The Impact of Modernization

on

Philippine Adolescents

Patricia B. Licuanan

Ateneo de Manila University

Technical Report No. 6

1970

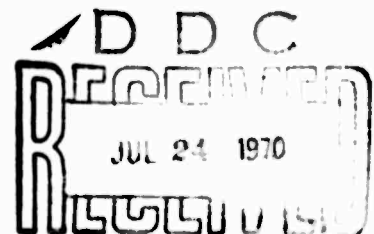The Impact of Modernization on the Philippines

The Pennsylvania State University

George H. Guthrie, Project Director

JUL 24 1970

49

Preface

In this report Dr. Patricia Licuanan gives the results of her
study of Filipino adolescents, high school seniors, in a Manila high
school and in three high schools 100, 200 and 400 kilometers away from
Manila. In selecting schools at varying distances from the center
of modernizing influences, she sought to identify the effects on
Filipino young people of the technological and communications trans-
formation which is taking place in Manila. What happens when television,
schools, industries and science are expanded greatly in a few short
years? Since modernization is taking place quickly and in various
forms in many parts of the world it is necessary that attention be
directed to its effect on those involved, especially the young. Only
in this way can programs be developed to cope with problems of dis-
location which accompany industrialization and urban growth both in
developed and developing countries.

Drawing on her extensive training in Social Psychology, Dr. Licuanan
has organized her research around reference groups, level of aspiration,
self-concept, and need achievement, concepts which have been found
very useful in research in the United States and similar industrial
societies. These concepts deal with aspects of behavior which are
potentially of great significance to modernizing processes and may
enable researchers to understand some of the stresses and delays of
social change, and some of the associated social disruption.

By and large she found that modern attitudes spread more rapidly
than modern conveniences. In most respects there were few differences
between Manila students and those who were most removed from the city.

Parents or peers were reference groups most frequently, depending on the issue at hand, but the family was by no means the sole arbiter of action. The students aspired to a college degree, even those from the distant town whose business was subsistence agriculture, the production of coconuts and little else. With the growth of business and industry there was a raising of hopes not only in the city where some opportunities existed but in the rural towns as well. In the latter areas students wanted to move to the city although cities were already overcrowded.

Dr. Licuanan's results suggest that modernization will not lag because of inherently conservative or resistant attitudes on the part of young people. They appear to be eager to participate in the changes and benefits of an industrial era. These findings give pause for sober reflection on the consequences if all or many of these hopes are denied and if these students have no opportunity to use the education for which they and their families have worked so hard.

> George H. Guthrie
> The Pennsylvania State University
> Project Director

THE IMPACT OF MODERNIZATION ON PHILIPPINE ADOLESCENTS

Patricia B. Licuanen

Ateneo de Manila University

It is the purpose of this study to investigate the impact of
modernization upon Filipino adolescents. It seeks to describe today's
Filipino youth after the strong dosage of western influence of the past
two decades; that is, to ascertain where they stand as they are
influenced by traditional Philippine values and by the more modern
values that accompany social change.

Many countries in the developing world are experiencing a compre-
hensive process of change which Europe and America have been experiencing
for some five centuries. This process of change is more than the sum
of many small changes and has been referred to as "westernization" or,
to use a more palatable though equally elusive term, "modernization."
The people who are probably most affected by all of these events are
adolescents who are being socialized into an adult society which itself
is changing.

Part of the worldwide experience, modernization has been studied
by various social science disciplines, each focusing on different
aspects of the process. Economists deal with modernization primarily
from the point of view of man's application of technology in an attempt
to increase the growth of output per capita. Sociologists and social
anthropologists have seen modernization primarily in terms of the
differentiation process that characterizes modern societies. They have
been concerned with the way in which new structures emerge to take on
new functions or functions once performed by other structures, and
they study the differentiations within social structures that occur

along with new occupations, new complex educational institutions, and new types of communities. Sociologists also are concerned with the disruptive features of the modernization process such as mental illness, violence, rising tensions, divorce, juvenile delinquancy and racial, religious and class conflict. While political scientists have studied disruptive elements of modernization, they have been particularly concerned with the problems of nation and government building as modernization takes place (Weiner, 1966).

Modernization of Man

Some social scientists have chosen to look at man in modernization, emphasizing changes in individuals rather than in institutions. The psychologist is relatively a newcomer in this area. Emphasizing the individual's experience, psychologists are interested in the acquisition of the attitudes, modes of interpersonal relations, reference groups and motivations that characterize modern man.

Even when we restrict the domain of our concern to individuals, we find different perspectives. McClelland (1966) stressed self reliance and an achievement orientation as essential qualities of modern man. Black (1966), an historian, suggested that modern societies are characterized by the growth of new knowledge. The members of these societies have a developing capacity to understand the secrets of nature and to apply this new knowledge to their daily lives.

Anderson (1966) and Shils (1966), speaking from the point of view of education, emphasized the development of skills and a spirit of creativity. In a survey of people in six countries, Inkeles (1966)

developed a Modernity Scale, a measure of the degree to which
individual respondents hold modern or traditional attitudes. He
concluded that men in modern societies, irrespective of cultural
differences, share certain ways of thinking. These attitudes include:
a disposition to accept new ideas and an openness to change; a
democratic approach to the realm of opinion; a time sense that makes
men more interested in the present and the future than in the past;
a better sense of punctuality; a greater concern for organization,
planning and efficiency; a tendency to see the world as calculable;
a faith in science and technology even in a fairly primitive way;
and a belief in distributive justice.

