5.1.

TABLE 5.1

The Rural-Urban Origins of Teachers

	Place Born	.Place Grew
Rural (villages)	162(48%)	157(46.5%)
Semi-rural (market towns)	167(49%)	168(49%)
Semi-urban (provincial capitals)	7(2%)	13(4%)
Urban (Manila)	4(1%)	2(.5%)
	340(100%)	340(100%)

N = 340

A second way of estimating teacher rural orientations is to consider the sources of their professional training. In the region sampled, a large number of local colleges and teacher training institutes exist. Manila was relatively near, although not close enough for daily student commuting (4 hours by bus). The following is a breakdown of where the sample studied:

TABLE 5.2

The Location of Teachers' Professional Training

Rural (market towns)	25	(7%)
Semi-urban (provincial capital)	139	(42%)
Urban (Manila)	175	(51%)
N = 340	340	(100%)

Family Size and Sibling Position

A third way of understanding teacher origin is through the size of family in which the teacher grew up. Child-raising practices and parent-child relations were not studied, but size of family and sibling position were used as predictors of professional and civic behavior. In some cultural settings (Japan), the eldest daughter or second son has a greater chance of becoming a teacher (Norbeck 1965). Generally, Filipino teachers are from much larger families than teachers in the United States. Further, the size of the Filipino teacher's family of origin was very similar to that of the average Filipino family.

TABLE 5.3

The Number of Siblings in Teachers' Family of Origin

Small (0-4)	66	(18%)
Medium (5-8)	209	(64%)
Large (9-up)	65	(18%)
	340	(100%)

mean = 6.7 siblings
SD = .894

A second aspect of family background is the sibling position of teachers. Tables 5.3 and 5.4 suggest the recruitment pattern or the investment strategy of rural families in the teaching occupation:

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TABLE 5.4

The Sibling Position of Teachers

Only Child	9	(2%)
Eldest Child	104	(31%)
Next Eldest	33	(10%)
Intermediate	109	(32%)
Next Youngest	31	(9%)
Youngest	54	(16%)
N =	340	(100%)

Three factors help explain why 49% of the teachers were eldest or next eldest children. First, as in many other rural settings, teaching represents a real improvement in income and prestige over tenant farming. Second, educational opportunities are readily available in the rural areas. The Philippine elementary education system has spread to virtually every barrio, and many high schools and colleges also exist in the better-developed rural areas or provinces. Third, and perhaps most important is the nature of the lowland kinship system. In a bilateral kinship system, residence and inheritance are not strictly reckoned through one sex or family line. Normally, the family inheritance is divided equally among all the children. This reduces the patrilineal tendency of the eldest son to take over the family lands or business. Whether propertied or propertiless, the Philippine family system would favor the elder siblings and give them the opportunity to be educated. This then obligates the older siblings to a sponsorship role toward the younger siblings. While the parents are still productive, they strive to educate at least one of the elder children. These children will then continue to aid the younger siblings and will ultimately care for the parents in their declining years.

To test this notion of educational investment in the eldest siblings, each family was ranked on upward mobility. The occupation of each sibling was coded, and the relative percentage of unskilled, skilled, white collar, and professional siblings (see Appendix C) was computed for each family. If poor families do encourage elder siblings to become teachers, proportionately more teachers who are elder siblings will be from families manifesting low sibling mobility. The sibling positions were reduced to three categories: eldest (eldest-next eldest), intermediate, and youngest (youngest-next youngest). Sibling mobility was scored as percentage of professionals versus non-professionals (high mobility = 50% professional siblings, low mobility = below 50% professional siblings).

TABLE 5.5

The Educational Investment Patterns in Teachers'
Family of Origin

Sibling Mobility

	Low	High	Row Total
Eldest	61 (62%)	38 (38%)	99
Intermediate	123 (73%)	45 (27%)	168
Youngest	50 (88%)	7 (12%)	57
	234 (73%)	90 (27%)	324

$$N = 324$$
$$\chi^2 = 12.45, 2df, p = .002$$
Missing cases = 12

This table further supports the argument presented earlier. Less
socially mobile, poorer families encourage the older siblings to become
teachers. These data do not, however, reflect the full extent of this
pattern. Respondents coded intermediate or young also have elder
sisters/brothers who are teachers. Although the number of cases is too
small to permit elaborate breakdowns, observations suggest that elder
female teachers, particularly unmarried ones, are most frequently cast
into the sponsorship role. Teaching is almost the ideal occupational
choice for such a role. Conversely, poor families without elder pro-
fessional siblings, particularly teachers, have very few younger sib-
ling professionals. Apparently, if a family cannot develop a profes-
sional early, educational opportunity for younger siblings is greatly
lessened.

Social Mobility of Teachers

Several measures of social or occupational mobility will be used
to present a profile of the group. Intergenerational mobility was mea-
sured in two ways: 1) the father-to-respondent change in occupational
status, and 2) a composite of sibling occupations in the respondent's
family. Change among descending generations is generally used to illus-
trate intergenerational mobility. A composite of sibling mobility, how-
ever, gives an even more valid measure of general family mobility for
the group. Extensive research has been done on the stability and uni-
dimensionality of occupational prestige ratings (Hodge, Trieman and
Rossi 1966). Despite conceptual and measurement limitations, closed-end
rankings of various occupations have been successfully used as a simple
measure of mobility (Fox and Miller 1966). In this case, occupations

were coded as unskilled, skilled, white collar, and professional. The codes were based on educational attainment and skill (see Appendix B). The findings of other studies on Philippine occupational rankings (Tyriakin 1958; Castillo 1966) were also considered. The following is a general profile of teacher mobility:

TABLE 5.6

The Social Mobility of Teachers as Measured by
Their Fathers' Occupation

Unskilled	182 (56%)
Skilled	95 (26%)
White Collar	50 (15%)
Professional	9 (3%)
	336 (100%)

Missing Cases = 4 (1%)

Teachers are from very modest backgrounds and, hence, form a highly mobile group. Only 18% of the sample were from white collar or professional families. More specifically, white collar was split between fathers who were teachers and those who held a variety of government bureaucratic jobs. A far smaller number of high professionals such as lawyers, judges, and substantial businessmen complete the category. Over half (55%) of the teachers had unskilled fathers. The majority of unskilled occupations (90%) were either land-owning or tenant farmers. More important, there were twice as many land-owning farmers as tenant farmers. Teachers, then, tend to come from the better established, landed farm families. This, of course, varies with communities and reflects the availability of land and tenancy of a given community. In two communities marked by high tenancy, the bulk of teachers were from tenant families. The reverse was dramatically true in the one community sampled which still has post-war land homesteading and large, if poor, open areas.

The other large percentage of teacher family origins (26%) represented a variety of skilled occupations. This category included a number of agricultural and non-agricultural artisans and small businessmen. Breaking the twenty-six percent down did not readily produce clusters of particular occupations. Tailors, carpenters, barbers, small commercial poultry raisers, mechanics, small businessmen, and clerks were equally represented. In other words, teachers come from the working class, the stable, relatively skilled or independent lower middle class. They are from the families of landed farmers, small town skilled workers, and semi-professional teachers and government clerks. This was true in both towns and barrios. Barrios, of course, tended to have less non-agricultural working class occupations.

Second, intergenerational mobility was illustrated through a composite of mobility in the respondent's family of origin. The same coding of occupations was used. A composite of all siblings was calculated by simply rating the percentage of siblings lower or higher than ego's (the respondent) occupational rating. In cross-tabulating the composite sibling mobility, only two categories were used. The following table is the composite occupational ranking of all siblings:

TABLE 5.7

Sibling Mobility in Teachers' Family of Origin

Leans Lower (75% plus of sibs lower than white collar)	63	(19%)
Tilts Lower (75-50% of sibs lower than white collar)	88	(27%)
Tends lower (50-25% of sibs lower than white collar)	84	(25%)
Same Class (less than 25% of sibs lower than white collar)	83	(25%)
Tends Higher (25-50% of sibs higher than white collar)	8	(2%)
Tilts Higher (50-75% of sibs higher than white collar)	1	(.5%)
Leans Higher (more than 75% of sibs higher than white collar)	1	(.5%)
	330	

Missing Cases = 10 (3%)

Again, these data suggest that teachers come from modest backgrounds and tend to rise economically as a family. Although only 19% of the fathers had professional occupations, 53% of all teacher families of origin have 50% or more children obtaining professional status. This dramatically reflects how achievement-oriented or upwardly mobile the family environment of many teachers was. To use father's occupation and sibling mobility as a time sequence measure of family mobility, the two tables have been juxtaposed. The previous sibling mobility table was collapsed to non-professional (all those below "same class"), and professional (all those "same class" and above). This produced the following table:

TABLE 5.8

The Intergenerational Mobility of Teachers' Family of Origin

	Fathers' Occupation		Sibling Occupations		% of Change	Total
	low	high	low	high		
Female	71%	29%	69%	31%	up 2%	7%
Male	88%	12%	76%	24%	up 12%	

N = 330

A greater percentage of males started lower and, therefore, a raw comparison between fathers' occupations and sibling occupations indicates that males account for most of the group's upward mobility. This was particularly true in towns, and town teachers were from somewhat more professional families (9% difference, 2df, p = .12).

A third and complementary measure is mobility through mate selection. Again, the same categories for occupational rankings were used. The mobility measure is a comparison of spouse occupational rankings to father's occupational ranking. The following table suggests the general mobility of teachers:

TABLE 5.9

Individual Teacher Mobility through Marriage

	Fathers' Occupation		Spouse Occupations		% of Change	Average Total
	low	high	low	high		
Female	71%	29%	51%	49%	up 20%	27%
Male	88%	12%	54%	46%	up 34%	

N = 250

Using the difference between fathers' occupation and spouse occupations as an intergenerational measure, the entire group goes up rather dramatically (27%). As in Table 5.9, males accounted for more of the change (34% vs 20%), which was primarily due to their initially lower position. Comparing this measure with Table 5.8, teacher mobility through marriage gives the impression of a much more occupationally mobile group. The composite of sibling occupational rise reflects the mobility of the entire sibling set, and mate selection is an indicator of individual teacher mobility. Both measures corroborate each other and illustrate related and not necessarily contradictory aspects of the mobility phenomenon. As in the previous table on sibling mobility, there was a tendency, although not statistically significant (11% difference, df2, p = .12), for barrio teachers to marry someone of the same or higher occupational rank. Town and commuter teachers living in town tended to marry equals or higher ranking spouses. No doubt this reflects the availability of professionals in barrios, especially for female teachers. In general, however, teachers from all types of communities expressed their aspiration for upward mobility through mate selection. Approximately 48% married professionals like themselves and 24% more married spouses with skilled occupations.

Breaking down these general categories (professional, skilled, unskilled) to more specific occupations illustrates a great deal about teacher community status. Of the 48% who were professionals, the following occupations were represented: teachers (28%), government workers in a variety of office jobs (14%), and high professionals such as doctor, lawyer, judge, mayor (6%). The skilled category is more difficult to break down into clusters, but approximately 12% were some kind of salesmen, small merchants, or commercial livestock raisers. Another 12% were artisans such as tailors, barbers, carpenters, shoemakers, beauticians, and nurse's aids. Last, the unskilled category of spouse included housewives (10%), laborers (10%), and farmers (6%). It might be noted that no farmers were tenants and the laborers often had some skill such as driving a truck.

Economic Position of Teachers

The economic position of teachers will be illustrated with data on income, property, and consumption habits. The first measure is the reported income of the teacher's family of orientation. The income reported is a combination of salary, sidelines, investments, and income from property. The extra income (sidelines) comes primarily from a variety of home industries such as poultry or a piggery, and from small riceland holdings (one or two hectares). In the case of unmarried teachers a substitution of the father or main income earner for the family of origin was made. The vast majority of substitutions were done for young, unmarried teachers from farm families. The mean income of such cases did not differ enough from the mean income of the married teachers to cause a systematic bias. This appears to be true because the bulk of teachers from farm families were landowners with a yearly income not much lower than the salaries of provincial semi-professionals or skilled workers. The major difference is in future security, and retirement funds, neither of which affects the substitution made in the measure. The following is a breakdown of teacher income by type of assignment:

TABLE 5.10

The Income in Teacher Households

3-4,000	4-5,000	5-6,000	6-7,000	7-8,000	8-10,000	10,000 up
63(18%)	36(11%)	83(24%)	64(19%)	33(10%)	29 (8%)	32 (9%)

Type Assignment by Income

	low (3-7,000)		high (7,000 up)	
Town	111	(68%)	53	(32%)
Town/commuter	85	(72%)	32	(28%)
Barrio	42	(71%)	19	(29%)
	238	(70%)	102	(30%)

$$\chi^2 = NS$$

When teacher income is considered as a family unit, teachers have a
substantial income. The average teacher family salary is 5,500 pesos
or approximately $900 a year (6 pesos = 1 dollar). Relative to un-
skilled and skilled workers and small retailers, teachers have a rela-
tively stable, solid income. This is particularly true when retirement
and sick pay benefits, and the ability to obtain government housing
loans are included. A factor which greatly inflates this figure is
the inclusion of all family sources of income. However, most teachers
feel sorely underpaid, and may have under-reported their income. The
interviewers, peers to the respondents, considered the incomes reported
generally accurate. If a teacher's salary is compared to that of sal-
aried skilled workers, office workers, and landed farmers, the differ-
ences would not be great. Unfortunately, this comparison is not based
on systematic comparative data on other occupations, but on informal
conversations with community people.

A number of extenuating factors also shrink real teacher income.
Although considerably better off than the landless peasantry, teachers
are far from being economically secure in an economy suffering from
chronic inflation. Their consumption habits in clothes, household
furnishings, children's education, and recreation often over-extend
their income. On-the-job teaching expenses are also varied and numer-
ous. Teachers report spending the following amounts in an average year:

TABLE 5.11

The Professional Expenses of Teachers

	Number Reporting	Mean Expense
Lost textbooks	233	11.62 pesos
In-service workshops	313	30.96 "
Athletic meets	325	11.70 "
Entertainment for visiting supervisors, principals	294	39.49 "
New teaching guides	315	21.97 "
New audio-visual aids	202	41.84 "
Personal professional study	75	273.73 "
Arranging for personnel papers	102	37.54 "
Magazine subscriptions	304	12.26 "

N = 340

Although these figures must be accepted with caution, they include a number of expenses often provided for in American elementary schools. In checking these figures with the interviewers and several outside informants, they appear reasonably accurate.

A second measure of economic standing is the teachers' relations to the landholding and tenancy in this region. As indicated in the introduction, this region had a very high percent of tenancy (75%) (Huke 1963) and was just beginning to be a center of land reform. For the cross-tabulations "land" was categorized as low (no land) and high (one or more hectares). "Tenants" was categorized as low (no tenants) and high (one or more tenants). The following is a summary of teacher land and tenant holdings:

TABLE 5.12

Teacher Land and Tenant Holdings

	Land		Tenants	
	low	high	low	high
Town	117 (73%)	38 (23%)	121 (74%)	43 (26%)
Town/commuters	92 (77%)	25 (24%)	89 (76%)	28 (24%)
Barrio	55 (82%)	14 (18%)	50 (84%)	9 (16%)
	260 (77%)	80 (23%)	260 (76%)	80 (24%)
	χ^2 = NS		χ^2 = NS	

N = 340

As these data suggest, almost one-fourth of the sample own land and have tenants. The vast majority of these respondents have inherited, often in combined titles with siblings, one or two hectares of riceland and one or two tenants to work the land. As the data on father's occupation (see Table 5.6) suggests, a significant percentage of teachers from farm families have small family lands. The number of teachers with landholdings and interest in such investments is, however, diminishing. Teachers expressed a great deal more interest and optimism about investing in small animal husbandry projects such as poultry or pigs. Such investments take little space, have no tenant management problems, and can be located near the house for better security. Teachers, then, are not a part of the land-lord class; nor are teachers probably perceived as a part of tenants' general struggle, since many teachers have minor landholdings and tenants.

Consumption Patterns of Teachers

There is little question that teachers are middle class in the sense of consumption and households effects. They were generally proper-tied; they supplemented their incomes with home industry; and they invested heavily in education for their children. Sixty percent of the sample reported spending up to 20% of their reported income on education. A substantial percentage of teachers had television sets (23%), radios (97%), a jeep or car (20%), flush toilets (55%), gas or electric stoves (50%), and permanent fencing (80%). Because many teachers qualify for government loans or have family support, they often have large, perma-nently constructed houses. Quite frequently, the only painted houses in the village are the teachers', the rice mill owners', and the land-lords'. Only 5% of the sample reported living in houses not built of wood planks, concrete, and other permanent materials. In larger towns the houses of teachers would generally not compare with those of other prominent professionals, politicians, and businessmen, but they were clearly distinct from houses of the lower class. Teachers also expressed their class position in their personal dress. There was great emphasis on appropriate public dress. Clothes had to be well-pressed, clean, and reasonably stylish. A teacher would be ashamed to appear publicly in tsinelas (slippers) and loose-fitting house clothes.

Urban Exposure

Despite the fact that 97% of the teachers were from villages and small towns, they had considerable experience in semi-urban or urban areas. As many as 51% studied for at least two years in Manila. Further, obser-vations of teacher shopping and vacation patterns suggest frequent con-tact with urban areas. Many teachers attended Tagalog and American

movies (56%) two or three times a month, primarily in the capital city
and occasionally in Manila. Many teachers also seemed to do their major
shopping, buying clothes and household furnishings, in the capital city.
In addition, teachers receive a great deal of "urban experience" through
various mass media. In the survey, 97% owned a radio; 23% owned a tele-
vision set; 25% received a daily newspaper; and 75% reported reading a
newspaper at least three times a week. It suffices to say that teachers,
although rural in origins, have a great deal more exposure to urban ways
and life than the average farmer.

Summary on Teacher Life Style

        Teachers in the sample are a highly mobile group. Eighty percent
are from lower class families and 50% are from villages. Approximately
35% moved from villages to towns, and more than 50% married other pro-
fessionals. Teachers also clearly have urban middle class tastes, and
the data to be presented on assignment satisfaction reveal a general de-
sire to transfer to urban and overseas assignments. In short, teachers
are very socially mobile, "modern," occupationally aspiring, and distinct
in life style from villagers. On the other hand, most teachers want to
return to their hometowns, and the official assignment policy of the
Bureau of Public Schools seeks to accommodate this demand. This means
that teachers inevitably return to their family of origin and the obli-
gations to help elders and younger siblings. These teachers have grown
up in their communities and know intimately its life and events. This
leaves many teachers in the ambiguous and uneasy position of being
changed and different, i.e., more educated and middle class. They are,
however, often unable to behave in modern middle class ways without
censure from poor relatives and townsmen.

        In what is basically a two-class social system of "big people"
(elite) and "little people" (masses) (Lynch 1959), teachers are an in-
termediate or transitional group. Observations and interviews of 20
elite suggest that local elite perceive teachers as basically lower
class. Conversely, the ordinary peasant perceives the teacher as much
better off and closer to the elite. In objective terms, teachers are
essentially a middle-class group which is stylistically different from
peasants and economically and politically less influential than the
elite. In value terms, teachers are transitional. They have been
changed too much to fit easily into their poor origins and not enough
to fit into the social life of the elite. This general class position
and the problems of adjustment vary, of course, with the size and social
complexity of the community and with individual teachers. In small rural
communities with few other political, economic, and professional elite,
teachers will be more "elite." In the large market towns having a num-
ber of landed gentry, prominent politicians, and other white collar jobs,

teachers are a more intermediate group. It is important, however, to remember that the more "elite" barrio teacher is only an "elite" within that small community. A teacher's reference group is really at the district level, and the "elite" barrio teacher does not perceive himself as elite; nor do others perceive him as elite in relation to town teachers and townspeople. This is only a very general description of teacher life style and social class, and more research is needed on teacher social class position and the adjustments caused by their high social mobility.

TEACHER SOCIAL LIFE AND SOCIAL RELATIONS

The Work Day of a Teacher

Before discussing the social life and social relations of rural Filipino teachers, it would be useful to outline a typical work day. Filipino teachers put in an extremely long and difficult day. The teacher must be in school at 7:30 for flag ceremonies and generally stays until 5:00 or later. If teachers travel or commute, this adds as much as one-and-a-half or two hours to their day. Transportation to remote villages from the central market town is difficult, and much time is spent waiting for the jeeps and buses. Once in school, the teacher has ten subjects to teach (reading, writing, spelling, math, science, Filipino, social studies, work education, music and art, and physical education). At grades five and six there are also curriculum offerings in home economics, industrial arts, and agriculture. Usually grades five and six teachers have fewer subjects to teach, and if the school has several sections, teachers may specialize in math, or science, or English. Total minutes for subjects increase, however, and intermediate teachers do not have a lighter teaching load. School is out from 11:30 until 1:30 for all children, and the lower grades go home as early as 10:30 to avoid the mid-day heat.

Second, the teacher work load also includes numerous extra-curricular activities. Throughout the year teachers spend about three and one-half to four hours a week in community beautification and in the supervision of home gardening and animal-growing projects. Various teachers are also involved in other community projects such as scouting, community string bands, and national programs of reforestation and roadside beautification. The school also sponsors a series of athletic meets from the smallest school to the national meet. These events last several months and involve a small portion of the staff for many days as coaches and chaperones. Finally, the PTA and community assembly meetings and projects intermittently involve teachers. The amount of class time

spent in extracurricular activities is indeed extensive. The school is rarely operating without such interruptions of class work.

Third, teachers participate in numerous in-service training institutes for improving methods and instructional materials in all subject areas. These institutes are held on regional, district, and school levels. Those at higher levels use a delegate system with excused class time. Those on the school level are held after school or during the noon hours. The amounts of time and energy spent on dissemination of curriculum and instructional materials can scarcely be overestimated. The national and provincial educational bureaucracies have staff departments for each subject area. All of these curriculum supervisors feel compelled to be continually innovating and introducing new programs. Their promotions and evaluations hinge on holding in-service workshops and producing materials. Regional workshops occur several times a year and district in-service training for all ten areas occupies some time each month. These higher level meetings spawn hundreds of school level sessions on a more frequent basis. Nearly every week some members of the staff of a given school are involved. Delegates must prepare for, participate in, and followup such conferences. This is particularly true of certain schools which are designated pilot schools and must host the regional and district in-service conferences.

Fourth, curriculum committees are formed for all subjects and meet once or twice a year. Usually, these committees become the bases of supplying personnel for preparing the in-service conferences. The general staff of most schools also have weekly meetings to clarify administrative directives and to plan for the previously mentioned in-service events. A combination of all these extracurricular activities and various administrative and professional meetings dramatically alters the work load of a teacher. These extra duties not only create more activities, but they frequently necessitate extensive doubling up of classes. When a teacher leaves for an in-service conference, an athletic meet, a scouting meeting, or community activities, there are no substitutes called in, and the overload is borne by the remaining teachers. In short, the work load of the Filipino teacher can only be described as staggering.

Class sizes vary considerably, but classes of 45-60 pupils are not uncommon in the lower grades, and 30 and above is typical for grades five and six. The physical classrooms also vary widely from mud floors and nipa palm roofs to well constructed concrete and/or wood structures. A great deal of the national school budget goes into prefabricated buildings. The research area showed the effects of national and provincial assistance, and almost all school sites visited had permanent buildings. Generally, all classrooms are hot, close to other classes, noisy, and not lavishly equipped with visual aids, comfortable desks, extra books, and shelves. Most rooms and buildings are not painted or artificially lighted, so dark days create real visual problems. By U.S. suburban standards, the average Philippine rural school is neither

physically attractive nor a functional place to work. The schools re-
flect the poverty of the communities and of the government. Yet from a
Philippine point of view, i.e., given the general poverty, the schools
are relatively well developed. Almost every village has a school com-
plex with several buildings, a play area, garden space, various forms
of vegetation, and some fencing. Only very small villages double up
grade levels in a single room. Although not comparable to U.S. sub-
urban/small town schools, Philippine rural schools are often more
"modern" and developed than the old U.S. rural township schools of the
midwest.

Social Life of Teachers

As the description of a teacher's work day implies, relatively
little time is left for social and recreational life. This is particu-
larly true of female teachers who often have several children and thus
heavy family responsibilities. Further, without any personal transpor-
tation, doing things together as a family is a difficult, expensive task.
Towns, because they are more complex, generally offer a wider range of
institutions and voluntary associations than villages. There are more
youth, ladies', and professional clubs, and the fiesta and Holy Week
celebrations are more lavish. Further, more houses have lights; there
are better streets and transportation; and there is a police force. All
of these factors make activities outside the home more attractive in
towns. One major aspect of organized teacher social life evolves from
teacher friendship cliques (barkadas) at school. The barkada is often
an important structural aspect of teacher social life and of informal
school staff organization.

The Teacher Barkada

Intensive informant work was done with several cliques in the
village where factionalism was studied and where the research team lived.
The descriptions of these groups are based on long, informal interviews
with two informants from each group and on participant-observation in
school meetings and social gatherings. My wife and I have also been
actual members of such groups for two or more years. These cases in
the research area proved to be quite similar to groups personally ex-
perienced in other regions. The barkada is not an aspect of teacher
social life which involves all teachers, but most schools have such
groups and perhaps as high as 50% of the staff participate in a barkada.

A precise definition of a barkada is difficult because such
groups take various forms and serve various purposes. Generally, a

barkada is a loose-knit group of teachers based upon some combination
of kinship relation, affect, age similarities, and physical proximity.
A barkada may be largely social and recreational or simply a convenient
task or work group. Such groups cannot be spoken of as subcultures.
They do not possess a unique material and ideological culture in some
collective adaptation to the environment. In a more limited sense, how-
ever, the barkada has a pattern of behavior and ritualized relationships.
They can also be characterized as adapting to community expectations and
social pressures. Compared to American occupational-group cliques, the
barkada is often much more formalized and kin-based. The barkada's com-
mon social and exchange activities are very much a reflection of the com-
munity social structure and cultural practices. They may be an extension
of community and factional orderings and a focus for differentiations in
staff power and status. Consequently, barkadas can take on more signi-
ficance as a form of general social structure than the more isolated
American work group, which may be either more task-oriented or more
strictly social and personal.

To elaborate the various types of barkadas, the data have been
grouped into three ideal types: 1) social/friendship barkada, 2) quasi-
kin-based barkada, and 3) task barkada. These are, of course, very rough
ideal types with some overlapping and similar attributes. The first type
of barkada is most closely analogous to a small friendship group. Two
such groups were encountered, one cutting across a school district and
one in a large barrio. The first group consisted of five young, unmar-
ried girls. Three were from two different barrios and two were from the
market town. The girls were from both prominent and very poor families,
and they were not related. This group was almost totally a social group,
and they frequently went to movies in the city or on picnics or window
shopping. They also shared gossip and personal secrets.

The second social group was a foursome of older (50-60 years)
teachers in the barrio. As was the case with the younger group, they
were not close blood relations, although one pair were kumpares and
one pair, third cousins. Two were spinsters, and two were married with
small families. This group also represented a range of social class
backgrounds. Unlike the younger group, they had very few social activ-
ities outside the village. Their socializing was largely through school
meetings and through family affairs such as funerals, fiestas, bap-
tismals, and birthday parties. Attendance of functions and small ex-
changes of gifts or food were very important rituals for maintaining
the relationships. The younger barkada also tended to interact and
exchange gifts at such events, particularly if the events were personal
such as a baptism or a birthday party. The younger group, however, was
more oriented toward experiences in the cosmopolitan area and less
toward the traditional activities. A third group of Central school
teachers, three young females, also made up a friendship or social
barkada very similar to those described.

The second type of barkada may be described as a quasi-kinship group. Three such groups were encountered, one in the large barrio and two in the town. Perhaps the ideal example of this type of barkada was a group of seven different teachers in the large barrio school. The group was made up of three first cousins, one niece, one brother-in-law, and a close kumpare of the prominent de Silva family (see Chapter VI). Members of this group varied in age and experience, and were of both sexes. Of the five females two were young and unmarried; one was young but married, with three children; and the other two were older, experienced, and unmarried. The two males were older, experienced, and married. Practically speaking, this group ran the school. It included the main special teachers with extra powers, the industrial arts and home economics teachers. It also included two national normal school-trained teachers, as well as the acknowledged "best teacher" in school. This group planned school in-service programs, led PTA projects, and dominated every meeting observed. They actually functioned as a leader-ship group and as a social group. Socially, they engaged in social and food exchanges such as those practiced by the older friendship barkada described above. The two young, unmarried girls in this barkada did things together socially outside the barrio. Interestingly, these two younger teachers of this barrio barkada were 2/5's of the young friend-ship barkada described earlier. They combined with a dyad of two town teachers and a third from another barrio to become a social recreation-al barkada of unmarried district teachers.

The town also had two other examples of a quasi-kinship barkada. In both cases they were the older teachers of the central school. One group consisted of three primary teachers and the home economics teacher. They were all in their late 40's or 50's and all related through blood (cousins) and fictive kinship. The other group consisted of three in-termediate teachers, the librarian, the school nurse, and the shop teacher. Three were related (uncle-niece-cousins) and all were friends. One was linked to the group through marriage and was an in-law of two other mem-bers. Several younger teachers were on friendly terms with this group, but the social exchanges described in the other group were primarily be-tween the older teachers. The three younger teachers affiliated primarily because of room proximity and similar teaching assignments. The older members of this barkada also established a club outside school called the "Suiciders." They chose this name because of their guerrilla activities against the Japanese. This group centered around the principal and in-cluded all but one of the barkada. They met every two or three weeks on Sunday afternoons to dine, dance, and chat. The meetings rotated among different members' houses. As in the case of the major barrio barkada, this group of teachers was very influential in the school. They were always involved in the preparations for and entertainment of important visitors. The best singer and the best declaimer on the staff were in the group. In addition, two of the group were usually organizers and leaders in various in-service professional conferences. One was basic-ally the assistant principal without title and performed numerous minor

administrative duties. Because this group contained special teachers with special powers and skills, it was collectively influential.

The third type of barkada, a task group, is perhaps the most common and most casual. Several such groups were observed in different types of schools. One threesome in the barrio school lived in the same area and walked to school together. They also taught on the same grade levels and frequently shared teaching materials. These teachers were not related but were friendly toward each other. They sat together at school meetings but there was no extensive exchange of gifts or group attendance of important social occasions. Nor did they get together socially after school and have a formalized club. Another threesome, all commuter teachers from the town, rode the same jeep, shared in small talk to and from school, and tended to work together while in school. The same pattern of casual and cordial work dyads or triads also existed between central school teachers of the same grade. Indeed, the structure and organization of schools very much encouraged this type of staff cooperation. All in-service and curriculum planning activities were organized by grade levels. Teachers of the same grade levels had contiguous rooms, and the national curriculum materials and testing were very standardized. With such materials in extremely short supply, and with such strong incentives to conform, grade level teachers must form common work groups. The same holds true for the inevitability of contact and cooperation between teachers riding the one and only public jeep to and from school daily. Such structuring of movement inevitably creates smaller, loose-knit, relatively impersonal task groups. Occasionally such barkadas may develop into a different type of barkada based more upon affect and social exchange.

Summary on Teacher Barkadas

First, this brief description of barkadas illustrates the richness and complexity of teacher social life in the professional setting. Many teachers socialize in their own kinship group, which may or may not be related to their teacher barkada. Others, of course, are new to communities, and for that or other reasons, are more withdrawn and socially isolated. Relative to teachers described in American studies (Waller 1967; Cook 1930), the Filipino teacher is more involved in the traditional life and families of his community.

Second, barkadas reflect community social structure and status rankings. The barkadas are based on the same forms of reciprocity which bind people into factions for competition, status striving, and feuding. The case study on factions (see Chapter IV) illustrated how a family dominant in the barrio also dominated the school through a kin-like barkada of teachers. Since, however, the other faction was not seriously represented on the staff, there were no data on the transfer of factional

feuding to staff feuding. In this case, the teaching staff (one faction) was in conflict with community leaders (the opposite faction). In cases where feuding community factions are well represented on the school staff, that school staff is likely to form into quasi-kinship barkadas and continue the feud. More cases in a variety of settings would give valuable insight into the relation of general and school social structure. Such data would also be helpful in studies of village factionalism and teacher partisan political behavior.

Third, the barkada is often the focus of staff leadership and power. Generally, industrial arts and home economics teachers control a labor force of children (fifth and sixth graders) that can do small favors and help prepare the school for visitors. The librarians of central schools and the nurse can also do small favors. They have free time and often develop close personal and work relations with the administrator. Such special teachers often incur the administrator's indebtedness by helping with small administrative tasks, and by providing information on the staff. They can, of course, also act to assist and to inform teachers. In general, teachers who sing, recite poetry, dance or cook well, and even young, very presentable teachers, have special skills which give them a measure of power and status within the school. Observations suggest a pattern of older senior teacher barkadas controlling the central schools. They perform the all-important functions of presenting the school's public image and of fulfilling division and national directives for professional improvement activities. Any administrator who wants to succeed needs a core of such people to accomplish these tasks. This is also true in barrio schools, particularly larger ones, but such schools tend to have younger, more mobile staffs, and the possibilities for a less structured leadership group are greater. In either case, barkadas create and legitimate staff differentials in power and status and mobilize the school to perform its major image-building or survival tasks.

Teacher Friendship Choices

Closely related to the phenomenon of teacher barkadas is the general pattern of teacher social relationships. In the survey, teachers were asked to specify their closest friends. Examples of social exchanges such as invitations to baptismals, fiestas, birthday celebrations, and of assistance in times of need were suggested as criteria for "close friend" (see Appendix A). Their definition of "close friend" and the occupations of those persons cited were also elicited. These responses were coded with the same occupational categories used in other questions (see Appendix C). The percentage of friends in each occupation summarizes the types of persons with whom teachers closely associate:

TABLE 5.13

The Occupational Rankings of Teacher Friendship Choices

	(0-25%) Low	(26-50%) Medium	(51-75%) High	(76-100%) Very High
Unskilled	259 (76%)	40 (11%)	18 (6%)	23 (7%)
Teacher	52 (16%)	39 (10%)	68 (19%)	188 (55%)
Other professionals	306 (90%)	22 (7%)	6 (2%)	4 (1%)

N = 340

These data illustrate how closely teachers associate with other teachers. Sixty-nine percent of the teachers reported that more than 50% of their close friends were teachers. In associating outside the group, a greater percentage of teachers had more unskilled friends than professional friends (13% vs 3%). If the categories "medium" and "high" are combined to create a "mixed profile of friends," 29% of the sample had a variety of friends. Teachers were far from being completely isolated, but as a group the great majority, whether in towns or barrios, tend to socialize among themselves and often in some form of barkada. The diversity of friendships in these data is more a reflection of the lower class origins of teachers than of choice. Teachers, particularly those from barrios, have inherited many relations with poorer kinsmen and family friends.

A series of cross-tabulations further elaborate what kinds of teachers have what kinds of friends. Economic background, social mobility, rural-urban background, level of education, compadrazgo relationships, professional leadership, community leadership, and desire for promotion and travel were not significantly related to having certain types of friends. Sex was quite significantly related (χ^2 = 21.78, 1df, p = .00001), and females tended to have more teacher friends than males. Males tended to have more professional friends (χ^2 = 7.36, 1df, p = .006). Neither had more or fewer unskilled friends. Age of teachers was also significantly related (χ^2 = 4.51, 1df, p = .02) to having larger percentages of teacher friends, but was not related to high percentages of professional or unskilled friends. In short, older female teachers have more teacher friends, while all males tend to be oriented toward other professionals. This very much corroborates the observations of teacher barkadas among older female teachers of the central schools. This finding also relates to the greater partisan political interest and activity of males in the data on factionalism (see Chapter IV).

Summary of Social Life of Teachers

A great majority of teachers socialize with other teachers. They are also intimately involved with their poor relatives and with educating younger siblings. The data on friendship choices and barkadas indicate that teachers are socially a relatively close-knit group. They lack solidarity as a professional interest group, but they do generally social- ize together on the job and in smaller cliques. The occupational group is not a subculture in itself, but socializing together creates an ordered, ritualized interaction. In addition, common values and grievances also create some sense of solidarity. When teachers do select non-teachers as close friends they tend to be below teachers in occupational status. Conversely, only a small percentage of teachers socialize with the higher occupational groups. In the large barrios and market towns, the ambitious principal with political friends, or a female teacher from a "good" family or with a prominent husband socializes with the community elite. As in the case studies of teacher barkadas, a group of teachers from key fam- ilies evolves as the leaders and managers of the school. Teacher barkadas, then, reflect community stratification and factionalism. A second type of exception is the socially isolated teacher. Impressions suggest that many teachers who have migrated from the barrios or from other towns have no kinship connections to community life. This tends to be the poorer migrant teacher in large towns, but closer examination may also suggest other characteristics.

THE PROFESSIONAL SELF-IMAGE OF TEACHERS

Teacher Perception of the Profession

Teachers were asked to rate teaching as an occupation and as a source of community status. The question had teachers compare their occupation with others of similar educational qualification on a three- point rating scale of low, average, and high:

TABLE 5.14

Teachers' Rating of Their Profession as a Livelihood

	Low	Average	High
Teacher Self-Ratings	162 (48%)	168 (49%)	10 (3%)

Teachers' Rating of Their Profession as a Community Status

	Low	Average	High
Teacher Self-Ratings	18 (5%)	105 (31%)	217 (64%)

N = 340

Teachers felt they had very high community status (64% high) but that their occupation was not a very good means of livelihood (48% low). Generally, teachers seemed to have unfulfilled expectations about their occupation as a means of livelihood, but their expectations of teaching as a community status position have been fulfilled. The primary complaint of almost all teachers was low salary, but few felt they were unimportant or unrespected community members.

Job Satisfaction

Closely related to the previous teacher ratings of their occupation is a set of data on what teachers like and dislike about their job situation. Initially, teachers were simply asked how satisfied they were with their present job:

TABLE 5.15

Teachers' General Job Satisfaction

Content	Somewhat Content	Somewhat Discontent	Discontent
179 (55%)	116 (34%)	117 (35%)	28 (8%)

N = 340

The great majority of teachers (87%) were either somewhat content or content. This was frequently prefaced with side comments such as "what else would I be happier at?" or "I am tied to my profession, so here I will stay." "Content" is, of course, a very vague term which can range from

deep enjoyment and fulfillment to resignation to the imperfections of
life and perhaps any job. In order to better interpret teacher job sat-
isfaction, a series of more specific work conditions were rated by each
teacher on a four-point scale: very unsatisfactory (1), unsatisfactory
(2), satisfactory (3), very satisfactory (4). This produced Table 5.16.
Teachers were dissatisfied with their salary (72%), physical facilities
(54%), extracurricular activities (45%), and lack of freedom to plan
own teaching (41%). The first three factors have already been discussed
in Chapters II and V. In addition, a large percentage (41%) felt they
did not have enough freedom to plan their own teaching. This partially
reflects both the highly prescribed national curriculum and the practice
of requiring extensively written lesson plans. A further breakdown of
this question would be helpful. Judging from the pretest followup
questions, teachers did not believe they had enough freedom to deviate.
There were, however, perhaps even more teachers who felt a need for such
structure. At best this question only indicates an area of discontent
which needs more elaboration.

Other items such as relations with administrators, community
folks, other teachers, and children reflected little dissatisfaction.
Teachers seemed satisfied with their personal relationships connected to
the teaching role. There were slightly larger percentages of teachers
dissatisfied with district administration and supervision (19%) and
division level administration and supervision (15%). Judging from
teacher gossip at meetings, one would expect much more discontent to
be expressed on the formal ratings. Despite such complaining, teachers
appeared resigned to or content with general administrative and super-
visory practices. No doubt, more specific practices such as paper work
and reports, number of professional meetings, would have focused such
complaints. As in the case of general job satisfaction or resignation,
there was also general satisfaction or resignation to supervision and
administration. This was very apparent in the data on teacher acceptance
of the promotion system (Chapter III). Teachers could blame and criti-
cize administrators for allowing outside interference in personnel deci-
sions. However, there was little outcry, and teachers seemed to accept
that administrators are the victims of a larger system and cannot be held
personally responsible. Quite possibly there are more militant and ideo-
logical teachers in the urban area, but such criticisms were rare in the
research area. Teachers grumbled about "lazy" administrators who are
"interested more in the preparation for his dinner than in the lesson."
Some teachers also criticized administrators for lack of ideas and waste-
ful administrative practices, but as the ratings indicate, teachers are
generally resigned to such imperfections and irregularities. They are a
great deal more concerned about their personal work conditions and income.

TABLE 5.16

Teachers' Satisfaction with Specific Work Conditions

	Very Satis- factory	Satis- factory	Unsatis- factory	Very Unsatis- factory
Parents' Interest in School Programs and Projects	27 (10%)	197 (73%)	43 (17%)	3 (1%)
Salary	8 (3%)	67 (25%)	145 (53%)	50 (19%)
District Administration/ Supervision of Teachers	28 (11%)	190 (70%)	45 (17%)	7 (2%)
Extra-Curricular Activities	29 (11%)	118 (44%)	97 (36%)	26 (9%)
Physical Facilities	18 (6%)	109 (40%)	115 (43%)	28 (11%)
Freedom to Plan Own Teaching	21 (8%)	138 (51%)	78 (29%)	33 (12%)
Relations with Fellow Teachers	63 (24%)	202 (75%)	5 (1%)	0 (0%)
Division Administration/ Supervision of Teachers	26 (9%)	205 (76%)	33 (13%)	6 (2%)
Relations with Community Folks	66 (25%)	196 (73%)	8 (2%)	0 (0%)
Relations with Administrators	38 (15%)	202 (75%)	26 (9%)	4 (1%)
Work with Children	50 (18%)	198 (74%)	21 (8%)	1 (0%)

N = 270

(270 of 340 sample responded - 91%)

Assignment Satisfaction

Related to the general notion of job satisfaction or teacher morale is satisfaction with the type of assignment and desire to move or migrate. Teachers were asked if they desired to move elsewhere and why. The following table suggests where teachers would like to move if given the chance.

TABLE 5.17

Teachers' Desire to Change Assignments

	General Change	to barrio	to town	to the city	overseas
No	186 (55%)	316 (93%)	275 (81%)	262 (77%)	183 (54%)
Yes	153 (45%)	24 (7%)	65 (19%)	78 (23%)	157 (46%)

N = 340

A large percentage (45%) would like to transfer to some other location. Since they could answer yes to all the alternatives, the percentages do not necessarily reflect absolute numbers of people. The pattern, however, is quite clear; if given the chance, teachers would move toward the urban and overseas areas. This does not necessarily mean they are unhappy in the rural areas, or with their present assignment. In rating their satisfaction with present assignment, 73% reported they were satisfied and only 27% were dissatisfied. Again, as in the job satisfaction response, many expressed either satisfaction or resignation to the situation, e.g., "I am too old to move," or "it is cheaper to stay here." A number of cross-tabulation tables were run to ascertain who wanted to transfer and to go overseas. The only significant associations were between age and desire to move. Younger teachers wanted to transfer ($\chi^2 = 13.50$, p = .0002) and to go abroad ($\chi^2 = 9.57$, p = .001). Since younger teachers are more frequently assigned to villages, village teachers were more interested in moving than town teachers ($\chi^2 = 8.45$, df1, p = .004).

Motivations for Becoming a Teacher

Teachers were also asked, "if given another chance would you choose teaching again?" A surprising 92% (314) said they would not choose teaching again and cited the following reasons: heavy work load and extra activities (40%), low salary (37%), red tape and meetings (5%), outside obligations to the community (4%), expense of teaching aids, conferences (4%), slow promotion and lack of merit (5%), and pressure and curiosity of parents (4%). These reasons corroborate the job satisfaction questions.

Again, heavy work load, extra activities, and salary were mentioned as major dissatisfactions. Much smaller percentages freely mentioned meetings, community obligations, professional expenses, slow promotion, and parental pressures. Teachers were then asked what type of job they would have chosen. These occupations were coded into unskilled-skilled (22%), other white collar (56%), and professional (12%). A relatively large percentage (22%) chose such occupations as beautician, midwife, secretary, clerk, barber, and policeman. A smaller percentage (12%) chose more highly trained professions such as doctors, lawyers, scientists, and professors.

The great majority (56%), however, preferred white collar office jobs in government agencies and business companies. Within this category 15% chose other quasi-professional occupations such as nurse, pharmacist, medical technician, draftsman, nutritionist, and optometrist. In the Philippine setting such occupations are not necessarily higher than teaching. Such courses are expensive and the salaries are low. But these occupations are in great demand in the United States and, therefore, such occupations take on a new status dimension. Choosing such occupations and planning for migration might be considered an indication of higher occupational aspiration. In summary, these data give a rather diverse profile of what teachers would have ideally liked to be. Teachers would prefer doing office work (41%) over professional service occupations such as teaching, nursing, social work, and agriculture. The pay for office work is generally equal or slightly higher, and the work loads are lighter and more definitely between set hours (nine-to-five).

When asked "why did you become a teacher?" the respondents cited the following reasons: family wishes (36%); easiest, least expensive course (34%); desire to work with children; to teach (17%); by chance; no particular reason (7%); safe, stable profession (4%); and followed friends' advice (2%). A related question asked "who influenced you to choose teaching?" Kinsmen accounted for 48%, non-kinsmen 5%, and self 44%. Kinsmen mentioned were: brother/sister (21%), father (10%), mother (6%), aunt/uncle (6%), and godparents (5%). Non-kinsmen were almost all friends. Interestingly, older brothers and sisters seem to be a very important model for or influence on occupational choice (21%). The family, of course, is generally important, but a large percentage (44%) reported they personally chose teaching. Apparently, no one really influenced them. This was not carefully followed up, but it would be interesting to know the reasoning process those 44% went through, and how all respondents assessed their life chances.

Summary on Teacher Professional Self-Image

These data on professional self-image suggest that a majority of teachers feel teaching is a very ennobling but financially unrewarding profession. In the open-end reasons for having chosen teaching very few mentioned idealistic and professional reasons. Before choosing teaching, most respondents seemed to think of it as a respectable, relatively easy, well-paying job compared to the jobs of their lower class fathers. Having experienced the long days, the multitude of meetings, and a shrinking, fixed salary in inflationary times, teachers no longer think of teaching as "greener pastures." There is much discontent among teachers over working conditions and parental pressures, and those who rate themselves as satisfied with their job often express more resignation than satisfaction. Teachers are frustrated and angry, but there is nowhere else to go occupationally, and they fear there is no way to reform their system. Although teachers still feel they are doing an important job, their faith in and image of their profession seem to be deteriorating. Their lost occupational expectations and discontent with work conditions do, however, bring teachers together socially. Teachers often commiserate together over their exploitation, which they feel no one understands. The poor think teachers are rich, and the rich do not care. This widespread discontent among teachers becomes a negative basis for solidarity.

OCCUPATIONAL AND COMMUNITY STATUS OF TEACHERS

The Measures

There have been several general studies of occupational status ranking in the Philippines (Tyriakin 1958; Castillo 1966). They provide a general view of the elementary school teacher's position as middle to upper middle class in the rural areas and as lower middle class in the urban areas. Initially, these studies were to be the baseline data for this study. Ultimately, however, new data were collected. Several important community roles and more rural occupations were included in an attempt to make the rankings more a community prestige measure than a national occupational ranking. The question was also phrased to focus the subjects on their community. A second modification was to use two shortened equivalent forms instead of one long list of occupations. The sequence and mix of occupational types included equal percentages of professional, skilled, and unskilled. "Elementary teacher" was included on both forms (see Appendix C).

There are numerous methodological debates on the limitations of occupational status rankings, but the general approach of rating each

occupation is relatively fast and effortless (Bendix et al. 1966). In
keeping with the general approach of multiple measures, several other
sources of supplementary data were used. Second, teachers were rated on
five personal and social characteristics often associated with high status:
wealth, manners, sociability, industry, and intelligence. These data plus
the open-end reasons for rating the teachers, suggest a broader view of
teacher occupational or community status. Third, extensive open-end data
on what parents like and dislike about teachers (see Chapter IV), parti-
cularly their behavior and their management of the school and children,
also partially reflect the community members' personal esteem for
teachers. Fourth, both community members and teachers compared teacher
occupational prestige of today with the pre-World War II days. This
time sequence was chosen because the Philippines was still a Commonwealth
under the United States. Last, the data on the self-image of teachers
also had many implications for teacher occupational prestige. This
variety of measures greatly broadens the initial, formal occupational
ratings to a more general discussion of teachers as a professional group.

Community Occupational Rankings

The first set of data consists of the occupational rankings of
twenty-two professions. The rankings were based on 230 randomly sampled
community members in ten different villages and towns. A five-point scale
from very low (1) to very high (5) was used for the ratings. The mean
scores and standard deviations for the occupations rated are as stated in
Table 5.18.

Teachers were clearly high, seventh of twenty-two, in these ratings.
They ranked below only the prestige professions and positions. This places
them higher than they were in the studies using more urban professions
(Tyriakin 1958). Teachers ranked about on par with the barrio captain and
slightly higher than the local rice miller, the community development
worker (PACD), and the midwife. Particularly in smaller communities,
teachers are among the few people with a college education. Judging
from the standard deviation measures, there was a relatively high diver-
gence of opinion on the teacher ranking (16th of 22). Generally, however,
very few people ranked teachers below average (3).

Open-End Ratings of Teacher Status

Why teachers are so highly ranked is explained in the open-end
responses of the community members. The following is a summary of their
reasons for rating teachers high in prestige (Table 5.19). The largest
group (41%) emphasized that teachers were surrogate parents and models

TABLE 5.18

Community Members' Rankings of Selected Rural Occupations

		Mean	SD
1.	Doctor	4.75	.487
2.	Lawyer	4.67	.661
3.	Mayor	4.66	.947
4.	Priest	4.57	.947
5.	Engineer	4.47	.847
6.	Owner of a Bank	4.44	.745
7.	Elementary Teacher	4.07	.856
8.	Barrio Captain	3.89	.711
9.	Rice Miller	3.77	.780
10.	Community Development Worker	3.56	.643
11.	Midwife	3.52	.657
12.	Land Reform Agent	3.43	.804
13.	Policeman	3.21	.971
14.	Overseer	3.04	.715
15.	Store Owner	2.86	.637
16.	Dressmaker	2.83	.613
17.	Carpenter	2.82	.933
18.	Beautician	2.75	.754
19.	Pepsi Salesman	2.67	.677
20.	Farmer	2.32	1.25
21.	Store Clerk	2.31	.901
22.	Jeep Driver	2.28	.761

N = 230

TABLE 5.19

The Basis of Community Members' Esteem for Teachers

	Number and % of Sample Responding	
"Teachers are second parents, models, caretakers, enlighteners of children."	140	(41%)
"Teachers have superior knowledge, experience, and education."	98	(29%)
"Teachers are community leaders, with a position; people follow and learn from them."	51	(14%)
"Teachers know how to deal with people, get along, join groups, and activities."	32	(10%)
"Teaching is a decent, honorable profession"	16	(5%)