Interest in the effects of modernization in developing countries
has a history which goes back to the preoccupation of social scientists
with urban-rural differences. Tonnies' (1940) Gemeinschaft and
Gessnischaft, Redfield's (1947) folk and urban society, and Durkheim's
(1947) organic and machanical solidarity reflect a common concern
with what happens when a social order is transformed from one wherein
most people reside in small villages and are committed to working the
land to one where the vast majority of inhabitants are urban based
and committed to the furtherance of a scientific-industrial way of
life. A generalization drawn by these writers is that, as social
change proceeds toward increasing urbanization and industrialization,
certain changes will be observed with respect to the psychological
attributes of the population.

In this study we were interested in changes in psychological
attributes as modernization occurs, particularly the changes in

adolescents who are most affected by modernization. Our study is
designed to examine differences in adolescents who have been exposed
to different degrees of modernizing influences.

Modernization in the Philippines

The Philippines has already gone through most of the stages
which other emergent nations in Southeast Asia and Africa are
experiencing. They were a colony of Spain for more than three hundred
years, a territory of the United States for almost half a century,
a Commonwealth for ten years, and they have been an independent
nation for over twenty. Each of these stages presented a set of
influences which has been imprinted upon the culture, more strongly
in the cities and larger towns than in the rural areas. Change in
the people has occurred as the result of education, foreign ideas
presented through mass media, and the impersonal atmosphere of city
living. The urban Filipino is influenced by television, radio
movies and newspapers which all draw heavily on American and other
outside sources. The volume and persuasiveness of alien influences
which began with Ferdinand Magellan has increased rapidly in the
past two decades (Guthrie, 1968).

Despite all these Western influences, how truly westernized is
the Filipino? Bulatao (1966), a Filipino psychologist, refers to the
split-level personality of the Filipino suggesting that, although
many overt aspects of behavior seem quite westernized, there is a
core of Filipino values which remains unchanged.

Adolescence constitutes the interval in a Filipino's life when
the conflicting claims of two contrasting trends are experienced most

acutely. Today's youth achieve adulthood in a world caught in the throes of rapid social change. As he faces his own personal transition from childhood, the adolescent also meets a world which offers fragments of both traditional and modern ways of life.

In Western culture, adolescents are expected to strive more for status based on their own efforts and competence, and to strive less for status derived from their relationship to parents, relatives and peers. Adolescents are expected to be less dependent on the approval of their parents and to relate more intimately to their peer group. They are also expected to be more achievement oriented, more independent, and to exercise more initiative (Ausubel, 1954).

But what happens to adolescent development in a culture such as the Philippines where youth and adults alike derive a large portion of their self esteem from a system of mutual psychological support, emotional interdependence and reciprocal obligations (Hollnsteiner, 1964)? How does the Filipino adolescent of the 1970's react to Western influence when the traditional Filipino culture is less concerned with personal ambition and places greater value on close family ties (Bulatao, 1964), smooth interpersonal relations, social acceptance and cooperative effort (Lynch, 1964)? Where does the Filipino adolescent stand as he is faced with traditional Philippine values and the new influences of a modernized Western Philippines?

As the Philippines develops rapidly from traditional to modern, as more modern attitudes and values are introduced along with technology and more complex social structures, one can ask how an adolescent reacts to these changes. Does modernization affect the way he thinks

of himself? Does he stress interpersonal relationships and getting
along with others or does he put more importance on independence
or achievement? Does he stress different qualities as he becomes
more modern? Which groups does he consider most important? In what
situations does he consider them important? Is he strongly influenced
by his family or do his peers hold more importance to him? Does
his exposure to modern ideas influence his need to achieve or his
aspirations? What does he aspire to in life? How much education
does he want? What kind of a job does he seek? Whom does he consider
a successful person? In this study we attempt to answer these
questions.

We are interested in the self concept, reference groups, need
to achieve, and level of aspiration of Philippine adolescents and how
these change as they are exposed to modern influences. Essentially
this study involves 1) the measurement of self concept, reference
groups, need to achieve and level of aspiration; 2) the investigation
of the differences on these four variables that may exist among
groups of adolescents who differ in their exposure to modern influ-
ences; and 3) the investigation of differences on these four variables
that may exist among Philippine adolescents as a result of sex and
socioeconomic status. These four variables were selected for this
study because of their prominence in psychological literature as
well as their direct relation to the phenomenon of social change.

The Self Concept

Interest in the self concept has a long history which can be
traced to the thinking of theologians and philosophers and to the

works of poets and writers. Theoretical and empirical literature
on the self concept points to the fact that self is not innate. It
is a developmental formation which is the product of interaction,
from infancy onward, with the individual's physical and social
environment.

Theorists such as James (1890), Cooley (1902), Baldwin (1895)
and Mead (1934) emphasized the development of self through interaction
with others. Thus the love and affection that parents have for a
child and their attitudes toward him as he grows are tremendously
important in forming his self concept. After the early years of
childhood many other persons beyond his family take on an increasingly
important role in forming self: teachers, playmates and friends. As
an adult, his occupational associates and his spouse and children
contribute further to this process.

As interactions differ with cultures, self concept is affected
by culture. Hallowell (1954) saw an individual's perception of
himself and others and the interpretation of his experiences within
this framework as inseparable from the self-other orientations which
are characteristic of his society. Thus it could be said that the
way a person sees himself and others is a reflection of cultural values.
As cultural values change with modernization, does self concept
change too?

Reference Groups

The concept of reference group refers to any group, whether he
is a member of it or not, with which the individual identifies in
the sense that the group serves as a normative source of attitudes and

self-identity for him. The value of this concept is derived from its ability to relate self to society and individual to group. A complex society and multiple group membership bring about the like-lihood of multiple reference groups.