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N             = 240
Mean Response = 3.37
Range         = 1 to 6
Mode          = 3
```

for children. There was a strong orientation in these responses for the children to learn ethics and morals. The other strong theme emerging from the data was that the teachers controlled the occupational futures of the children. Parents did not give this as a reason why teachers are highly ranked, but this was very evident in the data concerning the need for teachers to stay out of politics (see Chapter IV). The public deference at PTA meetings (see Chapter IV) and the absence of parental control on the schools (see Chapter III) also illustrated the perceived power of teachers over the children's futures. The teachers are, from a Filipino point of view, a kind of patron for the family and the children. They bestow education and success upon a given family through their child. The other basis for the high ranking is more intrinsic to the teacher role and training, and 43% of the sample felt teachers have superior knowledge, experience, and education.

Ratings of Teacher Personal Characteristics

To obtain more specific ratings of teachers as people, the "average teacher" was rated on a five-point scale from very low (1) to very high (5) on personal and social characteristics often used as the bases for status and prestige rankings:

TABLE 5.20

Community Members' Ratings of Teacher
Personal Characteristics

	Mean	Standard Dev.
Wealth of family	2.87	.531
Fineness of manners	3.22	.622
Sociability	3.33	.667
Intelligence	3.29	.636
Industriousness	3.32	.659

N = 340

As the results indicate, teachers were rated slightly above average on all these characteristics except wealth of family. This measure, of course, represents a very general, almost stereotyped view of teachers. The interviewers keyed respondents to think of the "typical teacher" and not necessarily the one living next door to them. These results surprised the interviewers, who expected teachers to rate much higher. Unfortunately, this type rating was not administered to teachers. They

could be expected, however, to give much higher ratings, as they did on their group's role in community improvement and on their community improvement skills (Chapter II). Interviewers also wrote down open-end comments on these questions, and a number of interviewees seemed compelled to defend their ratings with such comments as: "teachers today are a dime a dozen" or "many are just civil service fakes" (a reference to widespread irregularities on the civil service exams). This same sentiment comes out in the ratings of past and present teacher status. As in the ratings of teachers' community development skills, few community people feel that teachers are very extraordinary people. The exact interaction between the occupational rankings and these data is not entirely clear, but it does reveal some interesting differences.

Time Comparisons: Pre- and Post-War Teacher Status

Both community members and teachers were questioned on their views as to whether the teaching profession has changed, and if so, how and why. The following is a summary of the closed-end and open-end responses:

TABLE 5.21

Teachers' and Community Members' Perceptions of Changes in Teacher Prestige

	Teachers (n = 312)	Community (n = 211)
Better during Pre-War	257 (80%)	127 (58%)
The same in both times	45 (16%)	64 (29%)
Worse during Pre-War	10 (4%)	30 (13%)
Missing Cases =	28 (8%)	Missing Cases = 19 (8%)

This table indicates considerable general agreement between teachers and community members on the decline of teacher prestige. Teachers overwhelmingly (92%) agreed that their profession was more highly esteemed before the war. Parents were generally less willing to make this judgment and give an opinion. This partially accounts for the larger number answering "the same" (29%). But the majority of community respondents (58%) agreed with teachers that the profession had declined in prestige. In the open-end data the respondents gave their reasons why teacher prestige had changed (Table 5.22).

TABLE 5.22

Community Members' and Teachers' Reasons for the
Changes in Teacher Prestige

Teacher Sample   Community Sample

Comparable Reasons

1. College standards are lower,   Teachers are less properly trained,
   e.g., teachers' poor English,   less intelligent, less selected -
   diploma mills -   140 (29%)   96 (27%)

2. The increase in numbers of   The increase in numbers of
   teachers has lowered their   teachers has lowered their value
   value to people -   80 (16%)   89 (23%)

3. Graft and corruption in the   Graft and corruption is worse
   schools lowers the quality of   today -   42 (12%)
   teachers -   113 (25%)

Non-Comparable Reasons

4. Administrators supervise   Teachers are less dedicated, less
   teachers poorly, e.g., old,   idealistic, less hard working
   tired, supervisors,   42 (12%)
   subjective ratings
                      43 (9%)

5. Lower pay doesn't attract   Teachers develop less
   good people into teaching   disciplined, respectful students
   i.e., real buying power of   41 (12%)
   salary -   120 (26%)
                                       The manners of teachers today
                                       are less refined and dignified,
                                       more vice now -   32 (9%)

   Respondents = 270 of 300   Respondents = 160 of 230
   Number of Responses = 486   Number of Responses = 366

   Mean Response = 1.8   Mean Response = 2.1
   Range   = 1 to 4   Range   = 1 to 4
   Mode   = 2   Mode   = 2

Considering that the question was open-end, there was consid-
erable agreement between the samples. Three factors were commonly men-
tioned. First, the decline in educational standards and training was
the most frequently mentioned reason in both groups (t = 29%, cm = 27%).
Second, that teaching was becoming a less exclusive profession was also
frequently cited (t = 16%, cm = 23%). The third most common factor cited
was graft and corruption in the schools (t = 25%, cm = 12%). Generally,
parents focused on weaknesses in individual teachers, e.g., less dedi-
cated (12%), less disciplinarians (12%), less mannerly and dignified (9%).
This difference in perspective is not at all surprising since it reflects
a difference in role position. These data, plus the rating question,
suggest the extent to which both groups perceive a decline in teacher
prestige. It should also be noted that a small percentage (4% of the
teachers and 13% of the community members) believe teacher prestige has
improved. This sample also indicated a small number of reasons for this
improvement which have not been reported. Further, 16% of the teachers
and 29% of the community members sampled felt there was little change up
or down and gave no particular reasons.

SUMMARY ON COMMUNITY AND PROFESSIONAL STATUS

Data have been presented in this chapter on the formal occupa-
tional and community status of teachers. Chapters III and IV on teacher
professional mobility and teacher relation to community factionalism also
implicitly and explicitly discuss teacher status. Teachers as a profes-
sional group are unorganized and powerless. In recent years they have
greatly improved their tenure system with congressional legislation,
"The Teachers' Magna Charta." This law prevents wholesale transfers and
blatant political intimidation. In spite of this new law, only teachers
in the Manila area seem to be organizing and resisting the promotion sys-
tem described in Chapter III. There is little question that an occupa-
tional group without autonomy over its evaluation and training standards
is not, by definition, a profession. The data from both promotion
(Chapter III) and status ranking suggest a general opinion or attitude
that the present system has lowered teacher prestige and threatens to
undermine the quality of education.

Closely related to this circumscription of teachers as profes-
sionals is the "neutralization" of teachers politically (Chapter IV).
In the limited case data available, teachers were generally not major
patrons and only infrequently minor patrons. Nor did the evidence on
their relation to the kin-based factions suggest that they play leader-
ship roles in their own family groups. This is largely a function of
social background and of strong community pressures restricting partisan

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roles. When teachers are patrons there are usually very important per-
sonal situational factors present, e.g., member of a wealthy family or
a property owner in a region with boundary disputes. It is difficult
to find any pattern evolving from role prescriptions or from shared
personal characteristics or values of teachers as a group.

Nor do the data on economic status suggest that teachers have
excess wealth or live ostentatiously in their communities. They are
clearly more wealthy than the ordinary farmer but not enough to redis-
tribute wealth. In addition, the data on community development skills
(Chapter II) and on teacher social life suggest a tendency for teachers
to be socially isolated. Further, the data on likes and dislikes of
community members (Chapter IV) and on teacher personal characteristics
suggest that teachers are not perceived as exceptionally skilled in
interpersonal relations.

The question all of these data on professional autonomy, politi-
cal power, economic standing, and social skills raises is, "what is the
basis for teacher social status?" Clearly, the role of the teacher in
the rural areas is still important. They are the guardians of social
mobility through education. Teachers also have an education and a "clean,"
safe, and respectable job. Despite what seems like considerable erosion
in teacher prestige, the role of a teacher has a prestige not unlike the
noble, self-sacrificing missionary. There is a moral superiority in
"their struggle for young minds," a prized idealism to which parents and
teachers alike subscribe. Irrespective of the objective circumstances,
this ideal or mythology of the noble teacher will still maintain a high
occupational rank for teachers. This does not mean, however, that
teachers are perceived as being skilled community development workers and
experienced farmers, or that they are politically influential and wealthy,
or that they are exceptionally intelligent, fine mannered, sociable or
hard working. People perceive them as rather ordinary people who got
a formal education and are doing an important job. Teacher community
status, then, is based on a multiple of factors, but primarily on the
social importance of an educator as a guardian of social mobility and
as a surrogate parent.

CHAPTER VI

THE CIVIC PARTICIPATION OF RURAL FILIPINO TEACHERS

As indicated in the introductory chapter, conceptualizing com-
munity or civic participation can be a complex methodological problem.
Often the most intriguing forms of participation, e.g., opinion leader-
ship, involvement in political factions, and social welfare activities,
are very difficult to measure simply and efficiently over a large sample.
Such forms of community participation may require case studies of small
communities in the tradition of anthropological ethnographies. A modi-
fied form of ethnography was used in Chapter IV on political factional-
ism and education. Much more intensive forms of this approach are needed
on a number of civic participation measures. There are, of course, many
forms of participation measurable through formal interviewing and ques-
tionnaires. What often remain for the broader survey approach are more
easily measured memberships and activities in formal institutions and
programs, such as school, church, and local government. The other com-
mon form of civic and political participation usually included in such
surveys is the propensity of people to participate. Hundreds of Likert-
type scales on attitudes toward civic and political participation have
been developed. Some of these scales were also included, but the prim-
ary emphasis in this chapter is on self-reported rates of actual parti-
cipation in various programs and community activities.

A Typology of Civic Participation

This survey was broadly conceptualized to include several ex-
ploratory measures of participation perhaps most effectively studied
through ethnographic cases. The paradigm of community participation
provides an initial way of defining civic participation. Past litera-
ture in this field of study is almost totally lacking in theory or even
simple typologies based on the concepts of community and of community
development (Charters 1963). The paradigm used in this study was as
follows:

1. Socially Integrative Events (community religious
   behavior)

2. Socially Disintegrative Events (political factions
   and partisan behavior)

3. General Political Participation (community events and media use)

4. Sponsored Community Development Programs (school and non-school)

5. Modeling Modern Behaviors (food production and sanitation practices)

6. Community Social Fabric (compadrazgo ties and welfare activities)

A Definition of Participation

The definition of participation varies somewhat with each category, but implicit in almost all forms of participation is the notion of expending personal resources, such as time, effort, and money. Any ethnographically sound definition of participation in the _fiesta_ or some community project incorporates the notion of expending more or less personal resources relative to some implicit or explicit cultural norm. Deep involvement and sacrifice in the Philippine setting may be no more than token involvement in another cultural setting or vice versa. Quite simply, then, active participation is what Filipino teachers and community members think it is. Many long sessions with selected informants helped distinguish between what was genuinely active and what was more or less token involvement in a given activity. Without, of course, outside criterion measures, the validity and reliability of the participation categories rest upon the care of the ethnographic work.

One other important point having a cultural import is the general nature of Filipino groups. In the Philippine setting, leaders of groups generally expend a great deal more personal resources than other group members. The notion of democratic, egalitarian groups equally sharing liabilities and rewards does not characterize most Philippine social or task groups (Bulatao 1966). Groups form around persuasive personalities or patrons who lead and maintain loyalty through charisma and through various forms of social reciprocity. Consequently, almost any definition of participation in Philippine activities must use leadership as a measure of activeness. Group members assuming leadership roles such as committee chairman, chief adviser, and sponsor, will expend more personal resources and will be coded as highly active.

The Voluntariness of Participation

Initially, the paradigm was built with the assumption that such activities were basically voluntary. Irrespective of what drives or pulls people into civic participation, it was assumed that the actors have some choice to participate or not. Admittedly, however, the civic and professional participation of Filipino teachers is not entirely a voluntary act. As in most societies or organizations, particularly in more traditional societies, certain roles and rank orders exist. Factors such as sex, age grade, educational attainment, kinship obligations, and class origin invariably make certain activities or events more open or closed to a given person or group.

In spite of many such known and unknown structural barriers, the forms of civic participation discussed here are at least quasi-voluntary. In other words, one does not actually volunteer to lead a PTA project in the school or to serve on a fiesta committee. People are "drafted" for such leadership duties, and they usually protest loudly, lest they be suspected of immodesty and unbridled aspiration. Neverthelsss, a person can make known that he will volunteer, if asked. It is also clear which persons will be embarrassed by a request to serve. Volunteering, then, is voluntary in the sense that a bargain has been struck. The person asking for participation such as the priest, the mayor, and the principal, is selecting participants, but likewise, the participants are in a sense electing to participate. Perhaps the analogy of the politician who is "drafted" is most appropriate. There is an element of voluntarism and also an element of being drafted by a few key leaders. In such a case, those potential "draftees" having connections and inclinations to serve will be drafted first.

In this case of Filipino teachers, they are basically a respectable, middle class group. As a group they are neither barred from participation nor exhorted to participate. There is a tradition that community involvement is a part of their role as a teacher (Chapter II), and community members generally accept this. Within the group, however, there are differential rates of participation in the various activities. These differences may be related to previous factors having little to do with personal motivation and choice. For example, very old teachers cannot easily help clean or fence the community. The differences may also be related to the traditional culture and norms surrounding the activity, e.g., for women teachers to join a political caucus or drinking party would be inappropriate. Considering such factors along with individual motivations is, of course, the main problem of analysis in sorting out types of teachers more active in given types of activities. Neither the nature of the group nor the activities seems entirely open or closed, i.e., proscribed to a given level of participation.

A Theory of Participation

Chapter I briefly explored a number of motivational and structural notions which may associate with specific types of civic participation. The resulting theoretical stance included the notions of a motivational (professionalism) and a structural (community status) characteristic. It was hypothesized that:

1. Teachers of high community status and high
   professional orientations or responsibility
   will generally be the most active in all civic
   affairs.

2. Teachers of low community status and low professional orientations or responsibility will generally
   be the least active in all civic affairs.

3. Teachers of the intermediate types, low community
   status-high professional orientation and high
   community status-low professional orientation
   will be intermediate in all civic affairs.

In other words, there is an interactional or additive effect of community status and professionalism. The more professional a teacher, the more he is inclined to participate. The higher a teacher's status in the community, the more he is recruited or pulled into the activities. These two aspects, one basically structural and one basically motivational, are a part of the same propensity for civic duty previously labeled middle class volunteerism. This admittedly general notion is a poor man's or middle class noblesse oblige, both a force within the actor and an expectation of the society. Teachers as a group would seem to fit such a philosophical mold, particularly in places where community development is emphasized. Second, a number of both structural and demographic characteristics such as sex, age, residence, and type of community, may specify this general relationship between professional orientation, social status, and civic participation rates. For example, a number of studies indicate that men are more active than women in politics. Conversely, women are more active in religious events and affairs. Consequently, the search for alternative explanations and unanticipated factors was left very open.

The data analysis or data search model used distinguishes between descriptive and explanatory variables and analysis. Descriptive variables and analysis deal primarily with nominal measures or social characteristics such as age, sex, income, residence, sibling position, and religion. Explanatory variables and analysis deal primarily with ordinal or interval measures of attributes having a more ideational or psychological nature such as professionalism, professional aspiration, educational philosophy, status seeking, and status loss. This

analysis is primarily exploratory and descriptive in that it seeks to find basic social background characteristics related to civic activeness. The analysis, however, has also been designed to test a previously stated hypothesis about the association of professional and status factors to civic participation. These variables have been described as both structural and motivational, and statistical controls for other background and structural variables have been proposed.

The professional index was constructed from several measures: in-service workshop participation, curriculum improvement participation, reading of professional materials, and extent of professional training. All of these measures were interrelated from .30 to .68 (see Appendix C for correlation matrix and part-whole correlations). In a series of cross-tabular tables, the scale was related to residence, age, economic status, village origins, professional aspiration, and selection of compadres (> .01). Teachers who scored high on the professional scale tended to be residents of their community, older, from the barrio, and with higher income. These teachers also had higher professional aspirations and chose higher status occupations for the godparents of their children. (For specific tables, percentages, and significance levels, see Appendix C).

These data suggest some interesting problems with the professionalism index. This measure, based on reading habits, educational training, and responsibility for in-service and curriculum development workshops, is a composite variable (Hyman 1955). The index reflects the cultural and political realities of Philippine educational leadership. Ethnographic work suggests that the Filipino professional teacher tends to be older, aspiring, financially better off, male (in terms of professional promotion to administrative positions), and settled in his community. The index is something more than all these factors, but it is also a reflection of these factors; hence these factors are all likely to have an additive effect in three-variable tables. Creating pure or independent measures and variables from interrelated social characteristics is difficult, and it is important to be aware that the professional index is a constellation of attributes.

In order to establish the psychological dimensions of the professional index, it was correlated and cross-tabulated with several measures of aspiration. Stated desire for professional advancement and promotion was used as a measure of professional aspiration. The type of godparents teachers chose for their children was used as a general measure of aspiration. Godparents chosen for their children's confirmation and baptism were coded on occupation status and then calculated for the percentage of professional and non-professional choices. Those having higher percentages of professional godparents were coded as having greater aspiration or desire for social mobility (a more detailed description of such relationships will be presented later). Both the measures on professional aspiration and on choice of godparents were significantly (> .01)

related to the professional index, choosing a professional spouse, income, desire to go overseas, and ideal choice of occupations. All of these measures were intercorrelated between .17 and .24 (n = 240 married teachers). Clearly, the measures were tapping the general area of personal aspiration. Further, when the desire for promotion and the choice of godparents measures were substituted for the professional index as the independent variable, they associated significantly with the same civic participation measures. Much evidence, although not presented here in detail suggests that the professional index is partially a measure of aspiration.

Last, some brief explanation of the economic status measure should be presented. A number of measures were used to rank teaching on socioeconomic or community status. Distinguishing between members of the same occupational group proved more difficult than anticipated. Differences between teachers on land holdings, tenants, spouse's occupation, father's occupation, rates of consumption, educational attainment, and income were not great. Ultimately, a measure of family income, i.e., total reported income of the household of the teacher, was used. By combining the salaries and outside incomes of both spouses (father or mother was used as a substitution for unmarried teachers), a somewhat greater income spread was obtained. It was with reluctance that family income was ultimately accepted as the economic or community status measure. Ideally, some composite measure of status differences reflected in patron obligations, wealth, social manners, and general community acceptance might more accurately reflect the notion of teacher community status. Or a careful measure of teacher status within his own kinship group might also have been a good indirect measure of general community status. Unfortunately, the measurement problems of such concepts are immense if a survey approach is used. Income, then, was used as a status measure. Confidence in this measure was discussed in Chapter V.

SOCIALLY INTEGRATIVE: THE TOWN AND VILLAGE FIESTA

In almost all Filipino communities several religious events dominate the ritual and social life of the people. The Philippines was colonized and Catholicized by Spain, and numerous religious celebrations remain. A celebration honoring the patron saint of the town or village, the fiesta, is perhaps the most important community-wide social event of the year. This is a time when the community as a whole displays much collective and cooperative effort to clean up, organize, and present the town or barrio to visitors. These visitors are treated to dramas, recreation, religious parades, a dance, and many carnival and gambling games. The fiesta is also a time when kin, fictive kin, and friends

reaffirm their ties during the feasting and celebrating of this occasion. The religious rites of this celebration are important, but the sports, dances, variety shows, games, beauty contests, and gambling, organized by civic officials and prominent laymen have perhaps even greater social significance. These events are a source of pride to the community and have an integrative effect upon the community and individual families.

Leadership for planning the fiesta generally falls to prominent civic officials and civic-minded residents. Quite often the prominent families and groups underwrite some fiesta expenses such as the band, the fireworks, the procession, or lodging for the touring actors. Other less prominent but civic-minded people contribute their time and smaller portions of money to make the affair successful. Teachers form a large pool of talent and labor to draw from for numerous committees. Being educated public servants, they are expected to help lead in planning and executing work of such committees. The number of committees and the elaborateness of the fiesta, of course, vary with the wealth and size of the community. Generally, there are committees for finance, the novena (nine-day evening prayers), the novena masses, the procession, the musicians, the dance, decorations, athletics, and a beauty contest. There may also be people organizing fireworks, dramatics, and amateur hour programs. An excellent generalized account of the fiesta and other religious celebrations exists in the Human Area File (HRAF), Volume III.

Developing an accurate and sensitive code of participation in the fiesta was a difficult and sometimes arbitrary task. Teachers were rated "active" if they had served on various committees several times and had frequently contributed time and money. No weightings of importance were established for different committees and activities. Those who merely had family preparations and occasionally participated in the rites such as the procession, were rated "standard participation." Those not participating in any of the events beyond a personal preparation were rated "inactive." The respondents were also asked to rate themselves compared to other teachers and civic-minded persons. This created another perspective for assigning the activity code. In most cases the respondent was either clearly involved or not. Those "active" generally went far beyond the minimum standard of involvement set in the coding rules. The young respondents were also not penalized for their youth. It was assumed that if they were active at a young age, they will be active at a later age. This would not, however, reflect the evolution of some respondents into civic leadership as they grow older and settle into the community. This resolution of the age differential was used in all the participation codes. The following is the general rate of participation for the group.

TABLE 6.1

Participation in the Fiesta

	Inactive	Standard	Active
Teacher Participation	(44%)	(38%)	(17%)

N = 305

As these marginals indicate, only 20% of the sample were involved
in leadership of the community-oriented aspects of the fiesta. Relative
to the participation of other civic-minded occupational groups, teachers
were quite involved in the various committees. This was particularly
true in the towns. A great many also participated in the processions
(37%). As a group they were active, but certainly not all teachers fit
the idealized picture of the teacher as a community leader.

To elaborate these data further and to test the general notion
of civic participation, a number of independent variables were run against
this participation measure. Bivariate analysis indicated that the fol-
lowing variables were not significantly related to participation in the
fiesta: teacher mobility measures (sibling mobility, father's occupation,
spouse's occupation), teacher rural orientation (place grew up, place of
training), educational philosophy (extent favor community programs, voca-
tional curriculum orientation), job satisfaction, sibling position,
family size, quality of teacher training institute, and land ownership.
Several other measures were, however, related as shown in Table 6.2.

These cross-tabulations indicate that the professional index is
most significantly related to "fiesta participation." The intercorrela-
tion of these independent variables also indicates that these measures
are not "pure" or independent of each other (see Appendix C). The bi-
variate analysis suggests that certain variables such as age, sex, eco-
nomic status, and residence may cause a spuriously high association be-
tween the professional index and the participation measures. Consequent-
ly, such variables will be used as control variables or test factors.
Other independent variables not significantly related to the participa-
tion measures will also be used as controls to further explore any unex-
pected interrelations among the measures. One other important control
will be used throughout all the multi-variate tables to be presented.
Because males and females are often quite different on many types of role
behavior, sex has been controlled for in all the multi-variate tables.
Only the female teachers have been used in exploring the relationship
between the professional index, other independent variables, and the par-
ticipation measures. Table 6.3 shows some of the controls which created
shifts in the relationship of the independent and dependent variables.

TABLE 6.2

The Relation of Selected Teacher Background Factors to Fiesta Participation

		High Fiesta Participation	
		%	row
Professional Index	Low	11%	211
	High	24%	94***
Age	Low	12%	182
	High	24%	123**
Sex	Female	17%	237
	Male	18%	68
Economic Status	Low	15%	223
	High	24%	82*
Residence	Non-resident	10%	110
	Resident	21%	195**
Type Assignment	Town	23%	164
	Barrio Commuter	15%	117
	Barrio	24%	59

KEY: For Levels of Statistical Significance   N = 305

     *   .05
    **   .01
   *** .001
  **** .0001

TABLE 6.3

The Professional Index by High Fiesta Participation with Controls (Females Only)

List of Controls		High Fiesta Participation			
		%	row	%	row
1. Age		Younger		Older	
	Low Prof.	12%	115	12%	49
	High Prof.	25%	36	29%	37*
2. Economic Status		Low Econ.		High Econ.	
	Low Prof.	13%	121	12%	43
	High Prof.	20%	45	36%	28*
3. Residence		Non-Residence		Residence	
	Low Prof.	11%	63	13%	101
	High Prof.	13%	16	30%	57**

4. Type Assignment		Town		Barrio Commuter		Barrio	
	Low Prof.	9%	76	12%	57	19%	31
	High Prof.	30%	46**	12%	16	27%	11

N = 237

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These controls illustrate the relative stability of the relation-
ship between professional responsibility and "fiesta participation."
None of the controls completely reduced the relationship, but there were
some shifts which indicate an interaction between the professionalism
index and the control variables. Age, economic status, and residence
are all moderately related to "fiesta participation" (see Table 6.2).
They are also related to the professionalism index (see Appendix C).
When placed in separate three-variable tables, the direction of these
relationships indicates that professionals who are older, higher in eco-
nomic status, and resident in their community are more likely to parti-
cipate actively in the fiesta than teachers low on these characteristics.
Teachers low on the professional index are, of course, the most inactive
of the three types of teachers.

Since these tables are based on small numbers, the percentage
differences must be taken as merely suggestive, and, unfortunately, the
control variables could not be run simultaneously. Judging, however,
from the independently run three-variable tables, residence on the job
seems to be the most indispensable characteristic or condition associated
with teacher participation in the fiesta. When the sample is broken down
to town, barrio, and barrio commuter teachers, there is little difference
between town and barrio teacher. Commuters are, however, 18% less active.
The difference, then, between town and village teachers is explained by
the variation of commuter teachers rather than some intrinsic differences
between towns and villages. This is a further reflection of the import-
ance of residence for participating in community events.

DAILY POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

In conceptualizing daily political behavior, a variety of rather
typical political activities were included. Three general types of be-
havior were measured: 1) participation in community events (community
council meetings and campaign meetings), 2) discussion of politics with