The importance of the peer group in the adolescent scheme of things has been stressed in the area of the social psychology of adolescence (Ausubel, 1954; Sherif and Sherif, 1964). Another membership group which exerts pressures upon the adolescent is the family. Quite often the pressures from these two groups are mutually sustaining. Sometimes they are in conflict. Research on parent-peer pressures such as that by Rosen (1955), Haller and Butterworth (1960), Bealer and Willits (1961) and Brittain (1963) leads to the conclusion that both parents and peers exert influences upon choices made by adolescents; and when parent and peers disagree or have varying relevant information, the relative influence varies with the issue.

We are interested in whether or not these findings are also true for the Philippines. The notion of reference group is particu-larly applicable in the Philippines where values such as independence and rugged individualism have yet to gain prominence. Research on Philippine values has emphasized the importance that Filipinos place on others. Such important cultural concepts as pakikisama (getting along with others), hiya (shame), amor propio (self esteem), utang na loob (sense of obligation) are all basically interpersonal in meaning and have to do with an individual's relationship with other people who are important to him.

One of the changes that is said to occur with modernization is

the lessening of the importance of the family in an individual's
life space. Thus we are also interested in the relative importance
of parents and peers to Philippine adolescents.

Achievement Motivation and Level of Aspiration

Observers of economic development have been impressed by the
apparent importance of motivation factors. Level of aspiration
experiments have provided the impetus for an extensive series of
studies on achievement motivation. McClelland and his associates
developed a method by which fantasy productions are used to measure
achievement motivation (McClelland et al., 1953; McClelland, 1955;
Atkinson, 1958; McClelland, 1961; McClelland and Winter, 1968). The
development of this measurement technique gave rise to countless
studies on achievement motivation and a score of different findings
many of which are difficult to reconcile. A new idea from McClelland
that related the achievement motive to world history and economic
development revitalized the achievement motivation tradition and tied
together many of the findings. In his well-known study (1961), he
used most of the countries outside of the tropics in his sample.
Children's readers were scored for achievement themes. Margaret Mead
has suggested that these stories are an important means by which a
culture presents its values to new members. McClelland used two
indices of economic growth. One was the "international unit" defined
by economist Colin Clark as "the quantity of goods exchangeable in
the U.S.A. for one dollar over the average of the decade 1925-1934"
(Clark, 1957, p. 18). The other index was electrical output. His
hypothesis was confirmed; the level of achievement motivation was

predictive of subsequent increases in the rate of economic growth.

McClelland's study emphasized the differences that exist among
countries in their concern with achievement. He attributed this
achievement orientation to an ideology which would cause parents to
stress achievement, self reliance, and self-denial, the child-rearing
values that Winterbottom (1953), Rosen and D'Andrade (1959), Child,
Storm and Veroff (1958) had found to be associated with high achieve-
ment motivation.

Studies of adolescents and modernization have found an increase
in achievement motivation with exposure to modern influences. Ausubel
(1961) studied the Maori adolescents of New Zealand and their
cultural contact with the predominant pakeha or European cultures.
Matched groups of Maori and pakeha secondary school pupils were
given a variety of tests and interviews. The data showed that Maori
adolescents in urban and rural areas have generally assimilated the
pakeha pattern of educational and vocational aspiration which they
encounter in school and in the surrounding culture. However, the
author stressed that there was a greater similarity between Maori and
pakeha subjects in their expressed educational and vocational aspirations
than in those factors necessary for the internalization and imple-
mentation of these aspirations such as underlying achievement moti-
vation, supportive traits and perceived pressures and opportunities
for academic and occupational success.

Philippine Values

The Filipino personality and Philippine values are much discussed
in the popular media of the Philippines but systematic studies

not as readily available. However, enough studies do exist to provide an empirical basis for a discussion on Philippine values. Much-quoted are articles by Lynch (1964), Hollnsteiner (1964) and Bulatao (1964). Also relevant are papers by Bulatao (1965), Guthrie (1962; 1968), Lim (1968), Stoodley (1962a; 1962b), and Torrance (1965). Most of these studies seem to indicate that Filipinos value close relationships with others, closeness to the family, respect for authority and self-effacement. They are also concerned with bettering themselves and their economic standing.

Thus we asked the question: Do these characteristics that seem to typify Filipinos vary according to modernizing influences? The selection of adolescents from four communities at varying distances from Manila made it possible for groups of adolescents under varying degrees of contact with the main source of modernizing influences to be studied simultaneously.

Methods

Hypotheses

This study is interested in some general aspects of self concept, reference groups, achievement motivation and level of aspiration of Filipino adolescents; however, theory and research on modernization as well as studies on Philippine values give reason for some specific hypotheses to be advanced: As groups are more exposed to modern influences:

1. the greater their tendency to have a self concept based on autonomy and achievement;

2. the less their tendency to have a self concept based on

good relationships with others;

    3. the less importance they give to their family as a reference group;

    4. the more importance they give to their peers as a reference group;

    5. the greater their need to achieve;

    6. the higher their level of aspiration.

Communities

Manila was considered Community A. The other three communities were approximately equal in size to each other (five to six thousand people) and were located approximately 100, 200, and 400 kilometers from Manila. By selecting these communities we sought to manipulate exposure to such modernizing influences as education, industrialization and mass media. A detailed description of communities B, C and D is provided by Guthrie (1970). All communities were Tagalog speaking.

Subjects

Fifty high school seniors (25 males and 25 females) were selected from each community. Usually the entire senior class of a school was contacted for the study since classes in provincial high schools are typically small. In Manila, two sections were used. Subjects were eliminated randomly after the data were collected in order to have an equal number in each group. There was a total of 200 subjects.