community members, and 3) use of mass media (listening to and reading
political news). The purpose of these particular types of measures was
to find some relatively simple, common comparison for all teachers.
First, "attending community meetings" refers to the formal town and bar-
rio council meetings held bi-monthly. These are open public meetings on
the problems and projects of the community. The councilmen and other
municipal or barrio officials are elected and serve on a part-time basis
with very small remuneration. Ordinary citizens generally do not attend
such meetings unless the issue being discussed directly affects them.
Meetings are held in a variety of settings such as the town hall, the
community assembly building, or the house of the barrio captain. The

meeting times vary from late morning to early evening depending upon the availability of councilmen and the agreement of the group. Efforts are made to schedule the sessions during less busy and hot hours of the day. Teachers were coded active if they have attended several council meetings, one or two times a year, or several times during a longer period.

Second, "attending campaign meetings" pertains to a relatively short period of time, several weeks to two months, when local, provincial, and national candidates are busy saturating communities with meetings and rallies. Such meetings are sponsored by a particular political party and are open to the public. Often the meetings include singing and other forms of entertainment. People who attend are not necessarily labeled in one party or the other. The colorful speeches lambasting the opponent (the bomba) have become an art form, a universally enjoyed ritual of political life. The meetings are usually held in accessible places such as the plaza or marketplace, and portable lights and audio systems make large night meetings possible. Those teachers attending several meetings a week during the political season were rated very active. Those attending several meetings over the entire period were also rated active.

Third, "discussing politics with community members" refers to talking to people about political candidates and election issues. Two qualifications were emphasized in asking this question. It was emphasized that this does not mean talking only to the neighbor across the back fence. The question referred to talking with other community members in any location. Interviewers also reassured respondents that discussing politics did not necessarily signify electioneering or any form of partisan behavior. Taking this stance was very important to avoid respondent evasion. The fact that 33% of the teachers were ultimately coded active, i.e., they talked with other persons about politics on at least a weekly basis, indicates that teachers did not evade the question. Nor were they acquiescing to the interviewer since there was nothing to gain but something to lose by admitting one talks about politics.

Fourth, the media measures, "listening to political news" and "reading political news" refer to spending a few minutes a day throughout the year accumulating information on politics. These self-reported participation rates, as in the other measures, were coded as follows: never attend or use (1), rarely attend or use (2), attend or use once or twice a week (a month in the case of community meetings) (3), and attend or use almost daily or every meeting (4). Respondents who listen to or read political news almost daily, i.e., several times a week, were coded "active." The standard for being active in media use, then, was considerably higher than the standard for being active in "attending community meetings" and higher than for "discussing politics with community people." As in the codes of professional involvement (in-service institutes, PTA, scouting) and fiesta participation, what was considered active was based on the ranges found in pretest interviews and on discussions with informants.

Initially, these activities were conceived of as having an inherent pattern of commitment or interest, i.e., they could be fit into a Guttman scale of items from most commitment (attending community meetings) to least commitment (listening to political news). It was assumed that if one was willing to attend a council meeting occasionally, he would also be very likely to participate in the other political activities. The scaling of these items proved unsuccessful in the strictest sense, and the scale had a coefficient of reproducibility of only .82. This might be considered a quasi-scale, but Blalock (1968) has suggested a number of problems in interpreting the coefficient of reproducibility. This scale contains only five items, two of which have rather skewed modal responses (80% - 20% split). These factors are likely to increase the coefficient of reproducibility and make it appear more unidimensional than the items actually are. On this basis, the scale was rejected, although this does suggest a definite relationship between all the political participation measures. These five measures were also grouped into two indexes 1) community participation, and 2) media use. Both were intercorrelated at levels often accepted as simple additive indexes: community participation (> .30 on the three community items) and media use (.57 between the two items). In the final data presentations, however, these measures were broken down to show the specific measures.

Selecting variables for cross-tabulation was done as in the case of fiesta participation. First, a Pearson r correlation matrix of the independent variables and the political participation measures was used as a heuristic statistic to select variables for cross-tabulation. Those variables found unassociated or very slightly associated with political participation were: teacher mobility, rural orientation, educational philosophy, job satisfaction, sibling position, quality of teacher training institute, land ownership, and family size. Some factors found to associate with fiesta participation also associated with the political participation measures. Although all previous control variables used on fiesta participation were not related to the political participation measures, they have all been presented to allow comparisons with the previous tables. Before presenting the bivariate data, the following percentage of the sample was rated active in the various political participation measures:

TABLE 6.4

% Active in Political Participation

Community Meetings	Discussing Politics	Campaign Meetings	Reading Political News	Listening to Political News
20%	31%	34%	49%	61%

N = 305

Approximately one-third of the teachers were involved in the first three forms of community political participation, i.e., community meetings, campaign meetings, and discussing politics. This corroborates several sources of data presented in Chapter IV. First, key informants and community political leaders, estimated that between 25-30% of the teachers were interested in politics, i.e., talked about such topics, attended the campaign meetings, and went to community meetings occasionally. Second, 34% of the teachers surveyed were not in favor of the law prohibiting teachers from campaigning, and 30% felt a loss in civil and political rights. A smaller percentage of these teachers were characterized as active in a partisan sense (Chapter IV). This estimate was based on the case data on teacher partisan behavior and factions. This was particularly true of school administrators and males. In contrast to the small percentage of partisan political actors, 42% read political news and 62% listen to political news almost daily. This suggests that teachers should have a high level of cognitive knowledge about national and local politics. Although no test of political knowledge was given, the teachers are clearly acquiring information at a much higher rate than the average villager.

Attitudinally, it is not clear that teachers have optimistic views of their government or feel politically efficacious. Several such scales were also administered but will not be reported in this paper. Several previous sets of questions do, however, bear at least indirectly upon the political attitudes of teachers. Their view of the interest and motivations of political officials (Chapter II) was very pessimistic; 82% felt government officials did little or nothing for the community. Political officials were also rated as generally having selfish and un-idealistic motives for helping communities. Compared to such leaders, teachers felt their group was much more interested and involved. However, their experience with and critical views of the politics of their own promotion system revealed a sense of powerlessness and frustration (Chapter III). It is doubtful that the political efficacy scales will show teachers to be hopeful about their ability to change things. The general group posture of withdrawal and pessimism has been characterized in the previous chapters on ideal role, promotion, and group social relations.

To further elaborate on who are more politically active, a number of bivariate tables were run. Other factors such as teacher mobility, teacher rural orientation, educational philosophy, job satisfaction, sibling position, family size, quality of teacher training institute, and land ownership were not significantly related. The same variables used as controls on fiesta participation, although not necessarily significantly related (> .05), are presented in Table 6.5 for comparison with those data on fiesta participation.

The bivariate data suggest that the hypothesized relation between professionalism and community political participation exists.

TABLE 6.5

The Relation of Selected Teacher Background Factors
to Political Participation

		Community Meetings	Discuss	Campaign Meetings	Reading	Listening
Professional Index						
	Low	15% (211)	28%	34%	49%	59%
	High	29% (94)**	40%*	31%	61%*	64%
Age	Younger	17% (182)	27%	29%	48%	59%
	Older	25% (123)	38%*	39%*	59%*	64%
Sex	Female	16% (237)	26%	22%	47%	56%
	Male	25% (68)***	50%***	72%****	72%***	78%***
Residence	Non-res.	16% (110)	30%	32%	56%	56%
	Resident	22% (195)	33%	34%	51%	63%
Economic Status						
	Low	21% (223)	29%	34%	56%	56%
	High	17% (82)	39%	33%	51%	63%
Type Assignment						
	Town	21% (164)	35%	39%	51%	60%
Barrio	Commuter	24% (117)	32%	41%	61%	62%
	Barrio	42% (59)***	32%	53%***	65%*	71%

N = 305

Teachers high on the professional index were also high on "reading political news," but they were not significantly higher than non-professionals on "attending campaign meetings" and on "listening to political news." Second, the overwhelming relationship in these data was between sex and all the political participation measures. Males were proportionately more involved in all types of political activities. If this sample included administrators, these relationships would have been even more significant. School administrators, as suggested in Chapters III and IV, often must perform many mediating or "political" functions in the community. Third, these data also suggest that that type of assignment may be significantly related to the extent to which teachers are involved in such activities. In "attending community meetings" and "attending campaign meetings," barrio teachers appear to be significantly more involved than town teachers. This may reflect the more personal, informal nature of such activities in the barrio and their easy access to all residents. It may also reflect the relatively greater leadership role of the few resident barrio teachers. As was suggested in the factionalism data, barrio teachers are more likely to be partisan because of the bifactional nature of many villages. In the subsequent multivariate analysis on political participation, sex was also used as the major independent variable, and controls were applied to it as in the case of the professional index. The following multi-variate data will still deal with the relationship of the professional index to the political participation measures significantly related in Table 6.5.

These data indicate that controlling for sex eliminates the statistically significant relationships found in Table 6.5 between all the independent variables and participation in community meetings. A weak, statistically non-significant pattern like the one found in fiesta participation does, however, exist. Female professionals who are older, higher in economic status, and residents of their community tend to be more active. Further, female professionals in the barrio are proportionately more active than professionals who commute or who live in the town. Again, this suggests that the limited number of resident barrio teachers emerge as all-around leaders. As previously suggested, this difference may also reflect the greater access and informality of such community meetings in the barrio setting. Particularly, male teachers will be drawn more into the affairs of these small communities.

On the second measure, "discussing politics with community members," professional index, age, and sex were all significantly related. Sex was, however, the most statistically significant association with discussing politics, and males were 10% more active than any other category (see Table 6.5). The professional index was still used, however, as the main independent variable in the following tables with the sample of female teachers only.

The previous pattern between the control variables and the professional index breaks down in this measure of civic participation. The

controls of age and residence still have the same effect of shifting the relationship between the "professionally active teachers" and "high discussion of politics." Those teachers coded "older" or "residential professionals" were proportionately more active (23%, 12%). "Economic status," however, completely reduced the relationship between high professional activity and "high discussion of politics." Again, the sex variable seems to underlie the association between high professionals and discussing politics, and being male is a more important predictor of this activity than professionalism.

Second, the control "economic status" also seems to wash out the relationship, but this is probably due to its inverse relationship to sex. Males are generally lower on economic status; consequently, "economic status" is basically the same control factor as "sex" because of this interdependence. The final control, type assignment, indicated that only among town teachers was there a difference (10%) between the activeness of professionals and non-professionals in "discussion of politics." On the initial bivariate data (Table 6.5) all teachers broken down by type assignment did not differ significantly in activeness. This suggests that town professionals probably account for most of the previous association between the professional index and discussing politics. Why town teachers would generally discuss politics more is not clear.

Campaign Meetings and Listening to Political News

Two other measures of political participation were not significantly related to the professional index. As Table 6.5 indicated, only sex was significantly related to these measures. A number of other independent variables previously mentioned were also found to be unrelated. These tables also indicated that participating in campaign meetings was more characteristic of barrio teachers than resident town teachers. As previously suggested on "attending community meetings," such activities in the barrio are much more informal and accessible. Because communities are so small, almost everyone is included without traveling great distances.

Since sex was highly related to attending campaign meetings and listening to political news, it was run as the major independent variable with controls. No variables were found that washed out the initial relationships reported in Table 6.5. Several shifts did, however, occur which are very similar to the shifts reported in Tables 6.6 and 6.7. On "attending campaign meetings," males, whether young or old, low or high in economic status, non-resident or resident, were significantly active ($>$ .01) in all possible combinations. When, however, the percentage of active males with such characteristics was compared, older, lower economic status, and resident males were 12%, 11%, and 13%, respectively, more active than younger, higher economic status, and non-

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TABLE 6.6

The Professional Index by Frequent Participation in Community Meetings with Controls
(Females Only)

List of Controls		Frequent Participation in Community Meetings			
		%	row	%	row
1. Age		*Younger*		*Older*	
	Low Prof.	14%	115	12%	49
	High Prof.	17%	36	25%	37
2. Economic Status		*Low Econ.*		*High Econ.*	
	Low Prof.	16%	121	10%	43
	High Prof.	21%	45	22%	28
3. Residence		*Non-Resident*		*Resident*	
	Low Prof.	13%	63	13%	101
	High Prof.	19%	16	21%	57

4. Type Assignment		*Town*		*Barrio Commuter*		*Barrio*	
	Low Prof.	9%	76	12%	57	26%	31
	High Prof.	15%	46	18%	16	45%	11

N = 237

TABLE 6.7

The Professional Index by Frequent Discussion
of Politics with Controls
(Females Only)

List of Controls		Frequent Discussion of Politics			
		%	row	%	row
1. Age		**Younger**		**Older**	
	Low Prof.	24%	113	20%	49
	High Prof.	23%	36	46%	37**
2. Economic Status		**Low Econ.**		**High Econ.**	
	Low Prof.	19%	119	32%	43
	High Prof.	31%	45	40%	28
3. Residence		**Non-Resident**		**Resident**	
	Low Prof.	21%	61	23%	101
	High Prof.	31%	16	36%	57

4. Type Assignment		**Town**		**Barrio Commuter**		**Barrio**	
	Low Prof.	19%	76	20%	55	35%	31
	High Prof.	37%	46*	31%	16	27%	11

N = 237

resident males. It would appear, then, that older and lower status
resident males who are not necessarily high professionally are the
"activists" in such forms of community participation. Further, the
same pattern also holds for the data on "listening to political news."
All combinations of the variables, sex, economic status, age, and
residence were statistically significant at .01, but older, low
economic status, and resident males were 25%, 17%, and 11% respectively
more active than younger, higher economic status, resident males. Again,
the interrelationship of all these characteristics is apparent.

Reading Political News

The final measure of political participation explored was the
association between those professionally active and "reading political
news." The relation between professionally active teachers and "reading
political news" was statistically significant (.01). In addition, the
relation between the professionally active and general reading habits was
highly significant (.00001) and 20% higher than the relation between the
professionally active and "reading political news." In controlling for
sex, however, the relationship between the professionally active and
"reading political news" disappears.

Almost the same pattern emerges from the data for this activity
that appears in the data on "discussing politics with community members"
(Table 6.7). Sex washes out the relation between professional activity
and "reading political news," whereas the controls age, economic status,
and residence cause shifts in the data. In "listening to political news"
as in the other participation measures, older, higher economic status,
and resident professionals were proportionately more active. When sex
was used as the independent variable, these controls also caused similar
shifts, i.e., males who were older, higher economic status, and residents
tended to be more active than younger, lower economic status, and resi-
dent males by 13%, 10%, and 12% respectively.

Formal Political Obligations

Several other measures of political involvement such as voting
and poll-watching were not used because almost every teacher partici-
pates in these activities. Ninety-eight percent of the sample reported
voting in local and national elections. Further, virtually all teachers
assist the government during elections. Teachers serve as poll chairmen
and clerks, i.e., manage the poll precincts, guard the ballot boxes,
tally votes, personally deliver the ballot boxes to the municipal halls,
and generally attempt to prevent election fraud and corruption. In this

TABLE 6.8

The Professional Index by Frequent Reading of Political News with Controls
(Females Only)

List of Controls		Frequent Reading of Political News			
		%	row	%	row
1. Age		Younger		Older	
	Low Prof.	44%	115	45%	49
	High Prof.	47%	36	59%	37
2. Economic Status		Low Econ.		High Econ.	
	Low Prof.	44%	121	46%	43
	High Prof.	42%	45	71%	28*
3. Residence		Non-Resident		Resident	
	Low Prof.	47%	101	42%	63
	High Prof.	56%	57	53%	16

4. Type Assignment		Town		Barrio Commuter		Barrio	
	Low Prof.	38%	76	47%	57	54%	31
	High Prof.	46%	46	56%	16	81%	11

N = 237

sense teachers are quite active politically and are usually praised for their non-partisan role during elections.

Radical Political Behavior

Another possible measure of political participation is the extent of teacher involvement with or awareness of militant political movements. The region surveyed is a part of Huklandia (center of the underground movement), and during the research the movement was very much on the upsurge. Numerous anti-Huk personnel were observed searching villages, and respondents reported that Huks periodically collected rice and money. This region was also developing an active Farmers' Union, the MASAKA, to educate and organize people for land reform. During the interviews of barrio captains and councilors, several admitted being members of the MASAKA and expressed strong desires to spread information about land reform. The MASAKA has frequently been branded a Huk front organization, but the government has neither proven such charges nor outlawed the organization. This farmers' union and the government land reform program were active in approximately one-sixth of the sample barrios and beginning in about one-half of the remaining barrios. This represents considerable radical political activity in which teachers might be involved.

During the pretest (conducted in a municipality with active land reform and MASAKA movements), these topics were explored with teachers. Generally, there was only limited interest, little information, and almost no active participation. Of the thirty teachers interviewed, only five teachers (three males and two females) knew what the MASAKA was generally doing. Specific information on the land reform program was also quite limited, although most teachers were in favor of the program in principle. Almost all teachers, however, were very skeptical about the government's ability to implement land reform. Some also expressed concern that a workable and equitable system for settling conflicts did not exist. Clearly, teachers were not involved in the educational process for land reform carried on by the government agents or by the barrio organizations. Such topics were not emphasized as a part of adult and community education, nor were they topics for discussion in school-community meetings. These findings are also corroborated in a study of land reform in the adjacent province of Pampanga (Montenegro 1968).

Teacher involvement with MASAKA leaders was also checked in three villages during the pretest period. All barrio captains and leaders interviewed seemed surprised and somewhat amused that teachers were assumed to be involved in the MASAKA. They considered this a farmers' organization interested in "farm" matters, and they thought teachers were not interested in such affairs. Although this information represents a very limited exploration of a complex topic, the evidence discouraged further

data collection. Such sensitive information requires extensive interview time, and the cost appeared too high for the returns. In summary, teachers could hardly be considered a potentially radical group. Certainly the facts that 80% of the teachers are female and that 78% live in central market towns help isolate them from grass roots political movements. Second, other government agencies have also pre-empted schools on the educational task for land reform. Third, teacher apathy or lack of political ideology is undoubtedly another important factor. Fourth, it is easy to espouse radical ideas, but in such a highly charged political climate taking sides with militant farmers' movements can be very dangerous.

Unfortunately, a systematic measure of teacher political orientation, i.e., some form of liberalism-conservatism scale toward land reform and the MASAKA, was not developed. Teachers were asked, however, if they believed the programs of the Huk movement helped the people (see Appendix A). Twenty-three percent believed their programs were helping the masses. A variety of measures may have revealed some interesting ideological differences among teachers, although initial questioning suggested that teachers were a relatively non-ideological group. In summary, teachers have been neutralized on militant politics as they were on partisan political involvement in formal village politics (see Chapter IV). But in this instance the pressure to avoid such involvement or expression of opinion probably comes more from national government agencies and local elite than from the mass of community members.

SCHOOL-SPONSORED COMMUNITY PROGRAMS

As indicated in Chapter II, Philippine rural schools have a long tradition of devoting school curriculum and teacher activity to community involvement and improvement. Some basic problems in institutionalizing this community school approach and the movement's new organizational forms were discussed briefly. Limited observations on the community orientation of the curriculum were also presented in Chapter IV. A thorough analysis of either specific community school projects or curriculum content was not, however, attempted. Finding community-oriented activities which distinguished among teachers was problematic. The purok programs were required of all school personnel. Almost all teachers supervised home food production projects and community beautification activities. Sanitary toilet and fencing projects were also required, and all teachers participated. During the research period the schools were engaged in what was called "social action year." The president requested the schools to help in wiping out illiteracy, poverty, delinquency, and low food production. The bulk of activity, beautification campaigns

and string bands, seemed to have only minimal relation to the stated objectives of the program. It is doubtful that the sporadic beautification programs observed have a powerful or lasting socializing effect, or improve the participants' material well-being. The most spontaneous activity seemed to be the string bands. Parents were pleased to see their children learning traditional music and they willingly paid for the lessons and instruments. Such activities encouraged collective efforts and occupied children during some of their spare time.

Several community school-type activities were, however, ultimately selected on which to rate and rank all teachers. Unfortunately, individual participation in such part-time projects as literacy teaching did not differentiate between teachers. Only a small percentage of teachers had worked in literacy training programs. On the pretest only scouting and PTA project leaders seemed to differentiate between teachers and include an element of voluntary behavior. Scouting was a very active program for both sexes and was part of the community service of teachers. This activity does not embrace a large percentage of students, but community members felt it was a worthwhile, if expensive activity. Teachers who had been in charge of a troop and have been active in district scouting activities were coded "active." Those who had assisted others with a troop or had intermittently been involved were rated "average." Teachers who had never been involved in scouting activities were rated "inactive." The following is a breakdown of general teacher participation.

TABLE 6.9

Participation in Scouting

Inactive	84 (28%)
Somewhat Active	140 (43%)
Active	115 (29%)

N = 305

To determine which types of teachers were active this participation measure was coded into "inactive" (inactive and somewhat active) and "active." It was then cross-tabulated with the previously mentioned background characteristics. Only two characteristics, professional activeness and sex, were significantly associated with participation in scouting ($\geq$ .001). Econmic status, residence, and age were related but not significantly. A number of other variables such as teacher mobility, rural orientation, sibling position, size of family, educational philosophy, professional aspiration, job satisfaction, and quality of teacher training institute attended were not significantly related, nor did they

wash out the hypothesized relationship between professionalism and civic participation. Several controls run on the professional index are shown in Table 6.10.

No control variable completely reduced the relationship between the professional index and high participation in scouting. Some of the shifts in the data were also the opposite of other measure: civic participation. More professional teachers who were younger and female were proportionately more active than the older and male professionals. As, however, in the other participation measures, more professional teachers who were residents and of higher economic status were proportionately more active than the non-resident and lower economic status teachers. The reverse in the two variables, sex and age, reflects the nature of the scouting activity in the schools. This is not a particularly prestigious activity. It is also more culturally inappropriate for older women to become tired and sweaty from such physical activities. Consequently, this activity tends to be delegated to the younger female teachers. This would also be true in the case of males; however, since there were very few young male teachers, age would not emerge as the primary factor. Despite the relatively low status of this activity, the more highly professional teachers are still more active. This is another way of gaining in-service credits for promotions, and teachers less interested in being active tend to push such activities to the more generally active teachers, young or old. Finally, this pattern of the most active professionals also leading in scouting was particularly true in the barrio schools. Thirteen percent more resident barrio teachers high on professional activity were active in scouting than the town professionals. This corroborates the earlier pattern of leadership by community type.

The PTA Program

The other community school activity ultimately selected was leadership in PTA planning and projects. Theoretically, this type of activity is not as central to the community school approach as purok organizing and purok projects. Nor does it have the glamour and administrative sanction of a presidential proclamation for a "social action year." But the PTA has become a very solid community organization supported by both teachers and community members (see Chapter II). In one of the districts surveyed, the PTA was much more formally organized. The district supervisor of schools conscientiously tried to visit all school PTA meetings, and encouraged every village to have regular meetings. Most schools meet only to elect PTA officers and to exchange public expressions of loyalty toward serving the school. At this single meeting, teachers express their grievances and needs, and parents pledge cooperation, labor, and money for the coming school year.

TABLE 6.10

The Professional Index by High Participation in Scouting with Controls
(Females Only)

List of Controls		High Participation in Scouting			
		%	row	%	row
1. Age		Younger		Older	
	Low Prof.	17%	115	12%	49
	High Prof.	44%	36***	30%	37*
2. Economic Status		Low Econ.		High Econ.	
	Low Prof.	18%	121	9%	43
	High Prof.	31%	45	46%	28***
3. Residence		Non-Resident		Resident	
	Low Prof.	18%	63	15%	101
	High Prof.	43%	16*	35%	57**

4. Type Assignment		Town		Barrio Commuter		Barrio	
	Low Prof.	13%	76	18%	57	19%	31
	High Prof.	34%	46**	44%	16*	36%	11

N = 237

In the typical setting it would be rare for the PTA to meet again. To accomplish projects such as fencing or toilets, a smaller group of executive leaders and their kin and friends usually collect the money, buy the materials, and build the project in their spare time. On some occasions the industrial arts teacher and the older boys help the community leaders in these projects. The most interested and active teachers may also help solicit funds, buy materials, and fix food for the workers. In any major project, all teachers also make contributions of money. Parents expect teachers to be patrons and contribute money as other "wealthy" community members do. Indeed, many major school improvements would probably not be completed without the aggressive example of teachers. The teachers are often the civic spirit behind building and school grounds improvements. Parents rarely initiate projects until teachers have given an indication of what they need or desire. Within this general activity which varied somewhat with communities, teachers were coded as more or less active in PTA projects.

A history of the respondents' involvement in such projects was elicited. A range of typical types of commitment was established in the pretest and through informants. A teacher only attending the PTA meetings and contributing the required amount of money was considered "low activity." A teacher contributing greater sums of money and helping with planning meetings was rated "average activity." Those teachers who reported going into the community to solicit money, helping purchase the materials, and organizing the work sessions were rated "high activity." Type of project was weighted to the extent that major projects such as fencing and temporary building construction counted double to minor projects such as flower planters and stage decorations. Some compensation for variation in number of projects was also made. Several schools had relatively few projects; consequently, the individual teachers were judged somewhat more relative to each other than on an absolute standard with other more active schools. Generally, however, schools did not differ radically on the number and variety of projects over such a long time span. The same compensations for age differences were made as in other participation ratings. It should be noted that some bias in favor of special teachers and administrators exists in these questions. Industrial arts and home economics teachers are expected to lend their skills to such school projects.

The following is the general involvement of teachers in PTA activities and projects based upon the collected histories of participation.

TABLE 6.11

PTA Participation

Inactive   127 (39%)
Somewhat Active   138 (43%)
Active   75 (18%)

N = 305