Subjects were not selected according to socioeconomic status (SES) but, since an analysis of the effects of sex and SES was desired, Ss were divided into high and low SES groups according to the

occupation of father. Ss whose fathers were in small time business, supervisory positions, white collar and professional occupations made up the higher SES group while those whose fathers were in skilled or semi-skilled trades, manual labor or agriculture were in the lower SES group. It is important to mention however that our Ss were rated high or low in social class relative to each other. When considered in relation to the total Philippine population our Ss came from lower middle and lower class families. This is due to the fact that in the provinces, the wealthier families generally send their children to school in Manila. And in Manila, the school from which we drew our sample served a lower middle class area. The age of the subjects ranged from 15 to 20 years. Table 1 shows the mean age of the Ss in each group.

Table 1

Mean Age of Subjects

Sex	Community			
---	Manila	Community B	Community C	Community D
Males	16.2	18.0	18.2	18.0
Females	15.8	17.3	17.2	16.2

The occupations of the subjects' fathers are shown in Table 2 and their educational attainment in Table 3.

Table 2

Occupations of Subjects' Fathers

(All values are percentages)

Occupation	Community			
	A	B	C	D
Professional	16.0	2.0	12.5	2.1
White collar, Commercial	32.0	12.2	8.4	6.4
Supervisory position, foremen	20.0	0.0	4.2	4.2
Small-time business	6.0	10.2	10.4	12.8
Skilled and semi-skilled trades	2.0	8.2	6.3	8.5
Manual labor	8.0	20.4	8.3	0.0
Agriculture	0.0	42.9	47.9	57.4
Other	16.0	4.1	2.1	8.5

Table 3

Fathers' Educational Attainment

(All values are percentages)

Educational attainment	Community			
	A	B	C	D
No education	0	0	0	0
3 yrs. elementary	0	0	0	15.6
6 yrs. elementary	0	70.2	52.3	66.7
Partial high school	0	8.5	13.6	8.9
H.S. or vocational school graduate, partial college	36.7	6.4	18.2	8.9
College graduate	63.3	14.9	15.9	0

Procedure

All measures except for the interview questionnaire were pencil-and-paper measures. Testing was done in groups in the class-room. Interviews were conducted individually.

Instruments and Analyses

All instruments were devised in English then translated into Tagalog. The back translation technique was used; that is, after the instrument was translated into Tagalog it was translated back into English by a different person, and this version was compared with the original English version. Adjustments were made on the Tagalog version until the original and the back-translated English versions corresponded satisfactorily.

Self concept. The measure of self concept was a list of 50 adjectives which each subject was asked to rank according to how well they described his real self, then his ideal self. The list was derived empirically by asking students to list adjectives describing themselves and how they would like to be. Additional adjectives were based on previous research on Filipinos. Thus the list was composed of adjectives which can be said to be salient to Filipinos (see Table 4).

A factor analysis was run on the real ratings and on the ideal ratings to determine what categories the subjects used in describing themselves. Six factors were extracted for each set. The score of each subject on each of the factors (six ideal and six real) was derived, and the groups were compared on their scores for each factor. Pooling adjectives by grouping them into factors rather than comparing groups on each of the 50 adjectives gave higher reliability to our measures. Twelve community x sex analyses of variance were performed to see if the groups differed in the importance they gave each factor. The overall mean rank for each adjective was also

computed to determine the relative desirability of particular traits.

Reference Groups. Reference groups was defined as groups of people which are most salient or considered most important in different situations. The measure used here was a questionnaire made up of 35 items in which a hypothetical situation was presented and the subject was asked to whom he would go or with whom he would like to be. These 35 items were made up of seven items for each of five types of situations--emotional, career, recreational, task-oriented, and modelling. For example, "You have lost the money you have collected for your class as its treasurer. You are in a panic and you want to tell somebody so you can calm down and do something about it. Whom do you tell?" The subjects' answers were coded according to the following categories: 1) parents, 2) sibling, 3) other relative, 4) peer, 5) other adult, 6) other. The "other adult" category included teachers, counselors, priests, and so on, that is adults whom the subject knew personally. The "other" category included God, saints, Jesus Christ, and so on, plus prominent personalities with whom the subject was not personally acquainted. The groups chosen most frequently for each type of situation were noted. Also the relative importance of parents and peers (which were the most frequently chosen groups) for each situation was examined. Using the $\underline{S}$'s parent-choice scores, which ranged from 0 to 7, a community x sex analysis of variance and a sex x socioeconomic status were run for each of the five situations. The same was done for the peer-choice scores.

Achievement motivation and level of aspiration. To measure
achievement motivation, four TAT pictures were used following
McClelland's procedure (1953, 1955). Each subject received a set
of the pictures with a sheet for each picture on which he was
instructed to write a story about the picture. On the sheets were
written the questions: 1) What is happening? Who are the persons?
2) What has led up to this situation? What has happened in the
past? 3) What is being thought? What is wanted? By whom? 4) What
will happen? What will be done? The subjects were told that they
could write the stories in English, Tagalog, or a combination of
both. Following McClelland's scoring system, a story could have a
minimum score of -1 and a maximum score of 11. Points were given
when a story included anticipations of success, and, generally, a
concern with competing successfully with some standard of excellence.
The subject's achievement score is the sum of his scores across all
pictures. Thus in our study the scores could have ranged from
-4 to 44. With a constant of 4 added to avoid negative scores,
the highest possible score was 48.

The scorer did not know the community or sex of the subjects
as she scored their stories. Before beginning to score these stories,
the scorer had practiced intensively and had acquired extremely high
correlations (above .90) with the Atkinson Manual (1958). Also, a
month after she had scored the TAT stories for this study she picked
out 50 stories at random and scored them again. The correlation between
the two scores was above $r = .90$. A community x sex and a sex x
SES analyses of variance were run.

The level of aspiration was measured by specific questions on
an interview questionnaire about the subjects' educational aspirations,
the type of job they would like to have, etc. The responses to the
open-ended questions were coded and the chi square statistic was
used to compare groups.

Results and Discussion

Self Concept as a Reflection of Cultural Values

Table 4 shows the 50 adjectives arranged according to their
mean rank across all $\underline{S}$s for the ideal self ratings. In the second
column is the mean rank the adjectives received for the real self
ratings. The correlation between the two sets of mean ranks was
r = .93. Adjectives such as friendly, helpful, kind, humble, happy,
close to the family are rated consistently highest while adjectives
such as quarrelsome, selfish, boastful, lazy, teaser, hot-tempered
received consistently low ratings. Thus it would seem that a high
premium is placed on traits that make for pleasant interactions with
others while traits that prevent pleasant interactions are considered
least desirable. These findings support previous studies on
Philippine values which named getting along with others and closeness
to the family as main Philippine values.

It is informative to note which adjectives showed considerable
discrepancy between the two ratings. We arbitrarily chose a discrepancy
of five points or more, slightly above the mean discrepancy 3.55, and
identified those adjectives which were ranked differently as real
and ideal ratings. $\underline{S}$s reported that they were less intelligent, less
dependable, less hard-working, less a leader, less popular than they

Table 4

iiean Ranks of Adjectives

	Ideal Self	Real Self		Ideal Self	Real Self
friendly	2.50	1.00	thrifty	24.06	28.00
intelligent	3.69	21.50	fun-loving	24.13	18.25
dependable	4.50	12.00	adventurous	24.63	19.68
helpful	5.00	5.44	modern	25.58	25.94
kind	5.63	5.50	popular	27.31	36.38
humble	8.13	7.50	serious	31.25	30.56
hardworking	8.50	19.13	sophisticated	32.63	31.13
happy	8.69	6.06	ambitious	32.88	23.13
close to family	9.81	6.94	follower	34.75	31.25
obedient	12.00	13.50	old-fashioned	36.25	37.31
goes along with others	14.13	7.75	shy	36.50	31.65
polite	14.31	7.19	dominant	36.75	40.25
gentle	14.63	18.19	loner	38.38	37.13
religious	14.63	17.13	easy-going	38.50	40.06
studious	15.44	19.83	changeable	40.25	36.00
generous	15.57	13.50	jealous	40.88	41.25
sociable	17.50	18.00	rebellious	42.19	44.88
independent	18.63	14.63	talkative	42.63	43.25
thoughtful of others	19.69	12.00	sad	43.81	41.75
self-confident	20.19	16.88	hot-tempered	43.88	40.06
leader	20.25	33.38	teaser	45.88	43.56
self-controlled	21.13	21.00	lazy	46.00	47.38
quiet	22.00	20.73	boastful	47.75	47.50
mature	22.38	24.50	selfish	48.25	48.50
sincere	23.50	20.63	quarrelsome	48.88	48.38

would want to be. They were more polite, more thoughtful of others,
more fun-loving, more adventurous, more ambitious and more likely to
go along with others than they would want ideally. These two
clusters of adjectives suggest that they see themselves as more
traditional but that they would prefer to possess more qualities
attributed to industrial people.

Factor analysis of both ideal and real ratings yielded six
real self factors and six ideal self factors. The real self factors
were identified as I) interpersonally pleasant vs. interpersonally
unpleasant, II) old-fashioned introvert vs. modern "swinger,"
III) adventurous, untraditional vs. safe-playing, traditional,
IV) sociable, irresponsible vs. unsociable, responsible, V) unassertive
vs. dominant, and VI) ideal leader vs. non-leader. The ideal self
factors were I) interpersonally unpleasant vs. interpersonally
pleasant, II) unassertive, friendly vs. assertive, unfriendly,
III) ideal leader vs. non-leader, IV) uninterpretable, V) old-fashioned
introvert vs. modern "swinger," and VI) adventurous, untraditional
vs. safe-playing traditional. From here on real factors will be
designated as r factors and ideal factors as i.

The six real self factors and six ideal self factors were
generally interpersonal in character suggesting that when Filipino
adolescents think of themselves and the person they would want to
be they do so in terms of interpersonal categories. These findings
lend support to research on social and cultural influences on the
self concept.

Modernization and the Self Concept

High scores on IIIr, II, IIII, VII and low scores on Ir, IIr, IVr, Vr, III, and VI were interpreted as indication of a modern self concept. Thus a modern self concept would consist of seeing oneself as less interpersonally pleasant, more of a modern "swinger," more adventurous and untraditional, more responsible though unsociable, more dominant and more a leader. It would also consist of wanting to be less interpersonally pleasant, more assertive though unfriendly, more a leader, more of a modern "swinger" and more adventurous and untraditional.

Table 5 shows the mean factor scores. The community x sex analysis of variance on each factor showed that in general the groups differed significantly on few of their factor scores. On factor IIIr the communities differed significantly (F = 4.241, p < .01) with Manila having a much higher mean score than the other communities. Manila respondents describe themselves as more adventurous and less traditional.