These data were combined into "low activity" (inactive and some-
what active) and "high activity" and were cross-tabulated against all the
previously mentioned variables. Again, only the professional index
(.0001), age (.01), and residence (.05) were significantly related to
high participation in PTA projects. Economic status and sex were re-
lated but not statistically significant. Of the many independent vari-
ables used as controls the following created significant shifts in the
original relationship.

As in the scouting activity, the controls did not completely
reduce the relationship between the professional index and activeness
in PTA projects. Virtually all combinations of the characteristics used
as controls and this PTA activity were significantly related. Propor-
tionately, however, professionals who were older, male, high in economic
status, and resident were involved in PTA affairs than younger, female,
low economic status, and non-resident teachers. This pattern of associ-
ations is identical to the results on several previously mentioned civic
activities. Further, as in those activities, the high professionals of
the barrio are proportionately more active. This partially reflects the
nature of the activity, i.e., the PTA's are more active and necessary in
poorer village schools. This difference also reflects the smaller group
of activist teachers in the barrio.

PARTICIPATION IN NATIONAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

Teachers sampled were asked if they personally knew any commu-
nity development workers in their community. Only 15% claimed they per-
sonally knew any worker. When asked if they have participated in any
activities sponsored by the workers, only 3% had been or were involved
in such projects. Those involved were all administrators, the adult
education coordinator, and special teachers in industrial arts and home
economics. A full description of these various government agencies work-
ing in rural community development is beyond this report. The national

TABLE 6.12

The Professional Index by High Participation in
PTA Activities with Controls
(Females Only)

List of Controls		High Participation in the PTA			
		% row		% row	
1. Age		Younger		Older	
	Low Prof.	8%	115	12%	49
	High Prof.	17%	36	35%	37**
2. Economic Status		Low Econ.		High Econ.	
	Low Prof.	17%	121	9%	43
	High Prof.	28%	45	24%	28*
3. Residence		Non-Resident		Resident	
	Low Prof.	13%	101	5%	63
	High Prof.	23%	57	38%	16***

4. Type Assignment		Town		Barrio Commuter		Barrio	
	Low Prof.	14%	76	5%	57	6%	31
	High Prof.	17%	46	37%	16**	45%	11**

N = 237

government has many generalists (the multi-purpose village worker) and
specialists (agricultural extensionist, home economist, rural health
doctor) working out of the market towns and in the villages. In theory,
these programs overlap with the school's community emphasis, and they
assist each other in various community programs. In fact, there seems
to be little joint effort, and cooperation across bureaucratic agencies
is often difficult (see Chapter II). Given, then, so little teacher
participation in national community development programs, there is
little to explain. Teachers seem to feel that such activities should
be taken care of by other government workers. They also express
skepticism that these government workers are doing their job (see
Chapter II).

MODELING MODERN BEHAVIOR

Modeling behavior congruent with national development goals,
often not widely accepted or practiced in traditional village life, is
another form of civic participation. Filipino teachers could be impor-
tant community models for proper sanitary practices, fencing, and food
production such as gardens and animal husbandry. Teachers were asked
if they had such facilities and projects at home. Attempts were also
made to establish whether or not sanitary toilets were functioning,
fences were standing, and gardens and poultry farms were producing.
Whether such modeling behavior actually encourages others to adopt
such practices is another question. Establishing influence or adop-
tion patterns and rates of diffusion for innovations is a complex
study in itself (Rodgers 1961). What can be said with some certainty
from these data is the extent that teachers use these modern house-
hold practices.

Teachers were indeed very actively using modern sanitary prac-
tices. One hundred percent of the teachers reported having some kind
of toilet. Fifty-four percent had flush-type toilets, 35% had water
seal (concrete without bowl) and 11% had a backyard pit or covered por-
tions. Interviewers found this topic difficult to follow up, but almost
all respondents reported the toilets were in use. All teachers also re-
ported having some kind of fencing. Forty-two percent reported perma-
nent, full fences made primarily of hollow blocks and cement and wire.
Another 28% reported semi-permanent partial fencing made of wire and
posts. Finally, 30% reported having temporary and partial fences made
of bamboo. Compared to the average household, this represents a very
high use of fences. More than 50% of the fences, however, were not com-
pletely finished and, therefore, not functional. Teachers, like other
villagers, build very nice front portions of the fence or paint the

front portion of the house before finishing the back portions. The fence, of course, has the function of displaying wealth and status as much as it does to contain animals or to keep intruders out. Unfortunately, teacher practices in sanitation and fencing are not often appropriate models for poor villagers. The concrete fences and flush toilets are far beyond the income of a villager. Teachers aspire to have the same conveniences as the elite and do not necessarily model acceptable, inexpensive items for villagers out of some ideological conviction.

Another important area of modeling modern practices could be the development of various home industries such as piggeries, poultry farms, vegetable gardens, and orchards for improving nutrition and for increasing family income. This has also been the subject of numerous government drives and directives, and teachers have clearly gotten the message. Only 13% of the 340 teachers sampled reported no home industry. Many families reported multiple home industries; consequently, the following table will not add up to 100%.

TABLE 6.13

Teacher Home Industry Practices

	Commercial	Home Consumption	Both	Totals
Piggeries	18%	25%	2%	45%
Poultry Farms	12%	24%	2%	37%
Vegetable Gardens	6%	31%	1%	37%
Orchards	6%	18%	1%	26%

N = 305

Teachers were quite active in developing a variety of home industries, and many reported increasing their family incomes by several hundred pesos. Teachers are generally quite enthusiastic about raising pigs and chickens for small investments and as supplements to their diet. They have contact with the various commercial producers around the area and seem to be following modern practices of cleaning the cage, vaccinations, and a balanced diet. Such information spreads quickly between administrators, and stories of great successes and failures in poultry and piggery projects are almost as frequent as stories about promotions. Because teachers believe the agricultural agents, their practices are modern, and they may be serving as models for illiterate and more isolated villagers.

The measure of home industry practices was broken down further and cross-tabulated with all the teacher characteristics mentioned

earlier. Since so many teachers have developed home industries, no social characteristic was significantly related to having home industries. The only highly significant relation found was between the type of assignment and use of home industry. Proportionately more barrio teachers (77%) had home industry projects than town (63%) and barrio commuter teachers (40%)(p = .0001). There are not enough cases to break these groups down, but a description of the commuter teachers suggests why they are lower on home industry practices.

The Case of Commuter Teachers

Commuter teachers differ significantly on a number of characteristics that make them a type apart from town and barrio teachers. Commuter teachers were significantly younger (p = .0001), male (p = .05), married to other professionals (p = .05), and high in professional aspiration (p = .02). Proportionately more commuter teachers were from the barrio than the town (12%). The combination of these attributes suggests the most socially mobile, professionally ambitious group. This group has tended to leave the barrio and settle in the town. Unlike the other two groups, they seem to be a less settled, more mobile group. In response to the question on migrating abroad, a significantly higher percentage (p = .01) of commuter teachers preferred to migrate. This group was not, however, the most active civically. On almost all the measures, either town or barrio resident teachers high on professional activeness were the most civically active. The notable exceptions were media use for political news and scouting participation. This, of course, reflects their higher educational attainment and youth.

COMMUNITY SOCIAL FABRIC

Social Welfarism

There are numerous ways a person can lend support and advice to other community members. Such behavior may or may not be voluntary since kin, fictive kin, neighborhood, and friendship obligations are often inherited and ritual. There is usually some latitude, however, within these prescribed obligations. Initially, the objective was to measure the extent to which teachers were patrons or general social brokers to people in the community. This would involve those for whom they had done favors and those who had given them gifts for such assistance. The favors could range from very simple advice to approaching people in a government office for a villager. During the pretest, attempts

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were made to develop a measure of patron activities. Because the activities are so diverse, and because they are not readily reported to an outsider, such data were not easily gathered with a survey approach. Case data on teachers as political "liders" or patrons were collected and have been presented in Chapter IV. During the pretest a few patron-like activities were selected such as 1) investments in education for kin and non-kin, and 2) financial aid or loans to people.

Educational Investment of Teachers

One way teachers perform a welfare function within the alliance group and the larger community is to help educate others. The group invested a substantial amount in education. The average income of a teacher family was P 5,250. Sixty-two percent of this sample invested in education for some member of the family or someone outside the family at the rate of P 761 a year (an average of P 454 per child). This represents an average of 14% of the family's total income, which ranges from as low as 8% to as high as 24% of the total income. In other words, lower income teacher families are often making great sacrifices for education. Those supported were predominately kinsmen (96%) and only 4% were outside the extended family. Breaking kinsmen down further suggests the welfare role of teachers in their extended family.

Half of those investing in children were investing outside the nuclear family. As indicated in Chapter V, teachers are a very upwardly mobile group and often the only member of the extended family with a steady cash income. The family of origin's strategy of investment in older siblings was described in Chapter V. The 62% investing in education were basically two types, 1) those with large families that invest in their own family, 2) and older unmarried teachers or those with small families that were able to fulfill previous broader kin obligations. An example would be the teacher educated by a more prosperous uncle, who has an obligation to help educate the nieces and nephews. Or the teacher may be the oldest sibling in a strategy to use the eldest for educating the succeeding siblings. These were the most common patterns of close kin cooperation, and such trends are reflected in these data. A small percentage (4%) also helped educate their servants or children of their tenants.

Financial Support

A more difficult type of welfare support to measure was the "investment" in or loans to poorer people. The assumption here is that teachers, who have a steady source of income, might be approached or inclined to enter into such arrangements. This is not to characterize

TABLE 6.14

Educational Investments of Teachers

	High School	College	Both	% of Total Sample
Sons/Daughters	60	18	21	98(31%)
Brothers/Sisters	15	8	7	30(10%)
Nieces/Nephews	28	10	6	44(14%)
First Cousins	4	6	0	10(4%)
Nieces/Nephews of Cousins	2	2	0	4(1%)
Grandchildren of In-laws	2	2	0	4(1%)

N = 192 (58% of 340)

teachers as money lenders, nor is this a pure money exchange in the western sense. These are small sums of money loaned temporarily to close personal acquaintances.

TABLE 6.15

Financial Support

	Kinsmen	Fictive and Affinal	Non-Kin	
Crops-Husbandry Projects	9	3	0	(12)
House Improvements	3	0	0	(3)
Family Health Expenditures	14	4	2	(20)

Percentage answering yes = 10%   35

N = 305

These data, of course, omit general advice, showing concern, or other forms of sentiment which might be called an investment. Such behavior is surely much more widespread and is also an aspect of playing a social welfare role. These measures have, however, several limitations. They deal with very large time spans of life, treat differential opportunities of teachers for involvement as equal, and have no precise definition of each act to judge participation. "Crops and husbandry" were often loans of seeds for planting and of animals for breeding and only partially cash exchanges. A few cases involved small cash loans. "Family health and sickness" most commonly refers to helping pay doctor bills with money or services such as "hiring" a person in need to work on some home project like a new fence. These data suggest that teachers are limited patrons. Teachers generally invest in education and have little extra capital. Less monetarily based forms of aid such as approaching government agencies, personal advice, and new ideas may have brought out more participation in patron-like or welfare activities.

Compadrazgo Relationships

In definitions of civic participation, anything related to family or family-like activities is not usually considered civic or community-wide. If a person is very kin-oriented, he is said to be less community-oriented. A description of teacher social relations and friendship choices has already been presented in Chapter V. This research also attempted to use the custom of choosing godparents and

being chosen as a godparent as a measure of community involvement. Compadrazgo or fictive kinship relations have been studied by several Filipino anthropologists (Arce 1961; Lynch 1959), and their function has been reported as similar to such practices in Latin America (Mintz and Wolfe 1950; Foster 1969) and in Japan (Befu 1961). Compadrazgo relationships can be used to build allies and social insurance for the future of the children sponsored and for the entire family. Compadrazgo relationships may also draw certain relatives closer, cement conflicts with neighbors, or help to approach unfamiliar, powerful people. Godparents for the baptism and confirmation ceremonies in the Roman Catholic church are selected on the basis of good character because they are expected to guide and advise the godchildren. Godparents also remember their godchildren with gifts on Christmas and sometimes on birthdays, graduations, or weddings. In return, godchildren pay respect to their godparents on the latter's special occasions through visits or gifts such as samples of delicacies. The children's parents and godparents address each other in very familiar, often affectionate terms, "kumpare" (male) and "kumare" (female), or co-parent.

This study has attempted to apply or use compadrazgo relationships as measures of anchorage in the community and of social status striving. It was reasoned that teachers who choose a high percentage of godparents having high or higher status occupations are aspiring for their children and themselves. They are seeking to establish personal relationships with more elite community members. Since like people tend to choose like people, choosing high status people may also reflect the status position of those choosing. The second type of compadrazgo measure used was the extent and type of people choosing the teacher. Those teachers chosen by a great number of people reflect a variety of desirable attributes. They appear to have a higher community status in the sense that they probably are more approachable, more wealthy or influential, of good character, and with "pakikisama" (good give-and-take relationship with people). In other words, they are anchored in the community, accepted, and intimately related to others. To some extent, this is also a measure of being a local patron, a person who may have a following, i.e., assists many acquaintances and friends in small ways.

These measures have, of course, several limitations. First, unmarried teachers must be excluded in the measure of status aspiration. Second, young teachers obviously have had less time to be chosen as compadres. Younger people are also generally less able to take on financial oblications. Third, those relationships no longer active should not be tabulated with those seriously maintaining their relationships and keeping their obligations. The following ranges were reported on number of people choosing a teacher, which includes only compadres still considered close.

TABLE 6.16

Number of Compadrazgo Choosing Teachers

0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	20 plus
50 (18%)	45 (15%)	115 (36%)	34 (11%)	30 (10%)	31 (10%)

N = 305

Breaking these data down produces a very similar pattern of associations between social characteristics of teachers and this community participation measure. The following variables were not significantly related to having a large number of kumpares: teacher mobility measures, teacher rural orientation, educational philosophy, job satisfaction, sibling position, family size, quality of teacher training institute, and land ownership. The following were significantly related: professional index (.01), age (.0001), residence (.0001), economic status (.05), and sex (.05). Ultimately they were also the only factors which caused some shifts in the original relationships.

The previously discussed pattern between the professional index and the non-political forms of civic participation was also present in these tables. More community members relate to those teachers who are professional, older, higher in economic status, and resident in the community. Again, this prototype has not been empirically verified with simultaneous controls due to the lack of cases. However, the separate tables and ethnographic observations suggest that such a type would emerge as the most active. It should also be noted that the control "economic status" caused a greater percentage shift toward high economic status professionals than in other civic participation measures. These data on compadrazgo choices quite naturally show a greater sensitivity to measures related to income and economic status.

A final difference in these data and the previous civic participation measures was the proportionately greater percentage of town professionals having many kumpares. Again, this reflects status and income differences. All town teachers are generally higher in status than barrio teachers. Being from the town makes one more urban and less associated with the life and ways of poor farmers. Second, in the case of this measure, town teachers, many of whom have barrio relatives and friends, make good godparents, i.e., links to the more urban areas. Town teachers, then, whether they are professional or non-professional, will be chosen more frequently as godparents. On the other hand, the more highly professional barrio teachers (i.e., the older, resident, male, high in economic status, professional and community leaders) had proportionately as many kumpares as town teachers. Commuter teachers had the

TABLE 6.17

The Professional Index by High Social Anchorage
in the Community with Controls
(Females Only)

List of Controls		High Social Anchorage			
		%	row	%	row
1. Age		Younger		Older	
	Low Prof.	33%	119	70%	47
	High Prof.	44%	36	87%	36*
2. Economic Status		Low Econ.		High Econ.	
	Low Prof.	46%	121	43%	42
	High Prof.	48%	45	78%	27**
3. Residence		Non-Resident		Resident	
	Low Prof.	24%	99	50%	62
	High Prof.	40%	57	76%	15*

4. Type Assignment		Town		Barrio Commuter		Barrio	
	Low Prof.	51%	74	23%	56	38%	31
	High Prof.	72%	46*	40%	15	62%	11

N = 237

fewest kumpares. Again, this reflects their relative inactiveness in the barrio and the town, and as was suggested, their female, youthful, and socially mobile background. In many ways this community anchorage measure of compadrazgo relationships validates or corroborates the findings on almost all the civic participation measures. Irrespective of the type of community, those teachers who are active leaders in and outside the school are also the most accepted or anchored in terms of compadrazgo relationships. In a sense, they have shown themselves to be desirable civic models and are chosen by parents to be models (god-parents) for their children.

SUMMARY OF TEACHER CIVIC PARTICIPATION

A great variety of civic or community participation measures has been presented and summarized in the subsections of this chapter. The hypothesized relationship between highly professional, high status teachers, i.e., the "elite" middle class volunteer, seems to exist on the following measures: fiesta participation, PTA projects, scouting, discussing politics, and partially on social anchorage. The control variable sex, however, completely reduced the hypothesized relation-ship on other political participation measures such as attending com-munity meetings, attending campaign meetings, reading political news, and listening to political news. The control variable age also com-pletely reduced the relationship between the professional index and social anchorage. In general, control factors such as sex, age, resi-dence, and economic status were related to the professional index, and such characteristics had an additive effect. Professionally active teachers who were also males, older, resident in their communities, and higher in economic status are proportionately more active in some of the civic affairs. The professional activist, i.e., the leaders in school professional activities, then, also tends to be the civic activist.

A second, more suggestive finding was that commuter teachers tend to be the young professionals who are less civically active. They appear to be more interested in advancing professionally by leaving the system instead of becoming professionally and civically active and grad-ually working their way up to administrative positions. Using Gouldner's typology (1957), the older resident professionals active in civic affairs might be called "The Cosmopolitans." In this case, these labels ("locals" and "cosmopolitans") refer to their propensity to cast their lot in their own communities or to seek professional advancement outside the community.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study has been a description of the general social and
cultural context which shapes and defines the civic role of rural Fili-
pino teachers. The history of schools' community involvement, the
present ideal role perceptions of community involvement, the bureau-
cratic arrangements and rewards, the factional nature of village social
life, and the style, skills, and social background of teachers all in
fluence the extent teachers are a community development resource. In-
deed, it could be argued that to which teachers can do very little be-
yond what historical precedents and the environment dictate. Conversely,
it could be argued that some teachers have certain personal and moti-
vational characteristics which propel them into social or civic be-
havior. Consequently, selected demographic and attitudinal factors
such as professionalism, upward mobility, job satisfaction, educational
philosophy, sex, age, rural orientation, and economic status were also
explored for their association with actual rates of teacher civic par-
ticipation. The data from both of these basic philosophical or theoreti-
cal positions should explain teacher civic participation at two conceptual
levels: 1) general restraints and general group activism and 2) specific
demographic types of individuals who are "activists."

Ideal Community or Civic Role of Teachers

Ideally, community members and teachers themselves seem to accept
a very diffuse role definition for teachers. Perhaps teachers summarize
it most accurately when they refer to teaching as a "missionary job."
Teachers expect to carry out a number of school-sponsored programs and
to be called upon by other civic leaders to lead in community affairs.
Despite considerable grumbling about community school programs, teachers
are not critical of the basic approach and the specific programs. Few
teachers will debate the value of a clean-up campaign relative to some
other development activity. Very few expressed a concern that teachers
should be involved in "more important" activities such as education for
land reform or voting rights. Judging from many formal interviews and
informal chats, teachers simply do not feel strongly about developmental
priorities or approaches. Only key administrators and community educa-
tion coordinators discuss what might be called theoretical and techni-
cal points on community organizing and the effects of such programs.

Teachers simply follow the directives of superiors to do _purok_ work, community surveys, home project supervision, and PTA improvements. Teachers feel negatively about having an extra work load, but they do not feel strongly about the purpose and effect of the programs.

There is also little relation between those feeling strongly positive about the value of community programs and their actual civic participation. Teachers' definition of curriculum and educational goals often lacked a very consistent, well-thought-out philosophical position. Many teachers devalued vocational subjects such as work education, agriculture, and home economics, but felt that schools should be primarily vocational. Others felt that schools should improve their classroom program and argued for an increase in vocational and community activities. The majority of teachers were vocational in their orientation; they felt that schools should be preparing children for becoming farmers and villagers. As in the case of opinions on community development, only a small percentage of administrators and teachers had well-defined views on curriculuum and school goals. They did not feel strongly about such lofty issues and were more occupied with the daily problems of keeping order and conducting lessons.

A second general attitude of teachers toward their community role was a self-righteous feeling of being the "only" real community activists and idealists. Teachers perceive themselves as being more skilled than community members and more motivated than other government community development workers, political officials, and the ordinary citizens. Teachers also believe they do more actual community improvement work than the other groups. On the other hand, teachers feel exploited by other community leaders to work in their programs. The president requests them to plant trees. The wife of the president asks them to beautify the roadsides. Ambitious local political officials, government agents, priests, and other civic leaders can always count on teachers to provide money and assistance to their programs. In short, teachers are a large, highly visible group of professionals who make able recruits for other's programs. The demands on teachers, who already have a heavy school work load, are indeed great, and they resent such impositions.

The views of community members on ideal teacher role and on community school programs are not substantially different from the views of teachers. Community members generally favor community school programs and feel such programs make a contribution toward improving the community. Numerous complaints, however, were expressed about exploiting the children and drawing the teachers from classroom work into demeaning activities such as street cleaning. But like the teachers, parents do not generally condemn the programs and debate the advantages and disadvantages of such activities. The programs, if they are not financially and physically burdensome, are tolerated and community members generally cooperate with teachers. Community members recognize that teachers and

school administrators must satisfy their superiors' requests to initiate community activities. Parents are generally grateful to teachers for running the school and "pay back" their debt to these "educational patrons" by cooperating in their programs. In effect, parents and teachers strike a bargain. Community programs do not demand too much of the parents, and the parents do not completely abandon teachers and the school heads in their time of need. The result is a series of largely ritual and sporadic programs dealing with minor community problems.

The Actual Community Participation of Teachers

It is generally true that rural Filipino teachers are involved in a variety of civic activities. The schools sponsor a number of activities such as string bands, beautification projects, home gardens, PTA improvements, and scouting. Many of these programs are required and hence, all teachers are involved to some extent. Some teachers, however, go beyond minimal, required involvement and lead in such school-sponsored activities. Certain teachers were also more active in the following non-school activities: the fiesta, local political events, use of media for political news, compadrazgo relationships, minor forms of social welfare, and the modeling of modern home practices. What emerged from a great mass of cross-tabular and correlational data was a very general type of "teacher civic activist."

These data suggest that teachers who are professional leaders and who tend to be older (35-50), resident in their community, and higher in economic status are the prototype "civic activists." These were the teachers most involved in civic and social activities such as the fiesta, the school-sponsored community programs (PTA, scouting), and in compadrazgo relationships. Male teachers were conspicuously more interested in political news and active in political events. Further, When administrators (predominately males) were included, males were more active than females in all forms of civic and social affairs. In addition, the "civic activists" had higher general social aspirations (based on choice of godparents for their children) and professional aspirations (based on desire for promotion to administrative positions). Consequently, personal motivations for professional advancement attitudinally characterizes the "activist." These teachers are community-oriented or "locals," and seek to be professionally and civically successful in their home setting. They gain status and satisfaction from being influential in their community. This pattern is generally true in both barrios and towns.

The other distinct group of professionally oriented teachers was the commuter teacher in the barrios. The background, professional and civic activity data suggest that commuter teachers are a relatively more

upwardly mobile, younger, less civically active group. Part of this is surely a function of the commuters' non-residence and their lack of time for after-school activities. This underscores the situational factor of residence as a condition for community involvement. In addition, commuter teachers also seem to represent an attitudinally different set of teachers. Data on desire to migrate, job satisfaction, and optimism about promotion suggest that this group of teachers is most likely to migrate to the cities or abroad. They are more of a transitional group, many of whom have migrated from villages, and may not be as socially anchored in either the villages where they work or in the towns where they reside. In terms of professional aspirations, they have a more "cosmopolitan" orientation and would be more likely to seek their advancement in other settings.

There are, of course, exceptions to this characterization of the older professionals as "locals" and the younger professionals as "cosmopolitans." Ethnographic work suggests that a small percentage of the young, ambitious, higher status females from towns and the lower status males from barrios residing in towns are willing to seek their professional advancement in the system. They will go to the barrios and gradually work their way up the professional ladder into administrative positions. Demographically, these young aspirants resemble the "cosmopolitan," commuter teacher in willingness to seek professional advancement outside the system, but they will first attempt to be a "local" and advance within the system. Such individuals complement, 1) other older professionals who are no longer hopeful of professional advancement in the system and are too established to move their homes and family, and 2) older professionals who are in administrative or quasi-administrative positions. More micro-analysis and depth interviews, however, are needed to further verify this characterization of the relationship between teachers' professional aspirations, their perceptions of mobility possibilities, and ties in social and civic activities.

Other less traditional measures of "civic" involvement such as participation in partisan politics and in the general social life of the community were also explored. A much smaller percentage of teachers were active in partisan political activities. Parents expressed fears that some teachers discriminate against their children because of the parents' political preference. Thirty-five percent of the teachers expressed disapproval of the law prohibiting their campaigning. They felt this law restricted their general civil rights. A smaller percentage felt they were being deprived of the opportunity to "enlighten" community members on the candidates and the issues. A few of these politically interested and active teachers might be considered minor ward leaders. Several teachers clearly had a following which could be politically mobilized. Generally, however, teachers lack the resources and the freedom to become open partisan leaders. If they come from a political or powerful family, or are leaders in their own kinship factions, they are much more