Factor III showed significant community differences (F = 9.116, p < .01) with Community D scoring lowest thus giving the more modern responses, i.e. desiring to be more assertive and less friendly. Although significant differences were few, when we consider the direction of mean factor scores for the real and ideal self factors there is evidence to suggest that urban adolescents see themselves as more moder. while rural adolescents want to be more modern. While we predicted that urban Ss would show a more modern real self concept as well as a modern ideal self concept and that rural Ss would be more traditional on both of these, our results might be explained

Table 5

Mean Factor Scores of Real and Ideal Factors

Real Self		Community			Sex	
Factor	A	B	C	D	Males	Females
I	0.2342	−0.2591	0.1590	−0.1336	−0.1036	0.0218
II	0.0731	0.2099	−0.0308	−0.2520	0.0219	−0.0218
III	0.3910	−0.2473	−0.0222	−0.1213**	−0.1560	0.1562*
IV	0.1140	0.1379	0.2536	−0.5560	0.0660	−0.0662
V	0.0404	−0.4806	0.2954	0.1444	0.0115	−0.0117
VI	0.1656	0.0675	−0.2225	−0.0104	−0.0219	0.0220

Ideal Self
 Factor

	A	B	C	D	Males	Females
I	−0.0989	0.1136	0.2547	−0.2702	0.0042	−0.0046
II	−0.0730	0.5399	−0.0550	−0.4116**	−0.1745	0.1747**
III	0.5127	−0.4750	−0.2003	0.1628	−0.0750	0.0752
IV	0.3232	−0.1675	0.2422	−0.3986	−0.0100	0.0102
V	0.1699	0.1614	0.1173	−0.1085	0.1712	−0.1711*
VI	0.0544	0.0115	−0.2132	0.1524	−0.0010	0.0010

*p < .05   **p < .01

from the following viewpoint. Urban adolescents see themselves as possessing sets of traits which have been associated with modernity and thus they have a modern real self concept. On the other hand, rural adolescents do not feel that they actually possess these traits, at least not to the same extent that their urban counterparts do, but desire to have them and therefore can be said to have a modern ideal self concept. So, in general, the urban and rural adolescents in our sample showed some kind of modern self concept. Since we did not make separate predictions on the real and ideal self concepts, hypotheses 1 and 2 were only weakly supported.

Male-Female Differences in Self Concept

On factor IIIr females scored significantly higher than males with an F ratio of 5.409 (p < .05). Thus females perceive themselves as more adventurous and less traditional than do males. Differences on factor III (F = 7.105, p < .01) showed males scoring lower than females thus desiring to be more assertive and less friendly. In factor VI females scored significantly lower (F = 6.153, p .05) indicating that they would like to be more modern and fun loving than do men.

These differences between males and females also showed interesting trends. Our female subjects saw themselves as possessing modern traits more than did our male subjects. When it came to what they wanted to be, both groups showed some desire for modern traits, but males tended to show their desire for modernity by rejecting the traditional friendly, "nice guy" type of traits while females demonstrated their modern ideal self concept by desiring traits of

leadership, achievement and extroversion. Based on these results
it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that our female subjects
had a more modern self concept than our male subjects.

Multiple Reference Groups among Filipino Adolescents

To determine which different groups were considered important
depending on the situation, the responses of all 200 $\underline{S}$s were added.
Table 6 shows which reference group was chosen most often for each
of the five areas. For each area the score of each reference group
was out of a possible total of 1400. In general our subjects as a
group considered peers the important group in recreational situations
such as parties, sports or just passing the time. Peers were also
chosen for emotional situations such as quarrels with friends,
depression or confiding about one's boyfriend or girlfriend. Simi-
larly, when one had to get a specific task done, peers were usually
consulted. When the question of whom to emulate came up, parents
were the choice and parents were also sought out for advice regarding
one's present or future career. Thus it seems that the importance
of particular groups to Filipino adolescents depends on the situation,
with parents and peers the most salient reference groups. Our
findings are consistent with the idea of multiple reference groups
and with the research on parent and peer cross-pressures on
adolescents.

Our findings suggest that parents are chosen for areas which have
a more long-term effect on one's life such as one's career and the
type of person one should be. Peers are chosen for more immediate
concerns. Since parents and peers were the most commonly chosen

Table C

Total Reference Group Scores Across All Ss

Reference Group	Situation					
	Recreational	Modelling	Emotional	Career	Task	Total
Parents	70	497	341	525	285	1,713
Siblings	209	69	57	44	153	532
Relatives	121	57	77	214	83	552
Peers	932	172	641	233	628	2,606
Other adult	28	146	244	339	201	958
Other	24	414	20	25	29	512

reference groups, we confined our analysis to these two referents. Groups were compared on the frequency with which they chose their parents as well as on their frequency of choosing peers.

Modernization and Reference Groups

Our findings show that, in general, Manila adolescents considered their parents to be a more important reference group than did the respondents from other communities. Since we originally hypothesized that urban adolescents would be less family-oriented and more peer-oriented than their rural counterparts, hypotheses 3 and 4 were not supported. However, our findings, which were the opposite of what we predicted, could be reasonably explained in terms of adolescents who are in school and generally education and career-oriented in their aspirations turning to their parents if these parents are themselves educated and have careers. But when parents have no more than a sixth grade education and are farmers, as was the general case with our rural $\underline{S}$s, they are a less important reference group. Thus it seems that the generation gap is greater in the rural areas where parental norms and values may be in conflict or at least different from the norms and values students encounter in school.

Sex and SES Differences in the Salience of Parents and Peers

In general our high SES subjects seemed to give more importance to their parents than did our low SES subjects and males were more peer-oriented than were females. The above explanation for why parents seemed to be a more salient reference group to urban adolescents could also be true for high SES students whose parents are

more educated and career oriented than those of low SES students.
Women in the Philippines are traditionally expected to be closer
to the family than men are. Thus our findings on sex differences
were predictable.

Achievement Motivation Scores and Educational and Occupational Aspirations

The community x sex analysis of variance on achievement motiva-
tion scores revealed no significant differences among the communities.
Sex, however, showed significant differences with an F ratio of
8.582 (p < .01). The mean score for females was 10.61 (S.D. = 4.76)
while for males it was 8.69 (S.D. = 4.69). While the high SES group
had a higher mean achievement score (10.27) than did the low SES
group (9.32), this difference was not significant.

Tables 7 and 8 show how the Ss responded to questions on level
of aspiration. The results of the chi square analyses are also shown.
There are three tabulations of percentages for each question: for
community, for SES, and for sex.

In response to the question on how much education they desired,
practically all Ss reported that they wanted a college education.
There were no differences among groups. This reflects the high value
given to education in the Philippines. However, in response to the
question on actual plans after high school, while most of the Ss
said that they planned to study, more Manila Ss said that they planned
to do so. More Ss in the high SES group (94.9%) as compared to the
low SES group (74.8%) and more females (91.0%) than males (74.8%)
had study plans.

more educated and career oriented than those of low SES students.
Women in the Philippines are traditionally expected to be closer
to the family than men are. Thus our findings on sex differences
were predictable.

Achievement Motivation Scores and Educational and Occupational Aspirations

The community x sex analysis of variance on achievement motiva-
tion scores revealed no significant differences among the communities.
Sex, however, showed significant differences with an F ratio of
8.582 (p < .01). The mean score for females was 10.61 (S.D. = 4.76)
while for males it was 8.69 (S.D. = 4.69). While the high SES group
had a higher mean achievement score (10.27) than did the low SES
group (9.32), this difference was not significant.

Tables 7 and 8 show how the $\underline{S}$s responded to questions on level
of aspiration. The results of the chi square analyses are also shown.
There are three tabulations of percentages for each question: for
community, for SES, and for sex.

In response to the question on how much education they desired,
practically all $\underline{S}$s reported that they wanted a college education.
There were no differences among groups. This reflects the high value
given to education in the Philippines. However, in response to the
question on actual plans after high school, while most of the $\underline{S}$s
said that they planned to study, more Manila $\underline{S}$s said that they planned
to do so. More $\underline{S}$s in the high SES group (94.9%) as compared to the
low SES group (74.8%) and more females (91.0%) than males (74.8%)
had study plans.

Table 7

Ss's Plans after Graduation with Results of Chi Square Test

(All values are percentages)

Plans	Community				Sex		SES	
	A	B	C	D	Males	Females	Low	High
Study	94.0	83.7	84.0	70.0	74.7	91.0	74.8	94.9
Work	6.0	16.3	16.0	30.0	25.3	9.0	25.2	5.1
	df = 3				df = 1		df = 1	
	chi square = 10.29**				chi square = 9.27**		chi square = 13.55**	

** p < .01

Table 8

Ss's Desired Occupations with Results of Chi Square Test

(All values are percentages)

Occupation Desired	Community				Sex		SES	
	A	B	C	D	Males	Females	Low	High
Clerical	7.0	38.6	34.8	15.9	16.9	36.9	31.1	14.3
Farming, Technical Business	23.2	22.7	15.2	34.1	34.9	13.8	27.4	18.6
Professional	69.8	38.6	50.0	50.0	48.2	55.3	41.5	67.1
	df = 6				df = 2		df = 2	
	chi square = 20.00**				chi square = 12.25**		chi square = 11.61**	

** p < .01

When they were asked about the occupation they desired, again most $\underline{S}$s in all the groups wanted professional jobs; however, Manila respondents had the largest percentage desiring these jobs (69.8%). More of the high SES group (67.1%) wanted professional jobs than did $\underline{S}$s in the low SES group (41.5%) as did more females (55.3%) than males (48.2%).

Modernization and Achievement Motivation and Level of Aspiration

Exposure to modern influences did not seem to affect achievement motivation. Since no Philippine norms have been established for McClelland's measure of achievement motivation it is not possible to interpret the achievement scores we obtained as high or low. There were however no significant differences between urban and rural students; hypothesis 5 therefore was not supported. With regard to level of aspiration, most subjects in all groups showed a high level of aspiration in their occupational and educational plans. Again more Manila adolescents gave responses demonstrating a high level of aspiration. Hypothesis 6 was supported.

The lack of significant differences among communities in the need to achieve, along with significant differences in level of aspiration in terms of plans after high school and occupation desired, may signify that there is a similar need to achieve in all students but the realities of the situation affect what one considers achievement. This difference is expressed in verbalized level of aspiration. Manila youth may have more opportunities to go to college and get professional jobs; therefore, they are more likely to aspire for these.

Sex and SES Differences in Need for Achievement and Aspirations

SES groups did not differ significantly in achievement scores
but more high SES Ss showed a high level of aspiration than low
SES Ss. Again it is possible that both groups feel a need to achieve
but differ in what is considered achievement. Another possibility
is that these results as well as the findings on community differences
reflect the effect of social desirability. The existence of more
opportunities for urban and high SES students could be a factor that
increases the social desirability of high educational and occupational
aspirations and this may be reflected in the responses of our Ss.