likely to be partisan. In a few cases, teachers became "too political," and were transferred to other communities. The extent of their partisan activities would be joining political discussions and meetings in an open, partisan way and cajoling people to vote for a given candidate.

The "civic" inactivity of most teachers is also reflected in the general social relations and friendship choices of teachers. The great bulk of teachers (65%) listed only other teachers as close friends. Teachers, of course, have friends in a variety of different occupational groups and tend to associate more with people of lower class occupations than with people of elite or high professional occupations. In general, however, teachers socialize among themselves and are organized in teacher friendship cliques (barkadas) or occasionally into formal social clubs. These barkada groups can be kin-based or simply interest and work groups. Such cliques often structure the social life of a teacher in community events and for recreation outside the community. If the barkada is kin-based, it further involves teachers in the celebrations and wakes of various family life cycle and religious events. If the barkada includes young, unmarried teachers, it may be a less family-centered friendship group for recreational activities outside the community. In either case the barkada relationships at school serve to further draw teachers away from friendship relations in the general community. Those teachers not involved in barkadas are usually new residents, members of small kin-groups, or outsiders.

This characterization of teachers as a close occupational group socially is not to argue that teachers are isolated from their communities. Indeed, teachers are quite integrated into the community life of the larger barrios and towns by virtue of their backgrounds. When possible, Filipino teachers are assigned to their home town or village. Consequently, a great majority of rural teachers return to their home towns and their extended family. They are intimately aware of the life and social relations of these communities. Teachers often come from the "better" or landed farm families in villages and have a community status beyond the new status acquired through education. Generally, teachers acquire many new middle class habits and tastes, and they have much more urban experience through education, mass media exposure, and travel than the ordinary villager.

In a basically two-class social system, they are neither elite nor lower class. There is evidence that teachers suffer some personal adjustments because they are a transitional group. However, teachers do not seem to differ significantly from villagers on social practices and attitudes, and they are intimately involved in patron-like roles in their extended families and in compadrazgo relationships outside their family. More data on teacher value orientations and family ties will undoubtedly further indicate the similarities of teachers to other rural people. If teachers are alienated and isolated from communities, it would

seem to be more a function of their sense of exploitation as a professional group than of any major differences in style, social relations, and attitudes. Such stylistic differences are likely to cause personal adjustments and a de-emphasis of their new found middle class behaviors and values. But their sense of exploitation as a professional group seems to be a more powerful explanation of the general withdrawal of teachers.

Teacher Views of Their Profession

Closely related to the problem of exploring the general civic role of teachers was the problem of characterizing teachers as a professional group. Teachers came from "lower middle class," rural backgrounds. They were a highly mobile and very vocationally oriented group. Their reasons for entering teaching and their ideal choices of occupations suggested rather pragmatic, low (perhaps realistic) occupational aspirations. They often entered teaching because it was an easier, cheaper course, and because teaching was a relatively safe, steady-paying job. A significant percentage (30%) originally intended, or preferred to be in less professional occupations. Only 10% aspire to highly professional occupations, and the majority (65%) considered white collar office jobs preferable to the demanding job of teaching.

Among teachers there was deep dissatisfaction about the promotion system and their low salaries. The physical working conditions, the extra community activities, the heavy professional expenses, and the lack of freedom in lesson planning also concerned significant percentages of teachers. Most teachers (90%) believed that their prestige has diminished since the war years, and they attributed this to poorer educational standards, the proliferation of the profession, and graft and corruption in placement and promotion. Yet teachers generally felt that community members respected them and that teaching was an important job. On the one hand, teachers had quite positive views of their skills and their interest and participation in civic affairs. On the other hand, teachers believed that the general prestige and working conditions of their profession were deteriorating. The fact that 93% of the teachers would not choose teaching again suggests a real morale problem among teachers. This is not to suggest that teachers are a completely despairing, hopeless group, but teachers are frustrated and dissatisfied. Many are simply resigned to the fact that they cannot change occupations, but relatively few seemed genuinely satisfied with their working conditions and their profession.

Much of the source of this dissatisfaction seems to stem from the teachers' lack of professional autonomy. Professionally teachers are an unorganized, powerless group. They have control over their professional ranking and advancement only in the sense that they compete with each other through the use of outside intermediaries. Actual professional

performance may often have little to do with who gets promoted. Those teachers with family connections or skill at developing influential backers generally win promotions. Second, teachers are also restricted by the communities politically and socially. Third, the highly centralized school system imposes enormous amounts of in-service and extracurricular activities upon them. These factors compound the problems of teaching classes of 40 to 50 students in a foreign language with few materials and facilities. There is a real basis for teacher discontent, particularly if those entering teaching were optimistically expecting a job much easier than their lower class fathers had.

Consequently, teachers are a professional group mainly in the sense of socializing and commiserating together. Teachers in the area of this research are not yet at the stage of analyzing their problems and organizing to solve them. They lack ideological or philosophical leadership, and their complaints are largely directed toward the so-called "bread-and-butter issues" of making material improvements. This, of course, is characteristic of almost any unorganized occupational or ethnic group in a subordinate position. There are signs of growing teacher militancy in the urban areas, but rural teachers remain relatively non-ideological and unorganized. As a result, they hardly have the autonomy, solidarity, and skills to be called a professional group. Equally distressing, teachers appear to be losing community status, and political interference and deteriorating work conditions appear to be increasing.

Some Contextual Explanations for Teacher Civic Inactiveness

The previous explanations using demographic characteristics help describe which types of teachers were most active. It also suggests that they have certain attitudinal attributes, primarily personal ambition or occupational aspiration, which motivate their involvement. Several contextual factors have also been described to suggest the parameters or conditions for the participation of the group in general. First, there is a real historical imperative or policy, which is generally accepted, that teachers should be active in community programs and affairs. Second, the nature of the teacher promotion and efficiency rating system encourages teachers to be active in extracurricular affairs. Of all the criteria for rating teacher performance, points won on extracurricular activities seem to be the easiest way the aspiring teacher can gain an edge over others seeking promotion. In other words, a teacher who is community-oriented is the most likely to rise professionally. Such teachers win more points for extra-school affairs, and they are in contact with more community influentials, who might also help in the informal competition for promotion through outside intermediaries. This arrangement suggests several situational factors that explain the activeness of the smaller percentage of professionally active teachers.

There are, however, many other contextual and teacher group char-
acteristics that suggest explanations for the relative inactivity of
teachers civically. First, as previously suggested, many bureaucratic
procedures seemed to reduce teacher professional and civic activeness. The
mass of competing departments within the Bureau of Public Schools created
a great deal of in-service activity throughout the year. The centralized
nature of curriculum building and instructional improvement places an
enormous burden on teachers to participate in such activities on local,
district, and regional levels. A related bureaucratic limitation is that
political and community forces upon professional promotion decisions
divides teachers as a group. The teacher group reflects, in its pro-
fessional activities the stratification and factional feuding of local
communities and regions. Rather than become professionally and civic-
ally active, a great many teachers simply do not aspire in such an edu-
cational organization. Instead, many retreat from the heavy institutional
demands and from the political pressures and debts incurred in advancing
professionally in the Philippines.

Second, the intensely political and bifactional nature of life
in many Philippine communities also limits teacher civic participation.
The case study of one village faction attempted to illustrate how such
factionalism affects school programs, staff relationships, and teacher
expression of partisan political views. The price paid for being
politically active in communities can be very high. Politics, and the
factionalism upon which they are based, can become quite bitter, and
participants may risk losing peace of mind as well as their jobs, and
even physical injury. For those seeking a more peaceful, simple life
neutrality is the safest posture toward political issues, frantic
political candidates, and their ward leaders. Even the most innocent
non-partisan PTA or church project can become involved in personal
and factional disputes, if the community is divided into kin-based
political groupings. A percentage of teachers and administrators,
because of their interest, ambition, and family obligations, do become
involved and do express partisan views. The great majority of teachers,
however, avoid politics and community improvement programs that might
become the battleground for partisan politics.

Third, the nature of the rural school as a non-indigenous com-
munity institution also circumscribes teacher community participation.
Communities have little control over policy-making and curriculum.
Community members do informally control the social and political be-
havior of teachers, but this has a limited effect on general school
policy. Further, some aspects of the programs and curricula of rural
Philippine schools have been characterized as discontinuous with local
customs and practices. Lessons on sanitation, modern medicine, and
nutrition are not always consistent with or applied to home practices.
Nor are the after-school community improvement programs always focused
on key problems of the community. In addition, the general school-

community relations were characterized as lacking in communication channels and having potential for conflict over the following: the use of children on errands, requests for parental contributions, the use of school grounds and facilities, and the purpose and effect of the purok programs. Too often teachers and community members appear to be distinct and separate groups. This is particularly true in small villages where most teachers are outsiders, and in larger communities where teachers make up a large, "socially" organized subgroup. These nationally financed and operated government schools can be a barrier for community-minded teachers, or a comfortable haven for teachers who are not community-minded.

In summarizing all the survey and contextual findings, teachers, as a community development resource, are reluctant "missionaries" operating in a very difficult professional and cultural milieu. Indeed, the extent and type of teacher community involvement seems remarkable, considering the situation. It is heartening that the better trained, professionally responsible teachers are the activists. This certainly supports the notion that more and better professional training may improve the field performance of teachers. On the other hand, until a number of basic cultural and structural features of the educational context are altered, it seems unlikely that larger numbers of teachers will become civic activists, or for that matter more professional in the classroom. Some of these inhibiting factors may be altered by changes in teacher recruitment and professional incentives. Some bureaucratic arrangements and policies can also be changed. Other factors, of course, may be so deeply rooted in cultural practices and the level of socio-political development that changing school policy and organizational arrangements will have little effect.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Making recommendations on what all these data mean is a rather humbling task. Many liberties and leaps from factual data have surely been taken to characterize the cultural context of education and the teachers as a professional group. Throughout the write-up suggestions have been made for research topics in the field of educational anthropology and sociology. The limitations of these data have been frankly discussed, and appeals for follow-up studies have been made. A number of policy implications have also been spelled out or alluded to. In this final section a brief, generalized summary of this commentary will be attempted.

Extended discussion has been included on the problems of conceptualizing and measuring civic participation. This study is admittedly very exploratory and at times based upon subjective teacher self-reports. Chapters I and VI offer a number of suggestions on how to improve the civic participation measures. The theory of middle class voluntarism is merely a very general idea or common philosophical position found implicitly and explicitly in much of the current literature on political modernization and community development. This study has attempted a very simple test of the idea and has accepted the notion of higher status, more professional teachers as the "civic activists."

A great deal of discussion on the social and cultural context of education, however, reveals that this performance may not be necessarily a function of a positive, idealistic view of the community and the government. Basically, the civically active teachers are professionally and socially ambitious and are behaving appropriately for this bureaucratic and cultural setting. The educational bureaucracy rewards those civically active with greater chances of personal promotion, and the cultural/political setting circumscribes the teacher behavior to limited programs and to supportive leadership roles to the community elite. Of course, more raw cases or more sophisticated statistical and measurement techniques would further validate who is active. More extensive attitude scales (forthcoming) would also help to further substantiate the generalization that personal ambition and not idealism or ideology is the basis of this "voluntary" behavior.

A number of related research studies on rural public education have also been suggested. Many topics have been treated in a very exploratory way here. More specific problems and approaches have been suggested in the data sections.

First, the study lacks data on actual classroom transmissions and on the potential cultural discontinuities of the classroom/curricular message to local cultural beliefs and practices. Several studies have pointed out conflicts, but much more detailed case studies are needed, particularly in non-Christian areas.

Second, there is little data on the continuity and discontinuity among basic socialization practices in the family and secondary socialization practices in peer groups and in the school. Teachers appear to be using very similar control and socializing techniques, but much more detailed study of different age levels with controls on teacher and pupil social characteristics are needed.

Third, a great deal of work on the relation of factionalism to school programs, teacher barkadas, staff social structure, and teacher

school and community leadership behavior is still needed. Such studies should include a variety of community types.

Fourth, the very complex relationship of politics and education should be opened up by insiders of the educational system. The politics of promotion, school building allocations, textbook selection, and the establishment of schools need a thorough airing, and a series of ethnographic studies.

Fifth, the nature and effectiveness of the present in-service system, and the nature of local curriculum development need intensive evaluation. Some form of cost-benefit analysis might lead to a more rational, efficient system.

Sixth, the basis of and the variations in teacher community and occupational prestige should be studied in various rural and urban settings.

Seventh, the present attitudes and inclinations of teachers to organize professionally should also be studied in various rural and urban settings. The explanation of patron-client social relationships presented here should be weighted against teacher attitudes as an explanation of inactiveness.

Hopefully, research on such topics would start some new, more theoretical, and more policy relevant research in educational anthropology and sociology of the Philippines and other developing educational systems.

Policy Recommendations

Making policy recommendations would seem to be an even more risky, presumptuous business for an outsider. Developing countries are too frequently subjected to the opinions and "wisdoms" of the temporary "foreign expert." There do, however, seem to be some fairly obvious policy conclusions to be drawn from the data in this study. No doubt concerned Filipino educators have already privately and publicly suggested reforms for many of the problems previously described. Consequently, what this report says may not necessarily be new and fresh, nor is it at times too far above the level of professional opinion.

First, the recruitment of more males and more people in general from the "better" families of rural communities should increase the group potential of teachers for civic participation. This would be to follow the natural stratification system and traditional notions of patrons as leaders. The alternative would be to recruit and train talented lower class persons who are potentially more militant and ideological. In

either case this means that the present trends of declining teacher prestige and uncompetitive salaries will have to be reversed.

Second, the professional opportunity for teachers should be diversified and increased. Some experimentation is underway to decentralize and increase administrative and staff positions in regional and municipal educational bureaucracies. This is not, however, an incentive for teaching excellence. Somehow, teaching excellence must be rewarded through salary raises, lighter teaching loads, and public acclaim. The present system of burdensome in-service institutes, actually a negative reward for the professionally active teacher, must be greatly streamlined, improved, or replaced.

Third, teachers must also be encouraged and freed to develop as a professional group. This means a great deal more autonomy and protection from the exploitations of politicians and self-seeking administrators is needed. This, of course, means that the constitutional and cultural overlap of education and politics must be at least more legally separated. This would mean a much improved investigative and judicial system for teachers who seek to fight for merit promotions. Strong teacher organizations based on occupational unity, rather than community factional and political differences, might also insulate the educational system from such outside interference. Some form of teacher review of administrators would also check the personal avarice of some administrators.

Fourth, teachers must be trained more intensively on the nature of social change and community organizing. Teachers are unsophisticated and non-ideological about social change and are relatively uncritical about their own programs and activities. More knowledge and conviction about such topics would improve the planning and evaluation of community school programs.

Fifth, the present reform movements to develop modern curriculum guides in math, English, and science are important, potential innovations, but the in-service system of disseminating such materials needs serious revision. Discussions on administrative decentralization should also include the problem of decentralizing teacher in-service education and curriculum building. Initially, this may mean a revitalization of old regional pilot school centers and regional teacher training institutes. Ultimately, however, more district and school leaders with the time and knowledge to upgrade teaching and curriculum are needed. Of course, the long-range solution is greatly improved professional training for new teachers and the freedom for qualified individuals to develop under skilled district and school leadership. Much more limited emphasis on one or two content areas for a longer time would also make in-service efforts more professional.

Sixth, the problems of local pressures from factionalism and the related problem of the foreignness of village educational institutions

are more difficult factors to solve through policy changes. At least, teachers and administrators could receive more education on their own culture, politics, class differences, and on the problems of transitional occupational groups. This might lead to a greater knowledge of and sensitivity toward their community role. The foreignness of village schools must also be continually reduced by improving communication channels, adding more rural, non-middle class curriculum, and increasing lay planning of community programs. Educators will have to take the lead in developing more critical lay participation in schools through a more democratic PTA and better group dynamics techniques.

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APPENDIX A

The Teacher Interview Schedule
(English and Tagalog)

Teacher
Interview Schedule

Part I: Biographical Data

Name of teacher_____   Interviewer_____

Assignment (grade)_____   Date of Interview_____

School_____ Place of Interview_____

Sex_____   Age_____   Time Started_____

Marital Status_____   Time Ended_____

1. Where were you born?_____

    Check one: barrio?_____   town?_____   city?_____

2. Where did you grow up?_____

    Check one: barrio?_____   town?_____   city?_____

3. Where do you presently live?_____

    Check one: barrio?_____   town?_____   city?_____

4. What is your religious preference, if any?_____

5. How many brothers and sisters do you have?_____

    Brothers_____   Sisters_____

    List the names and ages of your brothers and sisters, starting with
    the oldest.

    _____ _____   _____ _____

    _____ _____   _____ _____

    _____ _____   _____ _____

    _____ _____   _____ _____

    _____ _____   _____ _____

6. How long have you been with the Bureau of Public Schools? _____

        How many years have you taught?   _____

            In barrio schools?   _____

            In central schools   _____

        How many years have you been an administrator?   _____

            In barrio schools?   _____

            In central schools?   _____

7. How many years have you been in your present school?   _____

8. Have you been transferred since you started to teach? _____

   If yes, please list the schools and dates of appointment.

   _____   _____
   _____   _____
   _____   _____
   _____   _____

9. A) Did you take an E.T.C. (Elementary Teacher's Certificate)? _____

   If yes, please write the name and address of your school.

   _____

   If you studied beyond E.T.C., what degree did you complete?
   _____ Name and address of the school? _____

   _____

   B) Have you taken M.A. units? _____

   If yes, how many units? _____ Name and address of the school?

   _____

   If yes, have you completed the M.A. degree? _____

10. If any of the following members of your family have been teachers,
    please check below. (Specify number if more than one)

    father   _____   grandmother   _____

    mother   _____   older brother   _____

    uncle   _____   older sister   _____

    aunt   _____   older male cousin   _____

    grandfather   _____   older female cousin _____

11. What was your father's main occupation when you were in

            elementary school?   _____

            high school/college?   _____

12. If married, what is the main occupation of your spouse?

    _____

13. If married, how many children do you have?   _____

14. Please estimate your average yearly expenses for the following
    school items:

    _____ Book shortages

    _____ In-service workshop expenses (division office, BPS)

    _____ Athletic meet contributions (unit, provincial, CIAA)

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_____ School-related social expenses on administrators
(parties for supervisory visits, birthday presents)

_____ New curricular guides (English, Modern Math, Science)

_____ Classroom aids (audio-visual materials, decorations)

_____ Personal education (if studying while teaching)

_____ Personnel matters (expediting salary adjustment,
transfers, and promotions)

_____ Extra-curricular activities (boy scouting, field days)

_____ Magazine subscriptions (teachers' magazine only)

15. May we please ask who financed your studies?

	Percentages of Expenses (%)	
	(ETC)	(BSEE/equiv)
parents	_____	_____
self	_____	_____
scholarship(s)	_____	_____
relative (specify) _____	_____	_____
godparents	_____	_____
others (specify) _____	_____	_____

16. A) At present, how many children are you supporting through

high school?_____   college?_____

B) What relationship are these children to you?

_____

C) Please estimate your total yearly expenses on these children.

_____

17. The following are common sources of family income. Would you please
estimate your income for each item? (Specify if this is a monthly
or yearly estimate.)

_____ Teacher's salary (monthly)

_____ Salary of other family members*(specify)_____

*definition of other family members:
  If married teacher - husband or wife and children
  living in household.
  If unmarried teacher - father/mother and other
  brothers/sisters living in household.

_____ Land rentals

_____ Rice (_____ cavans X 18.00) and _____

_____ Business (specify) _____

_____ Home Industry:

_____ piggery   _____ poultry

_____ vegetable garden   _____ orchard

_____ Other sources of income (specify) _____

18. Please circle which of the following items you have:

Toilet

Flush
Water seal
Antipolo type

Stove

Clay
Oven (wood/rice husk)
Gas
Electric

Transportation

Jeep
Truck
Car
Other (Specify) _____

Water System

NAWASA
Well and pump
Jet pump

Others

Television
Radio
Refrigerator

Reading Matter

Daily newspaper subscription
Sunday newspaper only
Magazine subscription (not a
  teachers' magazine)

Home Industry (Write C if commer-
  cial and HC if home consumption)

_____ poultry   _____ piggery

_____ veg. garden   _____ orchard

_____ other (specify)_____

Personal House

If yes, how many bedrooms? _____

          what type _____

Yard Fencing

If yes, what type of fence on each
  side?_____

19. Please list your very close friends (friends with whom you share
personal problems, invite to family gatherings, or call in an
emergency).

20. Please list the godparents of your children. If you are single or married but without children, substitute the godparents of the children living in your house.

Godparents	Residence	Baptism or Con- firmation	Relation- ship	Close or Distant	Occupation

21. Next, please list those people who have asked you to sponsor their children.

Names	Residence	Baptism or Con- firmation	Relation- ship	Close or Distant	Occupation

Part II: Activities of Teachers

22. Now, let us talk about some activities of teachers. Do you subscribe to or frequently buy any teachers' magazines? _____

    If yes, what magazine? _____

23. In the past few months, have you read any article in a teachers' magazine? _____

    What article(s) did you like?

    _____

24. What about professional books, have you read any books about teaching or education that are not textbooks for your class or educational studies? _____

    If yes, what books have you found most helpful in teaching?

    _____

25. Are there committees to upgrade instruction and curriculum in your district? _____

    If yes, have you ever been a member of any such committees? _____

    If yes, specify the names of committees, specific responsibilities and frequency of assignment/election, date(s) of committee meeting(s), and committee accomplishments.

26. A) Now, about in-service workshops, have you ever helped organize or participated in in-service workshops or demonstration lessons for your school? _____

    If yes, specify the workshop, the date(s) involved, and your specific responsibilities.

B) Have you ever helped organize or participated in in-service
workshops or demonstration lessons for your district? _____

If yes, specify the workshop, the date(s) involved, and your
specific responsibilities.

C) Have you ever represented your district in a division level
workshop? _____

If yes, specify the workshop, the date(s) involved, and your
specific responsibilities.

27. Are you a member of the PTA? _____

A) If yes, what have been your responsibilities or positions
besides being a homeroom advisor?

B) Have you contributed to any PTA projects? _____

In what way(s)? Please specify amount of time, money, materials.

C) Have you ever assisted in obtaining prefabs, school buildings, or
other materials for school improvements? _____

If yes, specify what projects, dates involved, persons/places
visited or approached.

28. In which of the following school programs have you participated?
    (Probe each entry checked for responsibilities held, frequency of
    participation, and activeness of programs).

    _____ home garden visits

    _____ teaching adult literacy

    _____ scouting

    _____ water seal toilets

    _____ community beautification projects

29. Now, as a member of the community . . . .

    A) Do you vote in local elections?   _____

       In national elections?   _____

       Have there been elections when you did not vote?   _____

    B) Have you attended municipal council meetings?   _____

       Barrio council meetings?   _____

       If yes, specify dates or frequency of attendance in one year
       and reasons for attending.

    C) There is a law prohibiting teachers from political campaigning.
       What do you think of this law?

       What are the advantages of this law to teachers and the
       community?

       What are the disadvantages?

       In summary, do you <u>disagree</u>, <u>slightly disagree</u>,
       <u>slightly agree</u>, or <u>agree</u> to this law? (Circle One)

D) During election time, how often do you usually attend the campaign rallies in your community?

does not attend   2 or 3 times a week

rarely attend   almost every night

E) During election time, how often do you talk with your neighbors and friends about the candidates?

do not discuss   2 or 3 times a week

rarely discuss   almost everyday

F) Throughout the year, how often do you usually listen to political news?

do not listen   2 or 3 times a week

rarely listen   almost everyday

G) Throughout the year, how often do you read about political affairs in newspapers?

do not read   2 or 3 times a week

rarely read   almost everyday

30. A) Have you ever helped organize Holy Week activities in your town? _____

If yes, how often and what have been your responsibilities? (organizing Passion reading, reading the Passion, attending the procession, contributing food)

B) Have you ever helped organize Holy Week activities in your barrio? _____

If yes, which barrio?_____

How often and what have been your responsibilities? (organizing Passion reading, reading the Passion, attending the procession, contributing food)

31. A) Have you ever helped in organizing your town fiesta?_____

 If yes, how often and what have been your responsibilities?

 B) Have you ever helped in organizing your barrio fiesta?_____

 If yes, which barrio?   _____
 How often and what have been your responsibilities?

32. Have you participated in other organizations or activities in your
 community which we have not mentioned (religicus, social, political,
 economic)?   _____

 If yes, specify the organizations, your responsibilities, and length
 of membership.

33. A) In our communities, there are different groups of people that
 can help improve the community. In the typical community (town/
 barrio), how interested are the following groups or types of
 people in community improvement?

  (Be sure and introduce groups and stress a typical commun-
  ity, not their particular mayor or PACD worker.)

	Not Interested	Slightly Interested	Inter- ested	Very Interested
Government community workers (PACD, PRRM, agriculturists, rural health, land reform)	___	___	___	___
Community officials (mayors, councilors, barrio captains)	___	___	___	___
Ordinary citizens	___	___	___	___
Teachers	___	___	___	___

  Why did you rate the groups in this way? (Compare groups.)

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B) Interest and actual accomplishments for the community may not be the same. How much have these groups actually done for the community?

	None	Little	Some	A Great Deal
Government community workers (PACD, PRRM, agriculturists, rural health, land reform)	____	____	____	____
Community officials (mayor, councilors, barrio captains)	____	____	____	____
Ordinary citizens	____	____	____	____
Teachers	____	____	____	____

Why did you rate the groups in this way? (Compare groups.)

There are many reasons why people work for their community. Why do these groups (specify each) really help the community?

C) Have you ever helped any government worker with his community projects? _____

If yes, what were your responsibilities?

How many government workers assigned to your community do you know personally? _____

How well?

D) Have you ever helped a neighbor or other community member solve a personal problem (loan him money or property)? (Specify how much and how often.)

34. Here in Nueva Ecija we have all heard about the Huks. What are people in your community saying about the Huks?

Some people say the Huks request help and contributions from those who have an income. Have they asked you or your family for help? _____

If yes, when, and what help did you give?

Some people say the Huks help farmers and poor people. What do you think about this information?

In summary, do you think the activities of the Huks help the people? <u>do not believe</u>   <u>partly believe</u>

<u>believe</u>   <u>fully believe</u>

35. If we would compare teachers as a group to ordinary citizens (an average teacher with an average citizen), would the teacher or the citizen be more knowledgeable in the following areas?

	Teacher More Knowledgeable	Same	Ordinary Citizen More Knowledgeable
Teaching reading	____	____	____
Planting rice	____	____	____
Voting	____	____	____
Beautifying the community*	____	____	____
Approaching government officials	____	____	____
Raising poultry*	____	____	____
Living in the city	____	____	____
Practicing religion	____	____	____
Raising vegetables	____	____	____
Budgeting income	____	____	____
Building sanitary toilets*	____	____	____

*Emphasize this is knowledge about, not actual doing.

36. Now, concerning the kind of work teachers do, in your opinion, which of the following time allotments <u>should</u> our teachers be practicing (eight-hour day)?

   100% teaching in the classroom _____

   90% teaching in the classroom/10% community activities _____

   75% teaching in the classroom/25% community activities _____

   50% teaching in the classroom/50% community activities _____

   The greater percentage of time devoted to community activities _____

Why did you choose _____? In other words, why should our teachers spend their working hours the way you have suggested? (Probe to get philosophy).

What, then, is your opinion of the purok activities by teachers and children? (Specify their importance and their problems.)

What, then, is your opinion of PTA activities by parents and teachers? (Specify their importance and their problems.)

In summary, which best describes your feelings towards these community school programs?

	Unfavorable	Somewhat Unfavorable	Somewhat Favorable	Favorable
Purok activities	_____	_____	_____	_____
PTA meetings	_____	_____	_____	_____

37. To change the subject, are you interested in someday becoming a head teacher/principal/supervisor? _____

   What are the advantages of being promoted to head teacher/principal/supervisor?

What are the disadvantages of being promoted to head teacher/
principal/supervisor?

What are the problems and difficulties with our promotion
system in the Philippines? (Also specify what one must do to
facilitate his promotion in the Philippines.)

In summary, what are your chances for promotion?

no hope   little hope   some hope   a great deal of hope

38. If given a chance, would you prefer to transfer to another
place?   _____

Would you like to get transferred to the town/central school?
                                                          _____
Why/why not?

Would you like to get transferred to the city?   _____
Why/why not?

Are you interested in going abroad (to Canada, the U.S.)?
                                                          _____
Why/why not?

In summary, which best describes your feelings about your
present type assignment?

                    discontented   somewhat contented

              somewhat discontented   contented

39. If you had not become a teacher, what other occupation or career
would you have liked? _____

       If other job is cited, why didn't you become a _____?

       Why did you become a teacher?

       If given another chance to choose a career, would you choose
       teaching again? _____
       Why/why not?

       How do you rate teaching as a job (income/work load)?

       Do people look up to or look down on teachers in your community?
        (Please specify how much or how little and why.)

       In summary, which best describes your feelings about teaching?
             <u>discontented</u>   <u>somewhat contented</u>
         <u>somewhat discontented</u>   <u>contented</u>

Interviewer's Guide

Probes on Part I: Self-Administered Questionnaire

2. Check if interviewee grew up in several places. If so, find out
   how many years were spent in each place. (Important consideration
   will be domicile during formative years, i.e., below 12.)

3. Probe to distinguish between commuter, boarder, and resident. If
   interviewee boards, ask how many days a week.

5. a) Be sure deceased siblings are included.
   b) Check sibling position.
   c) Probe for sibling occupation. Get careful distinctions on each
      general occupation. For example:

      If farmer, what type, i.e., tenant, small landowner (no
      more than 2 ha.), or big landowner?

      If government employee, what is the specific job, e.g.,
      clerk, examiner, chief of a section? Educational attain-
      ment information can help if interviewee is in doubt of
      specific job.

      If commerce graduate, ask for more specific job responsi-
      bilities.

      If housewife, probe for spouse's occupation or family
      source of livelihood.

      If no job, ask for family source of income.

      If lawyer, inquire about clientele (small, medium, large).

      If tindahan owner, ask if store is small, medium, or large.

8. Get exact location of schools mentioned to be able to use data for
   anchorage item on compadres (20).

9. On educational data, ask what civil service exams were taken and
   whether they passed or not. (All CS exams taken should be recorded.)

10. Additional Probe: "Sino ang humimok (nag-influenced) sa inyong
    kumuha ng teaching?

11. If father is deceased, probe for guardian's occupation or family
    source of livelihood.

14. a) Clarify that CLAA contributions have to be divided by 5 years
       to get an average yearly entry.
    b) Expense entries on A-V materials and guides should be for an
       average year and not for the most costly year.

c) Entry on "Sariling pag-aaral" should be for average year for one who takes night, Saturday, or summer courses (not just current year).
d) Find out if magazine subscriptions are compulsory or voluntary for the districts.

15. Specify that this entry is mainly college education.

16 Support need not be full support for all expenses. Accept information on partial support, including clothing, transportation, pocket money.

17. Probe for land ownership: inherited? self-acquired? number of hectares and tenants?

18. a) Find out if the toilet is functional.
    b) Find out what specific newspaper and magazine(s).
    c) Find out the extent of the fencing, if all sides.

19. a) Get the occupational or job responsibilities (see 5).
    b) Ask if there are barrio captains, councilors, mayors, etc. among those listed as politician and government official. Specify if they were in such positions when chosen as a kumpare.
    c) Determine the extent of reciprocal relations, i.e., are they still in contact and are they considered close.
    d) If the interviewee is unmarried, the children she listed are those living in her household. Determine if she/he helped choose the compadres for these children. If so, he is included in the coding procedures.

20. a) Ask for specific occupations as in 5 and 19.
    b) Ask for the extent of reciprocal relations and if contact was lost.
    c) Find out how many of the compadres are from present and previous teaching assignments and how many are from the teacher's home residence (see 8).

21. Probe for occupations of close associates and friends.

Teacher
Interview Schedule

Part I: Biographical Data

Pangalan ng guro_____   Interviewer_____

Assignment (grade)_____   Petsa ng interview_____

Paaralan _____   Pook ng interview_____

Sex_____   Gulang_____   Oras nagsimula_____

May asawa?_____   Oras natapos_____

1. Saang pook kayo isinilang? _____
   Lagyan ng check: nayon? _____   bayan?_____   lunsod? _____

2. Saang pook kayo lumaki? _____
   Lagyan ng check: nayon? _____   bayan?_____   lunsod? _____

3. Saang pook kayo nakatira?_____
   Lagyan ng check: nayon? _____   bayan?_____   lunsod? _____

4. Ano ang inyong relihiyon? _____

5. Ilan ang inyong mga kapatid? _____
   Lalaki _____   Babae _____
   Ilista ang mga pangalan at gulang ng mga kapatid, simula sa panganay.

   ____ _____   ____ _____
   ____ _____   ____ _____
   ____ _____   ____ _____
   ____ _____   ____ _____
   ____ _____   ____ _____

6. Ilang taon na kayo sa Bureau of Public Schools?   _____
      Ilang taon na kayo sa pagtuturo?   _____
         Sa baryo school?   _____
         Sa central school?   _____
      Ilang taon na kayo sa pagka-administrator?   _____
         Sa baryo school?   _____
         Sa central school?   _____

7. Ilang taon na kayo sa iskuwelahang ito? _____

8. Mula nang kayo ay magturo, nai-transfer na ba kayo? _____
   Kung oo, ilista ang mga paaralan at petsa ng appointment.

   _____   _____
   _____   _____
   _____   _____
   _____   _____

9. A) Nag-ETC ba kayo? (Elementary Teacher's Certificate)? _____
      Kung oo, ano ang pangalan at address ng paaralan.

      _____

      Kung nag-aral pa pagkatapos ng ETC, anong degree ang natapos?
      _____ Paaralan at address? _____
      Kung hindi nag-ETC, anong degree ang natapos? _____
      Paaralan at address?_____

   B) May M.A. units ba kayo? _____

      Kung oo, ilang units? _____   Paaralan at address?

      _____

      Kung oo, tapos ba ng M.A.? _____

10. Lagyan ng check kung may naging guro sa mga sumusunod na kamag-anak
    (Isulat ang bilang kung higit sa isa.)

    tatay _____   lola   _____
    nanay _____   nakatatandang kapatid na lalaki   _____
    tiyo _____   nakatatandang kapatid na babae   _____
    tiya _____   nakatatandang pinsang buong lalaki _____
    lolo _____   nakatatandang pinsang buong babae   _____

11. Ano ang hanapbuhay ng inyong ama noong kayo ay nasa
            elementary school?   _____
            high school/college?   _____

12. Kung may-asawa, ano ang hanapbuhay ng inyong asawa?

    _____

13. Kung may-asawa, ilan ang inyong anak? _____

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14. Maaari ba ninyong paki-estimate ang inyong gasta sa mga sumusunod na gastahing pampaaralan sa isang karaniwang taon?

_____ Pag-abono sa mga nawawalang aklat sa katapusan ng taon

_____ Gasta sa pagpunta sa in-service workshops (division office, BPS)

_____ Contributions sa athletic meets (unit, provincial, CLAA)

_____ Pakikisama sa mga prinsipal, supervisor, supt., BPS (paghahanda kung nagbibisita, mga regalo sa birthday)

_____ Pagbili ng mga guides sa English, Modern Math, Science

_____ Gasta sa A-V aids, classroom decorations, ibang gamit

_____ Gasta sa pag-aaral (kung nag-aaral habang nagtuturo)

_____ Paglakad sa item upang ma-adjust ang salary, paglakad sa papeles upang ma-transfer o ma-promote

_____ Iba pang school affairs (boy scouting, field days)

_____ Magazine subscriptions (teachers' magazine lang)

15. Maaari bang itanong kung sino ang tumustos sa inyong pag-aaral?

	Porsiyento sa Gasta (%)	
	(ETC)	(BSEE/equiv)
magulang	_____	_____
sarili	_____	_____
scholarship(s)	_____	_____
kamag-anak (sino?) _____	_____	_____
ninong/iba pa (sino? _____)	_____	_____

16. A) Sa kasalukuyan, ilan ang mga batang tinutustusan ninyo sa pag-aaral sa

high school? _____   college? _____

B) Ano ninyo ang batang nabanggit?

_____

C) Paki-estimate ninyo ang inyong nagagasta sa batang ito sa isang taon. _____

17. Ngayon naman, narito ang ilang sources ng income ng isang pamilya. Maaari ba ninyong paki-estimate ang income ninyo sa bawa't item? (Specify kung monthly o yearly estimate.)

_____ Sahod ng guro (monthly)

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_____ Sahod ng ibang family members*(sino?) _____

*Definition of other family members:
   If married teacher - husband or wife and children
   living in household.
   If unmarried teacher -father/mother and other
   brothers/sisters living in household.

_____ Upa sa lupa

_____ Palay (_____ cavans x 18.00), at _____

_____ Business (sabihin kung ano.) _____

_____ Home Industry:

   _____babuyan   _____ poultry

   _____vegetable garden   _____ orchard

_____ Iba pang source ng income (sabihin kung ano) _____

18. Pakilagyan ninyo ng bilog kung alin ang mayroon kayo:

Toilet   Babasahin

Flush   Newspaper subscription daily?
Water seal   Sunday paper lang?
Antipolo type   Magazine subscription (hindi teachers'
                                   magazine)

Kalan   Home Industry (Isulat ang C kung
                                   commercial at HC kung home consump-
Clay   tion)
Pugon (kahoy o ipa)
Gas   _____ manukan   _____ babuyan
Elektrik
                                 _____ gulayan   _____ orchard
Transportation
                                 _____ iba pa (ano?) _____
Jeep
Truck   Sariling Bahay
Kotse
Iba pa? _____   Kung oo, ilang bedrooms?   _____

                                        at anong klase?   _____
Water System
                                 Sariling Bakod
NAWASA
Well and pump   Kung oo, anong klaseng bakod sa
Jet pump   bawa't side? _____

Ibang Items

Television
Radyo
Refrigerator

19. Pakilista naman dito ang mga matatalik na kaibigan (mga kaibi-
gang napagtatapatan ng mga problemang personal, iniimbita sa mga
pagsasalusalong pangmag-anak sa bahay, o natatawagan sa emergency).

20. Pakilista ninyo ang mga kumpare/kumare sa inyong mga anak kung walang
asawa o may asawang walang anak, pakilista ang mga ninong/ninang ng
mga batang kasama sa bahay.

Kumpare/Kumare	Residence	Binyag o Kumpil?	Relation-ship	Malapit pa o mala-mig na?	Hanapbuhay

21. Ngayon naman, ipakilista ang mga kumpare/kumareng nagpaanak ng
kanilang anak sa inyo.

Kumpare/Kumare	Residence	Binyag o Kumpil?	Relation-ship	Malapit pa o mala-mig na?	Hanapbuhay

Part II: Activities of Teachers

22. Ngayon naman, tungkol sa pagtuturo, nagsusubscribe ba kayo o bumibiling palagi ng anumang teachers' magazine? _____

   Kung oo, anong magazine? _____

23. Sa mga nakaraang buwan, nakabasa ba kayo ng anumang article sa teachers' magazine?

   Kung oo, mga ilang article ang inyong nababasa per issue?_____

   Aling articles ang inyong nagustuhan?

   _____

24. Professional books naman, nakabasa na ba kayo ng alinmang aklat tungkol sa teaching o education, iyong hindi text sa isang course na kinuha o sa klaseng tinuturuan?

   Kung oo, aling aklat ang inaakalang nakatulong sa pagtuturo?

   _____

25. Dito sa inyong district, mayroon bang mga committee upang mapahusay ang pagtuturo (upgrade instruction at curriculum)? _____

   Kung oo, naging member na ba kayo ng alinmang committee?_____

   Kung oo, pakisabi kung ano ang pangalan ng committee, ang mga naging katungkulan, kung makailan nang nanungkulan, ang petsa ng miting, at ang mga nagawa (accomplishments) ng committee.

26. A) Ang in-service workshops naman o demonstration lessons, nakatulong na ba kayong mag-organize nito (magdemonstrate) sa inyong school? _____

   Kung oo, sabihin kung anong workshop, kailan, at ano ang naging katungkulan (responsibilities).

B) Nakatulong na ba kayong mag-organize ng in-service workshop o demonstration lesson sa inyong district? _____

Kung oo, sabihin kung anong workshop, kailan, at ano ang naging katungkulan (responsibilities).

C) Naging representative na ba kayo ng inyong district sa isang division in-service workshop? _____

If yes, sabihin kung anong workshop, kailan, at ano ang naging katungkulan (responsibilities).

27. Member ba kayo ng PTA? _____

A) Kung oo, ano na ang inyong naging responsibilities o katungkulan sa PTA, liban sa pagiging homeroom adviser, sa loob ng inyong pagtuturo?

B) Nakaambag na ba kayo ng anuman sa PTA project? _____

Sabihin kung paano (paraan ng pagtulong),e.g.,oras, pera, materials. Pakisabi kung gaano.

C) Nakasama na ba kayo ng PTA sa paglakad sa mga projects tulad ng prefabs, ibang school buildings, o iba pang kaunlaran ng school? _____

Kung oo, sabihin kung anong projects, petsa, at tao o pook na pinuntahan/nilapitan.

28. Alin naman sa mga sumusunod na school programs ang inyong nagampa-
    nan? (Probe each entry checked for responsibilities held, frequency
    of participation, and activeness of programs.)

    _____ home garden visits

    _____ teaching adult literacy

    _____ scouting

    _____ water seal toilets

    _____ community beautification projects

29. Bilang member ng community naman . . .

    A) Bumoboto ba kayo sa local elections?   _____

       Sa national elections?   _____

       May election bang hindi kayo nakaboto?   _____

    B) Dumadalo ba kayo sa miting ng municipal council?   _____

       Sa baryo council?   _____

       Kung oo, sabihin ang petsa o kung gaano kalimit dumalo sa isang
       taon at ang dahilan ng pagdalo.

    C) May batas tayong nagbabawal sa guro sa pagkampanya sa politika.
       Ano ang masasabi ninyo tungkol sa pagbabawal na ito?

       Ano ang kabutihan ng pagbabawal na ito sa mga guro at sa
       kanilang community?

       Ano naman ang ikinasasama ng batas?

       Sa madaling salita ho, kayo ba ay hindi sang-ayon,
       medyo hindi sang-ayon, medyo sang-ayon, o sang-ayon
       sa pagbabawal?

D) Kung dumarating ang elections, gaano kadalas kayong dumalo sa mga miting ng mga kandidato sa inyong pook?

<u>hindi dumadalo</u>   <u>2 o 3 beses sa isang linggo</u>

<u>paminsan-minsan</u>   <u>halos gabi-gabi</u>

E) Gaano kadalas ninyo napag-uusapang magkakapitbahay o mag-kakaibigan ang mga kandidato kung malapit na ang elections?

<u>hindi napag-uusapan</u>   <u>2 o 3 beses sa isang linggo</u>

<u>paminsan-minsan</u>   <u>halos araw-araw</u>

F) Gaano kadalas ba kayong nakapakikinig ng political news sa isang taon?

<u>hindi nakikinig</u>   <u>2 o 3 beses sa isang linggo</u>

<u>paminsan-minsan</u>   <u>halos araw-araw</u>

G) Gaano kadalas ba kayong nakababasa sa diyaryo tungkol sa political affairs.

<u>hindi nagbabasa</u>   <u>2 o 3 beses sa isang linggo</u>

<u>paminsan-minsan</u>   <u>halos araw-araw</u>

30. A) Tumulong na ba kayo sa pagtatag ng gawaing pang-Mahal na Araw sa inyong bayan? _____

Kung oo, gaano kalimit at ano ang naging responsibilities?
(pagpapabasa, pagbasa, prusisyon, pagpapapakain)

B) Tumulong na ba kayo sa pagtatag ng gawaing pang-Mahal na Araw sa inyong bayan? _____

Kung oo, gaano kalimit at ano ang naging responsibilities?
(pagpapabasa, pagbasa, prusisyon, pagpapapakain)

31. A) Tumulong na ba kayo sa pagplano ng pistang bayan? _____

Kung oo, gaano kalimit at ano ang naging responsibilities?

B) Tumulong na ba kayo sa pagplano ng pistang baryo? _____

Kung oo, aling baryo? _____

Kung oo, gaano kalimit at ano ang naging responsibilities?

32. May iba pa bang organisasyon/activities sa inyong pook na inyong sinalihan na hindi nabanggit, maaaring religious, social, political, o economic? _____

Kung oo, sabihin ang organisasyon, ang naging responsibilities, at kung gaano katagal naging kasapi.

33. A) Dito sa atin may iba't ibang grupong maaaring makatulong sa community. Sa inyong palagay, sa ating karaniwang bayan at baryo, gaano ka-interesado ang mga sumusunod na grupo o klaseng tao sa pag-improve ng community?

   (Be sure and introduce groups and stress a typical community, not their particular mayor or PACD worker.)

	Hindi Interesado	Medyo Interesado	Intere-sado	Talagang Interesado
Government community workers (PACD, PRRM, agriculturists, rural health, land reform)	___	___	___	___
Mga punong bayan (mayor, konsehal, kapitan ng baryo)	___	___	___	___
Mga karaniwang tao	___	___	___	___
Mga guro	___	___	___	___

   Bakit ho napili ang mga iyon? (Compare groups.)

   B) Kahit interesado o hindi minsan iba ang aktual na nakagagawa para sa community. Ang mga grupong ito, gaano ang nagagawa para sa community?

	Wala	Kaunti lang	Marami	Napakarami
Government community workers (PACD, PRRM, agriculturists, rural health, and reform)	___	___	___	___
Mga punong bayan (mayor, konsehal, kapitan ng baryo)	___	___	___	___
Mga karaniwang tao	___	___	___	___
Mga guro	___	___	___	___

Bakit ho napili ang mga iyon?   (Compare groups.)

Maraming dahilan kung bakit gumagawa ang tao para sa bayan niya. Ang mga grupong ito (banggiting isa-isa), bakit sila tumutulong sa bayan?

C) Nakasama na ba kayo ng sinumang govt. worker sa kaniyang community improvement project?   _____

Kung oo, ano ang inyong ginawa o responsibilities?

Ilang government workers na assigned sa inyong community ang kilala ninyo?   _____

Banggitin kung anong klaseng relasyon (kaibigan, kilala, nababalitaan lang).

D) Nakatulong na ba kayo sa sinumang kapitbahay o kanayon/kababayan kasama sa kapitbahay sa paglutas na problema niya? (nagbigay ng pera o kasangkapan)? (Specify how much and how often.)

34. Dito sa Nueva Ecija, marami tayong naririnig tungkol sa mga Huks.
Ano ang bali-balita o nasasabi ng mga tao sa inyong pook tungkol
sa Huks?

Ang mga Huks daw ay humihingi ng tulong o abuloy sa mga may
kaya o may suweldo. Nakahingi na ba sila ng tulong sa inyo
o sa inyong pamilya? _____

Kung oo, kailan at anong tulong ang inyong naibigay?

Sabi nila ang mga Huks ay tumutulong sa magsasaka o mahihirap.
Ano ang inyong masasabi rito?

Sa madaling salita, kayo ba ay <u>hindi bilib</u>, <u>medyo bilib</u>,
<u>bilib</u>, <u>bilib na bilib</u> sa programang tumulong ng mga Huks?

35. Ngayon naman, kung ating paghahambingan ang mga guro bilang isang
grupo/pangkat at ang mga karaniwang tao, sino sa inyong palagay
ang mas marunong sa kanila sa mga sumusunod na areas?

	Higit Ang Titser	Pareho Lang Sila	Higit Ang Karaniwang Tao
Pagtuturo ng pagbasa	___	___	___
Pagtatanim ng palay*	___	___	___
Pagboto sa kandidato	___	___	___
Pagpapaganda sa community*	___	___	___
Paglapit sa punong bayan	___	___	___
Pagmamanukan*	___	___	___
Ang buhay sa lunsod	___	___	___
Ang simbahan at relihiyon	___	___	___
Paggugulayan*	___	___	___
Pagbudget sa kita ng pamilya	___	___	___
Paggawa ng malinis na kubeta*	___	___	___

*Ipaliwanag na kaalaman ito at hindi aktual na paggawa.

36. Ngayon naman ho, isaisip natin ang oras na nararapat iukol ng guro
    sa kaniyang gawa. Alin sa sumusunod ang makabubuti sa gawa ng
    guro (eight-hour day)?

        100% pagtuturo sa loob lang ng paaralan   _____

        90% pagtuturo/10% community activities at
         social action programs   _____

        75% pagtuturo/25% community activities . . .   _____

        50% pagtuturo/50% community activities . . .   _____

        Karamihan ng oras sa community activities at
         kaunting oras sa pagtuturo   _____

Bakit ho napili iyong_____? Sa ibang salita, bakit
kailangang gugulin ng guro ang kaniyang oras sa trabaho gaya ng
inyong napili? (Probe to get philosophy.)

Kung ganoon, ano ang inyong masasabi tungkol sa paggawa ng mga
guro at mga bata sa purok? Pakibanggit ang kahalagahan ng purok
activities at ang mga nagiging problema sa pagsagawa nito.

Ano naman ang inyong palagay/masasabi tungkol sa PTA activities
ng mga magulang at guro? Pakibanggit ang kahalagahan ng mga ito
at ang mga nagiging problema.

Sa madaling salita, ano ang inyong masasabi tungkol sa mga
nabanggit na community school programs?

	Hindi Favor	Medyo Hindi Favor	Medyo Favor	Favor
Purok activities	____	____	____	____
PTA meetings	____	____	____	____

37. Ibang salita naman, interesado ba kayong maging head teacher/prin-
    cipal/supervisor sa mga darating na araw?   _____

    Ano ang advantages ng pagiging head teacher/principal/supervisor?

Ano naman ang disadvantages ng pagiging head teacher/principal/ supervisor?

Ano ang mga kahirapan at problema ng promotion system dito sa Philippines? Pakibanggit kung ano ang dapat gawin upang mapadali ang promotion ng sinumang gustong ma-promote.

Sa madaling salita, ano ang inyong chances na ma-promote?

walang pag-asa, kaunti lang ang pag-asa, may pag-asa, may malaking pag-asa

38. Kung mabibigyan ng pagkakataon, magugustuhan ba ninyong malipat sa ibang lugar? _____

Gusto ba ninyong malipat sa kabayanan? _____

Bakit ho?

Gusto ba ninyong malipat sa lunsod? _____

Bakit ho?

Interesado ba kayong pumunta sa abroad (sa Canada, sa U.S.)?

_____

Bakit ho?

Sa madaling salita ano ang inyong masasabi tungkol sa inyong present (kasalukuyang) type assignment? Kayo ba ay

hindi kontento   medyo kontento

medyo hindi kontento   kontento

39. Kung hindi kayo naging guro, ano sanang hanapbuhay o karera ang inyong magugustuhan?_____

Kung may ibang trabahong babanggitin, bakit hindi kayo naging

_____?

Bakit kayo naging guro?

Kung magkakaroon ng isa pang pagkakataong pumili ng karera,
pipiliin pa rin ba ninyo ang pagtuturo? _____
Bakit ho?

Kumusta ang pagtuturo bilang hanapbuhay?

Ano naman ang pagtingin ng mga tao sa mga guro sa inyong
community? Sila ba ay tinitingala o hindi gaanong pansin?
Pakisabi kung gaano ang hindi pagtingala o hindi pagpansin
at kung bakit.

Sa madaling salita, ano ang inyong masasabi tungkol sa pagtuturo?
Kayo ba ay

    hindi kontento   medyo kontento

    medyo hindi kontento   kontento

The Community Interview Schedule
(English and Tagalog)

<u>Community Interview Schedule</u>

Name_____   Interviewer_____

Age_____   Sex_____   Marital Status_____   Date_____

Number of Children in School_____   Time Began_____

Community Position_____   Time Ended_____

1. How long have you lived in this community? _____

2. Would you tell me what your primary occupation is? _____
    (Check carefully for coding purposes.)

        Do you have any other jobs/secondary occupations or
        business?   _____

3. Now, I would like to ask you some questions about education, schools,
    and teachers in your place. As a parent, how often do you chat with
    teachers here (aside from neighbors)?

    _____ very rarely

    _____ once a month

    _____ twice a month

    _____ weekly

    _____ three times a week

    _____ daily

    _____ several times a day

4. What do you generally discuss with these teachers? (Check more than
    one, if several apply to you.)

    _____ your children's problems and progress

    _____ community problems and projects

    _____ school programs (PTA, beautification)

    _____ your personal life and problems

    _____ politics

    _____ religion

    _____ their personal life and problems

    _____ the weather and everyday things

    _____ other things (Specify) _____

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5. How much are parents concerned about the following issues and try to influence the school or the teacher?

	None	Very Little	Some	Very Much
Getting new school buildings	____	____	____	____
Changing the curriculum (what teachers teach)	____	____	____	____
Personal behavior of teachers/administrators	____	____	____	____
Appointment of new teachers	____	____	____	____
Children's progress in school	____	____	____	____
Transfer of teachers	____	____	____	____
Community improvement programs (purok)	____	____	____	____
Using school ground facilities	____	____	____	____
School programs and social affairs (PTA)	____	____	____	____

6. Concerning how a teacher should behave in the community, how important are the following for a teacher to establish and maintain good public relations or acceptance in the community?

	Not Important	Somewhat Important	Im-portant	Very Important
Greeting people	____	____	____	____
Joining small gatherings on roadside	____	____	____	____
Maintaining a formal air	____	____	____	____
Being humble in manners	____	____	____	____
Drinking beer/alcohol when invited (males)	____	____	____	____
Arriving on time for work	____	____	____	____
Speaking courteously and respectfully	____	____	____	____
Having lessons prepared	____	____	____	____
Visiting houses frequently	____	____	____	____
Conversing in English in the community	____	____	____	____

Living in the community
where assigned

Initiating community im-
provement projects

Contributing to community
causes (fiesta, funerals)

Accepting compadres/comadres

Participating in community
affairs (dances, fiesta)

7. For example, a new teacher in the community comes to you for advice;
which of the following will you suggest he refrain from doing to
avoid making a bad impression on or getting complaints from parents?

	Not Important	Somewhat Important	Im- portant	Very Important
Practicing corporal punishment				
Building a big, expensive house				
Sending children on errands outside school				
Having homosexual relations				
Failing children in class				
Soliciting class contribu- tions				
Keeping up with fashion trends				
Having extra-marital romances				
Incurring debts in the community				
Shaming children in class				
Arguing/debating issues				
Joining teenage groups				
Practicing strict discipline				

8. Now, concerning the kind of work teachers do, in your opinion, which
of the following time allotments should our teachers be practicing
(i.e., eight-hour day)?

100% teaching in the classroom _____

90% teaching in the classroom/10% community
  activities and social action programs _____

75% teaching in the classroom/25% community activities _____

50% teaching in the classroom/50% community activities _____

The greater percentage of time devoted to community
  activities _____

Why did you choose _____? In other words, why should our
teachers spend their working hours the way you have suggested?
(Probe to get philosophy.)

What, then, is your opinion of the purok activities by teachers
and children? (Specify their importance and their problems.)

What, then, is your opinion of PTA activities by parents and teachers?
(Specify their importance and their problems.)

In summary, which best describes your feelings towards these community school programs?

	Unfavorable	Somewhat Unfavorable	Somewhat Favorable	Favorable
Purok activities	_____	_____	_____	_____
PTA meetings	_____	_____	_____	_____

9. If we would compare teachers as a group to ordinary citizens (an
   average teacher with an average citizen) would the teacher or the
   citizen be more knowledgeable in the following areas?

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	Teacher More Knowledgeable	Same	Ordinary Citizen More Knowledgeable
Teaching reading	___	___	___
Planting rice*	___	___	___
Voting	___	___	___
Beautifying the community *	___	___	___
Approaching government officials	___	___	___
Raising poultry*	___	___	___
Living in the city	___	___	___
Practicing religion	___	___	___
Raising vegetables	___	___	___
Budgeting income	___	___	___
Building sanitary toilets*	___	___	___

*Emphasize this is knowledge about, not actual doing.

10. A) In our communities, there are different groups of people that can help improve the community. In the typical community (town/barrio), how interested are the following groups or types of people in community improvement?

(Be sure and introduce groups and stress a typical community, not their particular mayor or PACD worker.)

	Not Interested	Slightly Interested	Inter- ested	Interested
Government community workers (PACD, PRRM, agriculturists, rural health, land reform)	___	___	___	___
Community officials (mayors, councilors, barrio captains)	___	___	___	___
Ordinary citizens	___	___	___	___
Teachers	___	___	___	___

Why did you rate the groups in this way? (Compare groups.)

11. To change the topic, let us turn to politics. We all know that teachers are forbidden to campaign for any candidate. What do you think of this prohibition?

What are the advantages of the law (prohibition) to teachers and the community?

What are the disadvantages?

In summary, do you

           disagree   slightly agree

     slightly disagree   agree

to this law?

12. How much do people here look up to the following occupations or responsibilities?

Form A or B

_____ _____ (Check which one was used.)	Low	Somewhat Low	Average	Somewhat High	High
a)	___	___	___	___	___
b)	___	___	___	___	___
c)	___	___	___	___	___
d)	___	___	___	___	___
e)	___	___	___	___	___
f)	___	___	___	___	___
g)	___	___	___	___	___
h)	___	___	___	___	___
i)	___	___	___	___	___
j)	___	___	___	___	___
k)	___	___	___	___	___

In your own words, how much do people look up to teachers here?
(Please explain.)

Has there been any change in how people look up to teachers
today and during pre-war times? If so, has their opinion gone
up or down? Why?

13. According to your observations, what type of persons become
teachers?

	Low	Somewhat Low	Average	Somewhat High	High
Wealth	——	——	——	——	——
Fine Manners	——	——	——	——	——
Sociability	——	——	——	——	——
Intelligence	——	——	——	——	——
Industry	——	——	——	——	——

Part II: Validation Procedures

Barrios: Santa Cruz, Gapan
           Pulo, Cabiao
           West Central, General Tinio

1. Which teachers have you noticed frequently participating in attending
    the following? (Note: Show list of teachers in the community after
    asking each question.)

        Preparations for Holy Week?

        Preparations for the barrio and/or town fiesta?

        Community meetings (barrio and/or town) about fiestas, school
        problems, council affairs?

        Community development projects such as beautification, fencing?

        Social organizations/affairs (social dances, clubs)?

2. Which teachers here seem to be very interested in politics? For
    example, they might attend political meetings and like to discuss
    candidates and issues with the people? (Emphasize that this does
    not mean electioneering.)

        Could you please explain how their interest in politics differs
        from other teachers?

3. You have probably noticed that some people have better P.R. or good relations than others. They seem to have ways of dealing with people (greet people, visit their homes, act respectful, chat with people). Which teachers here are good examples of people who have good P.R.?

4. Which teachers have you noticed being very active in the school and in their teaching (have most responsibilities in, lead or manage, are frequently involved in the school activities)?

Community Interview

Occupational Ratings

Form A

a) Abogado (lawyer

b) Masasaka (farmer)

c) Ahente ng Land Reform
   (land reform agent)

d) May ari ng kon (rice mill owner)

e) Karpintero (carpenter)

f) Guro sa mababang paaralan
   (elementary school teacher)

g) Mayor (town mayor)

h) Beautician

i) Engineer

j) Park (priest)

k) Pulis (policeman)

l) Agrikultor (agriculturist)

Form B

a) Doktor (doctor)

b) Tindera (clerk in small store)

c) PACD (government community
   development agent)

d) May ari ng banko (bank owner)

e) Modista (dress maker)

f) Guro sa mababang paaralan
   (elementary school teacher)

g) Capitan del Barrio (barrio chief)

h) Midwife

i) Ahente ng Pepsi (Pepsi salesman)

j) May ari ng tindahan (store owner)

k) Driber ng jeep (jeep driver)

l) Katiwala ng Lupa (land overseer)

<u>Community Interview Schedule</u>

Pangalan_____   Interviewer_____

Gulang_____   Sex_____   May asawa?_____   Petsa_____

Bilang ng anak na nag-aaaral_____   Oras nagsimula_____

Katungkulan sa community_____   Oras natapos   _____

1.   Gaano na kayo katagal naninirahan dito sa? _____

2.   Maari po bang itanong ang inyong hanapbuhay?_____
     (Check carefully for coding purposes.)

          Mayroon ho ba kayong ibang hanapbuhay o business?   _____

3.   Ngayon ho, mayroon akong itatanong tungkol sa mga paaralan natin at
     ang mga guro. Bilang magulang, gaano kadalas kayo nakikipag-usap
     sa mga guro rito (liban sa mga kapitbahay na guro)?

     _____ bihirang-bihira

     _____ minsan isang buwan

     _____ makalawa sa isang buwan

     _____ linggo-linggo

     _____ tatlong beses sa isang linggo

     _____ araw-araw

     _____ makailang beses sa isang araw

4.   Ano ho ang madalas ninyong pag-usapan ng mga guro? (Check more than
     one, kung higit sa isa ang nararapat.)

     _____ problema at pag-unlad ng mga anak ninyo sa paaralan

     _____ mga problema at mga proyekto sa community

     _____ mga programa ng paaralan (PTA, beautification)

     _____ mga sariling problema at buhay sa araw-araw

     _____ politika

     _____ relihiyon

     _____ mga problema at buhay ng guro sa araw-araw

     _____ ang panahon at araw-araw na pangyayari

     _____ iba pang bagay (ano?)_____

5. Gaano ang pakikilahok ng mga magulang sa mga sumusunod na gawain/ usaping pang-iskuwelahan?

	Wala	Kaunti	Marami	Napakarami
Pagkuha ng bagong school buildings	___	___	___	___
Pagbabago ng ituturo sa mga bata	___	___	___	___
Ugaling personal ng mga guro/administrators	___	___	___	___
Pag-aasign sa mga bagong guro	___	___	___	___
Progreso ng bata sa klase	___	___	___	___
Paglilipat sa mga guro	___	___	___	___
Community improvement programs (purok)	___	___	___	___
Paggamit ng school grounds at buildings	___	___	___	___
Mga programa, party, pagtitipon sa paaralan (PTA)	___	___	___	___

6. Maiba naman ho ng salita, tungkol sa pakikitungo sa mga kababayan, gaano kahalaga ang mga sumusunod sa pagkakaroon ng mabuting PR o relasyon ng isang guro sa community?

	Hindi Importante	Medyo lang Importante	Impor- tante	Napaka- importante
Pagbati sa mga tao	___	___	___	___
Pakikihalubilo sa mga tao	___	___	___	___
Pagiging pormal sa pakikitungo sa tao	___	___	___	___
Pagiging mababang loob	___	___	___	___
Pag-inom kung nakukumbida (lalaki)	___	___	___	___
Pagdating sa paaralan sa oras	___	___	___	___
Pagsasalita nang magalang	___	___	___	___
Paghahanda sa liksiyong ituturo	___	___	___	___
Pagbibisita sa mga bahay nang madalas	___	___	___	___
Pagsasalita sa Ingles sa community	___	___	___	___

Pagtira sa pook na pinagtuturuan ____ ____ ____ ____

Pagpapasimula sa mga proyektong
  pambayan ____ ____ ____ ____

Pagbibigay contribution (pista,
sa patay) ____ ____ ____ ____

Pagtanggap kung kinukumpare ____ ____ ____ ____

Pakikilahok sa abalang bayan
  (pista, pasayaw) ____ ____ ____ ____

7. Halimbawa naman ho, may bagong guro sa inyong paaralan. Kung lalapit
   sa inyo, ano kaya ang inyong maipapayo tungkol sa di niya dapat
   gawin upang hindi magreklamo ang mga magulang?

	Hindi Labag	Labag lang nang kaunti	Labag	Napakalabag
Pagpalo ng bata	____	____	____	____
Paggawa ng napakalaking bahay	____	____	____	____
Pag-utos sa bata sa labas ng paaralan	____	____	____	____
Pakikipagbyut (ask for definition)	____	____	____	____
Pagbabagsak ng bata	____	____	____	____
Paghingi ng contribution para sa klase	____	____	____	____
Pamumustura	____	____	____	____
Pambabae/panlalaki	____	____	____	____
Pangungutang sa labas	____	____	____	____
Panghihiya ng bata sa klase	____	____	____	____
Pakikipagtalo/pakikipag-argue	____	____	____	____
Pakikibarkada sa mga tinedyers	____	____	____	____
Pagiging strikto sa disiplina	____	____	____	____

8. Ngayon naman ho, isaisip natin ang oras na nararapat iukol ng guro
   sa kaniyang gawa. Alin sa sumusunod ang makabubuti sa gawa ng guro
   (i.e., eight-hour day)?

        100% pagtuturo sa loob lang ng paaralan   _____

        90% pagtuturo/10% community activities at social
          action programs   _____

75% pagtuturo/25% community activities   _____

50% pagtuturo/50% community activities   _____

Karamihan ng oras sa community activities at
  kaunting oras sa pagtuturo   _____

Bakit ho napili iyong _____? Sa ibang salita, bakit
kailangang gugulin ng guro ang kaniyang oras sa trabaho gaya ng
inyong napili? (Probe to get philosophy.)

Kung ganoon, ano ang inyong masasabi tungkol sa paggawa ng mga
guro at mga bata sa purok? Pakibanggit ang kahalagahan ng purok
activities at ang mga nagiging problema sa pagsagawa nito.

Ano naman ang inyong palagay/masasabi tungkol sa PTA activities
ng mga magulang at guro? Pakibanggit ang kahalagahan ng mga ito
at ang mga nagiging problema.

Sa madaling salita, ano ang inyong masasabi tungkol sa mga
nabanggit na community school programs?

	Hindi Favor	Medyo Hindi Favor	Medyo Favor	Favor
Purok activities	____	____	____	____
PTA meetings	____	____	____	____

9. Ngayon naman, kung ating paghahambingan ang mga guro bilang isang
grupo/pangkat at ang mga karaniwang tao, sino, sa inyong palagay,
ang mas marunong sa kanila sa mga sumusunod na areas?

	Higit ang Titser	Pareho lang Sila	Higit ang Karaniwang Tao
Pagtuturo ng pagbasa	____	____	____
Pagtatanim ng palay*	____	____	____
Pagboto sa kandidato	____	____	____
Pagpapaganda sa community*	____	____	____

Paglapit sa punong bayan   ____   ____   ____

Pagmamanukan*   ____   ____   ____

Ang buhay sa lunsod   ____   ____   ____

Ang simbahan at relihiyon   ____   ____   ____

Paggugulayan*   ____   ____   ____

Pagbudget sa kita ng pamilya   ____   ____   ____

Paggawa ng malinis na kubeta*   ____   ____   ____

*Ipaliwanag na kaalaman ito at hindi aktual na paggawa.

10. Dito sa atin may iba't ibang grupong maaaring makatulong sa com-
munity. Sa inyong palagay, sa ating karaniwang bayan at baryo,
gaano ka-interesado ang mga sumusunod na grupo o klaseng tao sa
pag-improve ng community?

    (Be sure and introduce groups and stress a typical community,
    not their particular mayor or PACD worker.)

	Hindi Interesado	Medyo Interesado	Interesado	Talagang Interesado
Government community workers (PACD, PRRM, agriculturists, rural health, land reform)	____	____	____	____
Mga punong bayan (mayor, konsehal, kapitan ng baryo)	____	____	____	____
Mga karaniwang tao	____	____	____	____
Mga guro	____	____	____	____

    Bakit ho napili ang mga iyon? (compare groups.)

11. Maiba ho ng salita; dito sa atin pinagbabawalan ang gurong mag-
kampanya sa sinumang kandidato kung eleksiyon. Ano ang masasabi
ninyo tungkol sa pagbabawal na ito?

    Ano ang kabutihan ng pagbabawal na ito sa mga guro at sa
    kanilang community?

Ano naman ang ikinasasama ng batas?

Sa madaling salita ho, kayo ba ay

hindi sang-ayon   medyo hindi sang-ayon
medyo sang-ayon   sang-ayon
sa pagbabawal?

12. Gaano ho ang pagtingin dito sa inyo sa mga sumusunod na hanap-
    buhay o katungkulan? (Read whole list first.)

Form A or B

___ ___ (Check which one was used.)

	Mababa	Medyo Mababa	Katam-taman	Medyo Mataas	Mataas
a)					
b)					
c)					
d)					
e)					
f)					
g)					
h)					
i)					
j)					
k)					

Sa sariling salita ho, ano ang pagtingin sa guro rito sa inyo?
(Pakipaliwanag ninyo.)

Kung paghahambingan ho ang pagtingin sa guro noong prewar
at ngayon, nagbabago ba o hindi; ang ibig sabihin, tumataas
ba o bumababa? Kung nagbabago, bakit ho?

13. Sa inyong napapansin, anong klaseng tao ang nagiging guro?

	Mababa	Medyo Mababa	Katam- taman	Medyo Mataas	Mataas
Yaman	____	____	____	____	____
Pagkapino ng ugali	____	____	____	____	____
Pakikitungo sa tao	____	____	____	____	____
Talino	____	____	____	____	____
Sipag	____	____	____	____	____

Barrios: Santa Cruz, Gapan
Pulo, Cabiao
West Central, General Tinio

1. Sa inyong napapansin, sino sa mga guro rito ang madalas kasama sa mga sumusunod? (Note: Ipakita ang list ng mga guro pagkatapos ng bawa't tanong.)

Paghahanda sa Mahal na Araw?

Paghahanda sa pistang bayan/nayon?

Pagdalo sa pulong pambayan/pangnayon (tungkol sa pista, school, council)?

Mga proyektong pangkaunlaran ng nayon/bayan? (beautification, bakod)

Pagdalo/pagtatatag ng organisasyong social, pasayaw, club?

2. Ayon din sa inyong napapansin, sino sa ating mga guro ang may malaking interes sa politikang pangnayon, pambayan, pambansa at nakikilahok sa mga usapan tungkol dito? (Hindi kailangang elek-tioneering.)

Bakit ho nasabi iyon? Ano ang kanilang ginagawa na hindi ginagawa ng ibang guro?

3. Napapansin siguro ninyong may taong mas may PR o mabuting pakikipagtao kaysa sa iba. Marunong sila ng paraan sa pakikipagtao tulad ng mga nabanggit natin kanina: palabati, palabisita, magalang, mapakipaghalubilo. Sino ho sa mga guro rito ang magandang halimbawa ng taong marunong sa PR?

4. Kahulihulihan ho, sino sa mga guro ang napapansin ninyong pinaka-active (pinakamaraming responsibilidad, namumuno, laging kalahok) sa mga abalang pang-iskuwelahan at sa pagtuturo?

The Mailed Questionnaire
(English Only)

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

PHILIPPINE EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH PROJECT

Introduction:

You were recently interviewed for a survey being conducted by
Mr. Douglas Foley of Stanford University on your life as a teacher
here in the Philippines. This information will be used by Mr. Foley
only in his doctoral dissertation at Stanford.

This is a second part of that research in the form of a short,
more confidential questionnaire. Instead of being interviewed, you will
use the provided envelope and seal your answer without placing your
name. On the same day the envelope is distributed to you, Mr. Foley or
one of his assistants will pick it up and mix the envelope with a number
of other similar envelopes. That way, even Mr. Foley and his assistants
will not know who answered the questions.

Your cooperation and frankness will help to make this a very good
study. Maraming salamat sa pagtulong ninyo. Sana, hindi kayo maabala
na naman sa questionnaire na ito. Most of these questions are like
checklists to lighten your burden in answering.

1. As a teacher, how often do you have discussions or chats with local
   community folks (liban sa neighbors)?

   _____ very rarely

   _____ once a month

   _____ twice a month

   _____ weekly

   _____ three times a week

   _____ daily

   _____ several times a day

2. What do you generally discuss with these community folks? (Check
   more than one, if several apply to you.)

   _____ their children's problems and progress

   _____ community problems and projects

   _____ school programs (PTA, beautification)

   _____ their personal life and problems

   _____ politics

   _____ religion

   _____ your personal life and problems

_____ the weather and everyday things

_____ other things (specify) _____

3. How much are parents concerned about the following issues and try to influence the school or the teacher?

	None	A Little	Some	Very Much
Getting new school buildings	____	____	____	____
Changing the curriculum (what you teach)	____	____	____	____
Personal behavior of teachers/administrators	____	____	____	____
Appointment of new teachers	____	____	____	____
Children's progress in school	____	____	____	____
Transfer of teachers	____	____	____	____
Community improvement programs (purok)	____	____	____	____
Using school ground facilities	____	____	____	____
School programs and social affairs (PTA)	____	____	____	____

4. In the earlier interview you were asked, "Ano ang pagtingin sa teacher?" and "Anong klaseng hanapbuhay ang pagtuturo?" Which of the following statements best describes the differences, if any, between teaching as a "hanapbuhay" now and during the pre-war days?

A) Bilang hanapbuhay:

   During pre-war days . . .

   Teaching was a much better hanapbuhay   ____
   Teaching was a better hanapbuhay   ____
   Teaching was the same as it is now   ____
   Teaching was not as good a hanapbuhay   ____
   Teaching was much worse as a hanapbuhay   ____

B) Bilang profession:

   During pre-war days . . .
   People had a much higher pagtingin sa teachers   ____
   People had a higher pagtingin sa teachers   ____
   People had the same pagtingin then as now   ____

People had a lower pagtingin sa teachers ____

People had a much lower pagtingin sa teachers ____

5. As a teacher, there may be some satisfactory and some unsatisfactory things about your working conditions. Could you please rate the following on how satisfactory they are?

	Very Un-satisfactory	Unsatis-factory	Satis-factory	Very Satisfactory
Parents' interest in school programs/projects	____	____	____	____
Salary	____	____	____	____
District administration/ supervision of teachers	____	____	____	____
Number of extra-curricular activities (scouting, meets, purok)	____	____	____	____
Physical facilities (room, books)	____	____	____	____
Professional and personal freedom to plan own teaching and curriculum	____	____	____	____
Relations with fellow teachers	____	____	____	____
Division administration/ supervision of teachers	____	____	____	____
Personal relations with com-munity folks	____	____	____	____
Professional and personal relations with administrators/ supervisors	____	____	____	____
Working with children	____	____	____	____

6. In the interview, many of you indicated that once you have the educational qualifications and experience you still need to use a backer for advancing professionally. Many of you privately confided to me the kind of backer you used. But in order to have a more complete, scientific record of all people interviewed, please specify which of the following people, if any, you approached. Also specify what their relationship, if any, is to you. (Check more than one relationship, if they are related several ways.)

A) Obtaining Your Original Position

Relationship to You

	Close Friend	Kumpare	Relative	Other (Specify)
Congressman	___	___	___	___
Mayor	___	___	___	___
Governor	___	___	___	___
Other government official (specify_____)	___	___	___	___
Barrio captain	___	___	___	___
Division superintendent	___	___	___	___
District supervisor	___	___	___	___
Another teacher	___	___	___	___
Principal	___	___	___	___
Landowner	___	___	___	___
Businessman	___	___	___	___
Other (specify_____)	___	___	___	___
None of the above	___	___	___	___

B) Obtaining a Transfer

Congressman	___	___	___	___
Mayor	___	___	___	___
Governor	___	___	___	___
Other government official (specify_____)	___	___	___	___
Barrio captain	___	___	___	___
Division superintendent	___	___	___	___
District supervisor	___	___	___	___
Another teacher	___	___	___	___
Principal	___	___	___	___
Landowner	___	___	___	___
Businessman	___	___	___	___
Other (specify_____)	___	___	___	___
None of the above	___	___	___	___

C) Obtaining a Promotion (Administration)

	Relationship to You			
	Close Friend	Kumpare	Relative	Other (Specify)
Congressman	___	___	___	___
Mayor	___	___	___	___
Governor	___	___	___	___
Other government official (specify)	___	___	___	___
Barrio captain	___	___	___	___
Division superintendent	___	___	___	___
District supervisor	___	___	___	___
Another teacher	___	___	___	___
Principal	___	___	___	___
Landowner	___	___	___	___
Businessman	___	___	___	___
Other (specify_____)	___	___	___	___
None of the above	___	___	___	___

7. When you used a backer, did you approach him personally?

_____ Yes

_____ No

If no, who approached him for you? _____

How many times was he approached? _____

Where was he approached?

_____ in school

_____ in his office

_____ in his house

_____ in your house

_____ in a community setting

_____ other (specify) _____

Was there any special occasion when he was approached?

_____ binyag (baptismal party)

_____ birthday party

_____ fiesta

_____ school meeting (PTA)

_____ other (specify)_____

How do you repay his kindness and assistance? (If more than one, check.)

_____ verbal thanks

_____ cards and house calls on special occasions

_____ gifts of appreciation (barong, bigas, alak, handkerchiefs)

_____ support for election (voting)

_____ helping his family in time of need (fiesta, sickness)

_____ other (specify)_____

8. If you don't have a "malakas na backer," what can you do to develop one? (Describe in your own words.)

9. In general, if you do <u>not</u> use a backer, can you be promoted or transferred? (Please select the best answer for each type of promotion.)

	New Positions	Transfer to Better School	Promotion to Administration
Yes, easily	_____	_____	_____
Yes, but with some difficulty	_____	_____	_____
Yes, but with great difficulty	_____	_____	_____
No, very difficult	_____	_____	_____

10. How would you compare the need for a backer today with the past (during pre-war days)?

Much more needed now	_____
Somewhat more needed now	_____
The same	_____
Somewhat less needed now	_____
Much less needed now	_____

APPENDIX B

The Occupational Rating Form

OCCUPATIONS
(Rating Scale 1 to 5)

Categories based on:

1. Income
2. Educational Attainment
3. Function to Society

Unemployed (1)

Those unemployed are rated low status due to lack of educational
attainment. They are, however, to be distinguished from the
unemployed professionals, the unemployed high school graduates,
and the students. These groups are in a temporary stage,
awaiting either jobs or opportunities for further education.
Therefore, for purposes of computation, the following specified
groups are rated (0):

1. High school graduates who are awaiting chances to go
   to college.

2. Elementary graduates awaiting chances to go to high school.

3. College students who dropped out but intend to re-enroll.

4. Students currently enrolled.

5. Deceased persons.

Note: The unemployed professional, because of higher educational
attainment, is rated (3.5).

Unskilled (2)

Very small farmer (1 to 5 hectares, up to 3½ cavans binhi (seedlings)
Very small fisherman
Tenant
Very small storekeeper and/or owner, market vendor
Laborer (farm, others)
Driver, conductor, cochero (rig driver)
Agent without a B.S. (any goods or merchandise)
Any business (small capital, small income), e.g., poultry, piggery,
  small buy and sell
Mailman, mail carrier
Janitor, watchman, custodian
Cargador, truck loaders
Cook, household help
Jewelry peddler
Housewife without B.S.(if husband cannot be classified)
Hilot (midwife but experience only, without educational training)
Irrigation gatekeeper, without high school education

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kil**led**   (3)

    Landowner (6 to 9 hectares)
    Small businessman (with capital of 6,000 to 7,000 pesos) e.g.,
     jeep owner, ricemiller
    Katiwala (overseer), kapatas (foreman), contractor
    Carpenter, bricklayer, shoemaker
    Policeman, security guard (without B.S.)
    Soldier, P.C. sergeant, sailor, U.S. Navyman (not high officer)
    Barrio captain, councilor (without B.S.)
    Beautician, dressmaker, tailor
    Midwife (trained), photographer, barber
    Postman, municipal or provincial clerk, secretary (office)
    Typist or office helper (without B.S.)
    Fireman, mechanic (truck, jeep, car)
    Repairman (radio, television)
    Agent (with B.S.) (of any goods or merchandise)
    Pensioner (above 200 pesos a month)
    Real estate agent in the province
    Assistant librarian
    ETC graduate, 2-year college graduate
    Livestock inspector

Unemployed Professional   (3.5), also housewife with a B.S.

White Collar   (4)

    Teacher, school administrator (including division supervisors)
    Dentist, nurse, medical technician
    Businessman (with capital of 8,000 to 13,000 pesos)
    Commerce graduate, government workers (with B.S.), PACD
    Landowner (10 to 25 hectares)
    Engineer, pilot, aviator
    Office worker (with B.S.), auditor, C.P.A.
    Chief of police, municipal police (with B.S.) municipal councilors
     (with B.S.)
    Priest, minister, nun, sister
    Officer in army, P.C. lieutenant
    Underwriters, insurance agents (with B.S.)
    Announcer, movie theater owner
    Optometrist
    Navy commander
    Real estate men (Manila)
    Urban Police (with B.S.)

Professional   (5)

    Doctor
    Municipal mayor, provincial governor, national politician
    Landowner (26 hectares or more)
    University professor, school superintendent, Ph.D.
    Lawyer, Judge
    Big department store owner, Manila company manager

The School Quality Rating Questionnaire
and Rating Form

RATING FORM

Instructions

The following is a list of colleges and universities attended by teachers in Nueva Ecija. Based on your experience with graduates these schools are generally producing. Please check which blank best describes graduates of these schools, on the average.

List of Schools	Very Low	Below Average	Ave-rage	Above Avg.	Super-ior
1. Abad Santos Educational Institute	___	___	___	___	___
2. Albay Normal School, Albay	___	___	___	___	___
3. Arellano University, Manila	___	___	___	___	___
4. Araullo Lyceum, Cabanatuan	___	___	___	___	___
5. Baguio Colleges	___	___	___	___	___
6. Baguio Vacation Normal School	___	___	___	___	___
7. Bukidnon Normal School	___	___	___	___	___
8. Centro Escolar University, Manila	___	___	___	___	___
9. Central Luzon State University (CLSU), Munoz	___	___	___	___	___
10. College of the Immaculate Conception, Cabanatuan	___	___	___	___	___
11. Corregidor Colleges, Guimba	___	___	___	___	___
12. Cosmopolitan Colleges, Manila	___	___	___	___	___
13. Eastern Philippine Colleges, Baguio	___	___	___	___	___
14. Far Eastern University (FEU), Manila	___	___	___	___	___
15. Gerardo Samson Colleges, Manila	___	___	___	___	___
16. General Vera College, Lopaz, Quezon	___	___	___	___	___
17. Manuel L. Quezon University (MLQ)	___	___	___	___	___
18. Mindanao University, Davao	___	___	___	___	___
19. National Teachers' College, Manila	___	___	___	___	___
20. National University, Manila	___	___	___	___	___
21. Oriental Colleges, Manila	___	___	___	___	___
22. Osias Colleges, Manila	___	___	___	___	___

23. Philippine Colleges of Arts and
    Trades (PCAT), Manila ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

24. Philippine Harvardian Colleges,
    San Fernando, Pampanga ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

25. Philippine Normal Colleges
    (PNG), Manila ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

26. Philippine Statesman College,
    Cabanatuan ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

27. Philippine Union College, Manila ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

28. Philippine Wesleyan Colleges,
    Cabanatuan ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

29. Philippine Women's University
    Manila ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

30. Quezon College, Manila ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

31. St. Paul's College, Tuguegarao ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

32. St. Rita College, Manila ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

33. San Jose College, San Jose ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

34. Southern Nueva Ecija College,
    Gapan ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

35. Southern Pacific College ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

36. University of the East, Manila ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

37. University of the Philippines,
    Cabaio ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

38. University of the Philippines,
    Manila ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

39. University of Santo Tomas, Manila ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

COLLEGE RATINGS
(Question No.9)

Low (1)	Average (2)	Above Average(3)	Very High (4)
Abad Santos Educ'l Institute	Araullo Lyceum	Albay Normal School	Phil Normal Coll/ School
Corrigidor Colleges	Arellano Univ.	Baguio Vacation Normal School	PCAT/PSAT
Cosmopolitan Coll.	Baguio Colleges		Univ. of Phil., Cabiao
East.Phil. Colleges	College of the Immaculate Conception	Bukidnon Normal School	Univ. of Sto. Tomas
General Vera College		CLAC/CLSU	
Harvardian Colleges	FEU	Centro Escolar U	
Oriental Colleges	Mindanao Colleges	National Teach-	
Osias College	MLQ University	ers' College	
Quezon College	National Univ.	Phil. Women's U.	
Samson Colleges	Phil. Wesleyan	Univ. of the East	
Southern Nueva Ecija College	Phil. Statesman		
Southern Pacific College	St. Paul's College		
	St. Rita College		
	San Jose College		
	Phil. Union College		

Exceptions: (Mixed-Category Coding)

1. If ETC only in very "high" school (4), code as (3).

2. If ETC in every "high" school (4) and BSEE in average school (2), code as (3).

3. If ETC in above average school (3), and BSEE in average school (2), code as (2).

4. If ETC in very "high" school (4) and BSEE in "low" school (1), code as (3).

5. If ETC only in above average school (3), code (3).

6. If ETC in average school (2) and BSEE in "low" school (1), code as (2).

7. If ETC in above average school (3) and BSEE in "low" school (1), code as (2).

8. If ETC in "low" school (1) and BSEE in average school (2), code as (2).

APPENDIX C

TABLE C.1

The Relation of the Independent and Dependent Variables

	Sex	Age	Sibling Mobility	Father's Occupation	Spouses' Occupation	Economic Status	Rural Orientation	Residence	Sibling Position	Educational Philosophy	Community Orientation	Job Satisfaction	Occupational Aspiration	Desire to Transfer	Desire to Migrate	Social Status Aspiration	Community Status	Professional Index	Fiesta Participation	Community Meetings	Campaign Meetings	Discussing Politics	Listening Politics	Reading Politics	PTA Projects	Scouting	Home Industry	Social Anchorage
Sex																												
Age	.15																											
Sibling Mobility	.05	.01																										
Father's Occupation	.19	.02	.24																									
Spouses' Occupation	.10	.06	.17	.03																								
Economic Status	.12	.01	.08	.14	.15																							
Rural Orientation	-.01	.04	.04	.08	.08	.01																						
Residence	.10	.26	.10	-.02	.03	-.08	.01																					
Sibling Position	.01	.05	.22	.01	.03	.04	-.15	.04																				
Educational Philosophy	.09	.04	.04	.02	.05	.12	.02	.01	.03																			
Community Orientation	.03	.03	.02	.01	.12	.02	.01	.03	.04	.34																		
Job Satisfaction	-.12	.06	.02	-.08	.03	.01	-.05	.10	.01	.02	.13																	
Occupational Aspiration	.21	.05	.02	-.10	.01	-.10	.02	.09	.03	.13	.11	.07																
Desire to Transfer	.02	-.27	.05	.01	.02	.06	.01	-.35	05	.03	.02	.07	.21															
Desire to Migrate	.01	-.22	.04	-.01	.01	.01	.04	-.15	.02	.02	.16	.01	.25	.29														
Social Status Aspiration	.01	.31	.04	.08	.23	.01	.08	.11	.03	.04	.01	.03	.01	.07	.20													
Community Status	-.01	.23	.09	-.01	.02	.15	.04	.24	.01	.04	.05	.08	.08	.18	.06	.10												
Professional Index	.01	.17	.01	.02	.07	.06	.16	.17	.01	.02	.08	.06	.01	.01	.11	.13	.10											
Fiesta Participation	.01	.15	.11	.01	.03	.16	.01	.13	.06	.03	.01	.07	.15	.03	.06	.11	.13	.22										
Community Meeting	.19	.10	-.02	-.05	.10	.10	.02	.07	.06	.10	.04	.04	.10	.01	.01	.10	.11	.16	.02									
Campaign Meetings	.43	.08	-.07	-.12	-.09	.04	-.17	.01	.05	.09	.01	.06	.16	.07	.02	.02	.03	.03	.05	.19								
Discussing Politics	.21	.12	-.03	-.11	.18	.01	.01	.05	.02	.09	-.01	.09	.11	.02	.02	.12	.01	.14	.04	.19	.27							
Listening Politics	.18	.08	-.07	-.17	-.03	.12	.01	.06	.03	.16	-.03	.10	.08	.03	.03	.07	.20	.04	.12	.15	.16	.18						
Reading Politics	.20	.15	-.10	-.02	-.04	.04	.01	.04	.01	.12	.03	.07	.04	.05	.02	.14	.07	.11	.14	.12	.17	.16	.56					
PTA Projects	.01	.14	-.03	.01	-.07	.10	.07	.11	.09	.04	.02	.03	.15	.02	.02	.11	.12	.27	.16	.12	.12	.02	.01	.06				
Scouting	.28	.01	.02	-.01	.03	.11	.10	.04	.02	.07	-.01	.04	.12	.03	.01	.03	.10	.21	.13	.12	.11	.03	.05	.08	.20			
Home Industry	.06	.02	.01	.02	-.01	.07	.11	.12	.05	.05	-.02	.04	.01	.01	.03	.02	.03	.01	.07	.10	.13	.16	.01	.03	.01	.01		
Social Anchorage	-.14	.32	.01	.09	.12	.15	.03	.31	.06	.01	.01	.06	.09	.22	08	.20	.29	.18	.05	.03	.01	.10	.06	.06	.20	.06	.03	

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TABLE C.2

Relation of Professionalism Items

	In-service Leadership	Curriculum Improvement	Reading Habits	Professional Training	Endogamy	Type School
In-service Leadership		.68	.53	.30	.13	.09
Curriculum improvement	.68		.49	.29	.17	.08
Reading Habits	.53	.49		.28	.03	.07
Professional Training	.30	.29	.28		.14	.15
Endogamy	.13	.17	.03	.14		.08
Type School	.09	.08	.07	.15	.08	

Part-Whole Correlations to the Professionalism Scale

Professional Training	.5010
Reading Habits	.5869
Curriculum Improvement	.6915
In-service Leadership	.7141

TABLE C.3

Selected Demographic Characteristics of
the Professional Leaders

AGE		Younger	Older	Row
	Low Prof.	65%	35%	211
	High Prof.	47%	53%**	94

ECONOMIC STATUS		Low	Higher	Row
	Low Prof.	77%	23%	211
	High Prof.	62%	38%*	94

PLACE GREW UP		Town	Barrio	Row
	Low Prof.	49%	51%	211
	High Prof.	32%	68%**	94

RESIDENCE		Non-Resident	Resident	Row
	Low Prof.	77%	23%	211
	High Prof.	58%	42%**	94

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS		Low	High	Row
	Low Prof.	62%	38%	211
	High Prof.	47%	53%**	94

SOCIAL STATUS ASPIRATION		Low	High	Row
	Low Prof.	76%	24%	211
	High Prof.	59%	41%***	94

N = 305

TABLE C.4

Test-Retest Results of the
Teacher Interview Schedule

Question Number	% of Agreement	Question Number	% of Agreement	Question Number	% of Agreement
1. Place Born	100%	18. Household Effects		33. (continued)	
2. Place Grew Up	95%	a. type of toilet	100%	d. teachers	100%
3. Residence	100%	b. type of stove	70%	34. Community Groups' Actual Work in Communities	
4. Religion	100%	c. type of transportation	100%	a. government workers	90%
5. Number of Siblings	100%	d. type of water system	100%	b. political officials	85%
a. order	100%	e. reading habits	80%	c. ordinary people	90%
b. sex	100%	f. home industry	90%	d. teachers	95%
6. Years with Public Schools	100%	g. type of house	100%	35. View of Huks	80%
a. as teacher	100%	h. type of fence	90%	36. Community Skills of Teachers	
b. as administrator	100%	19. Co-Parents Chosen	80%	a. teaching reading	100%
7. Years in Present Assignment	100%	a. occupations of co-parents	85%	b. planting rice	80%
8. Number of Transfers	100%	20. Number of Co-Parents Choosing the Respondent	65%	c. voting	100%
9. Educational Attainment	100%	a. occupations of co-parents	85%	d. beautifying the community	95%
10. Number of Relatives Who Were Teachers	90%	21. Friends Chosen	65%	e. approaching politicians	80%
11. Father's Occupation	90%	a. occupations of friends	90%	f. raising poultry	90%
12. Spouses' Occupation	100%	22. Subscriptions to Professional Magazines	95%	g. knowing city life	90%
13. Number of Children	100%	23. Reading Habits: Articles	70%	h. practicing religion	85%
14. Estimated Professional Expenses		24. Reading Habits: Books	85%	i. raising vegetables	90%
a. books	90%	25. Participation in Curriculum Committees	70%	j. budgeting money	90%
b. in-service work shops	85%	26. Participation in In-Service Workshops	75%	37. Ideal Time for Community vs Classwork	85%
c. athletic meets	90%	27. Participation in the PTA	85%	a. favor of purok programs	90%
d. entertaining administrators	80%	28. Participation in School Programs for the Community	80%	b. favor of PTA programs	90%
e. new teaching guides	85%	29. Political Participation		38. Interest in Promotion	90%
f. audio-visual aids	85%	a. voting	100%	a. optimism about promotion	85%
g. personal study	85%	b. council meetings	90%	39. Desire to Transfer	90%
h. adjusting an item	100%	c. opinion of campaign law	90%	a. to the barrio	95%
i. school affairs	85%	d. campaign meetings	90%	b. to the town	90%
j. magazine subscriptions	100%	e. discussing politics	80%	c. to the city	90%
15. Educational Investment	90%	f. listening to politica... ws	35%	d. to abroad	90%
16. Type of Educational Investment		g. reading political new..	90%	e. assignment satisfaction	85%
a. where	90%	30. Holy Week Participation	80%	40. Ideal Career Choice	85%
b. who	90%	31. Fiesta Participation	85%	a. why they became a teacher	90%
c. how much	90%	32. Participation in Other Organizations	75%	b. whether they would chose teaching again	100%
17. Family Income		33. Community Groups' Interest in Community Improvement		c. rating of teaching as a job	95%
a. personal	95%	a. government workers	95%	d. rating of teacher prestige	95%
b. others' salaries	90%	b. political officials	90%	e. job satisfaction	85%
c. income from business	80%	c. ordinary people	90%		
d. income from land	85%				
e. home industry	90%				

TABLE C.5

Test-Retest Results of the Community Interview Schedule

Question Number	% of Agreement		Question Number	% of Agreement
1. Length of Residence	100%		7. (continued)	
2. Occupation	100%		g. knowing city life	100%
3. Contact with Teachers	80%		h. practicing religion	8C%
4. Conversations with Teachers	70%		i. raising vegetables	90%
5. Interest in School Affairs			j. budgeting money	80%
			k. building toilets	60%
a. obtaining buildings	70%		8. Interest of Groups in Community Improvement	
b. changing curriculum	90%		a. community workers	90%
c. life of teachers	80%		b. political officials	80%
d. teacher assignment	100%		c. ordinary people	60%
e. children's progress	50%		d. teachers	90%
f. teacher transfers	100%		9. Law on Teacher Campaigning	80%
g. community programs	50%		10. Occupational Rankings	
h. using school facilities	80%		a. doctor	100%
i. PTA programs	70%		b. store clerk	70%
6. Time Spent by Teachers on Community Work			c. community worker	90%
a. opinion of purok	80%		d. owner of a bank	90%
b. opinion of PTA	90%		e. seamstress	80%
c. rating of activities	70%		f. elementary teacher	70%
7. Community Development Skills of Teachers			g. overseer	50%
			h. midwife	80%
a. teaching reading	100%		i. pepsi salesman	80%
b. planting rice	80%		j. owner of store	80%
c. voting	70%		11. Teacher Characteristics	
d. approaching politicians	60%		a. wealth	90%
			b. manners	70%
e. beautifying community	70%		c. sociability	80%
			d. intelligence	60%
f. raising poultry	70%		e. industriousness	60%

TABLE C.6

Community Ratings of
Teacher Civic Participation

Case Number	Number of Respondents	Activities Rated	Active	Don't Know	% of Agreement With Self-Ratings
1	12	Fiesta	9	3	75%
		Political	8	4	66%
		School Programs	9	3	75%
2	14	Fiesta	8	6	60%
		Political	9	5	63%
		School Programs	9	5	63%
3	19	Fiesta	11	8	57%
		Political	8	11	42%
		School Programs	12	7	63%
4	22	Fiesta	13	9	59%
		Political	13	9	59%
		School Programs	14	7	62%
5	26	Fiesta	14	12	53%
		Political	14	12	53%
		School Programs	15	11	57%