Our results suggest that females have a greater achievement
motivation and a higher level of aspiration than do males. These
findings do not come as a complete surprise. In the Philippines
there are women in most professions including Engineering, Law and
Medicine. They can be found in the halls of Congress, sitting on
judges' benches and running large business corporations. Nakpil (1963)
had this to say:

> It is possible to say that the Filipino woman in
> general is agressive, vigorous and madly ambitious.
> There is almost no limit to her intelligence or her
> capabilities. She will rise to every challenge, time
> after time, tirelessly and magnificently. She will take
> the world on her shoulders, even when she does not
> have to. She works endlessly to improve herself and
> the status of her family. (p. 24).

Bulatao (1965) writes:

> The Filipina is precisely a combination of "achieve-
> ment through gentleness" and ... underneath the soft
> exterior lies a capacity for anger as well as for action.
> Such an interpretation would match the well-known
> sagacity of women in business as well as their presence
> in the professions, particularly in the medical pro-
> fessions, where they can fulfill their achievement as
> well as nurturant needs.(p. 16)

These results are also supported by our findings on the modern self
concept of our female subjects.

Salary Estimates

The $\underline{S}$s were also asked how much money was necessary each month
in order to live comfortably, how much they would like to earn and
how much they thought they would actually earn. In general the
results scem to show that most groups felt that between ₱400 and ₱600
would give them a comfortable life. There were, however, some
significant differences among communities as most $\underline{S}$s in Community B
felt ₱400 or less could give them a comfortable life and an unusually
large percentage of $\underline{S}$s from Community C felt that ₱1000 or over was
the necessary amount.

Most groups wanted to earn ₱400 - ₱600 but significant chi squares
showed community, sex and SES differences with a greater percentage
of Manila, high SES and male $\underline{S}$s choosing that category. ₱1000 or
more was desired by more $\underline{S}$s from Community B as well as low SES and
male $\underline{S}$s.

There was more similarity in estimates of how much Ss thought they would actually earn. Most Ss predicted that they would earn ₱400 a month or less. This amount was less than they felt was necessary for a comfortable life or the amount they wanted to earn. Thus, in general, the Ss, regardless of group, wanted to earn a salary that would give them a comfortable life but they did not think they would actually earn that much. This discrepancy reflects the realities of the economic situation in the Philippines where a monthly salary of ₱400 to ₱600 would be high even for a college graduate.

Attitudes toward Success

When the Ss were asked who was the most successful person they knew, personally or not, most of the Manila Ss (89.8%) named someone in their immediate family, a response quite different from the other communities. Most Ss in Community B (66.7%) named someone in the national government while most Ss in Community C (76.1%) and Community D (43.8%) chose adults in their community. Most high SES Ss (62.7%) chose someone in their immediate family while low SES Ss (48.6%) chose adults in the community. Males tended to choose national government officials (33%) while females chose adults in the community (42.3%) The noticeably high percentage of Manila Ss and high SES Ss who chose members of their immediate family as the most successful person they knew may be related to the tendency of both these groups to choose parents as their most salient reference group. These two groups may be more family oriented than the others. These results may also be due to the fact that urban and high SES Ss are more likely to have successful relatives and,when asked to name the most successful

person they knew, they chose their relative who is part of their real world instead of a more successful but more distant government official or businessman.

When asked to describe this successful person, Manila $\underline{S}$s (40%) and those from Community B (46%) tended to describe him in terms of actual achievement or success (e.g., rich, well-educated, good leader, etc.). Communities C and D described him in terms of traits that would enable one to achieve (e.g., hardworking, intelligent, efficient, etc.). High SES $\underline{S}$s described their successful person in terms of actual achievement while low SES $\underline{S}$s, in terms of achievement traits. Males chose actual achievement; females chose achievement traits. For all groups interpersonal (e.g., kind, helpful, friendly, etc.) and traditional (e.g., close to family, good father, etc.) traits were not the main traits associated with success.

The choice of the most successful persons known and the descriptions of these persons showed that urban and high SES students and possibly males thought of success in more concrete terms since they chose persons much closer to their everyday experience and described them not in terms of abstract traits but actual accomplishments.

Some Implications of this Study and Possibilities for Future Research

Contrary to what one might expect from the literature on modernization, exposure to the modernizing influence of the city did not seem to have much effect on the self concept, reference groups, achievement motivation and level of aspirations of Filipino adolescents as we assessed them. These findings bring into question the importance of communication and mass media for the development of modern ideas

and attitudes. It must be noted that all of our subjects were students exposed to modern ideas in the classroom. An investigation of the effects of education by including groups of out of school youth might be fruitful. It might also be profitable to carry on a more careful study of the effects of socioeconomic status. In our study the high SES group actually belonged to the lower middle socioeconomic class. A comparison with adolescents from the upper middle class bracket might yield interesting results.

Summary and Conclusions

This study was concerned with the impact of modernization on Filipino adolescents. Filipino adolescents like adolescents in other developing countries are being socialized into an adult society which is itself rapidly changing. Thus they are caught in a tug-of-war between traditional Philippine values that accompany social change.

High school students were chosen from Manila, the principal city and the main source of modern influences, and from three other communities of approximately five thousand people located 100, 200, and 400 kilometers from Manila. Thus adolescents with varying exposure to modern influences such as industrialization and mass media were studied simultaneously.

The self concept, reference groups, achievement motivation and level of aspiration of the Ss were measured and the influence upon these variables of distance from Manila, sex and socioeconomic status was investigated.

The main findings of this study were:

1. Ss described their real self as being quite interpersonally oriented and thus traditional. Their ideal self, while also interpersonal, possessed more traits attributed to more modern and industrial people.

2. In describing their real self, Ss used six categories: I. interpersonally pleasant vs. interpersonally unpleasant, II. old-fashioned introvert vs. modern "swinger," III. adventurous, untraditional vs. safe-playing, traditional, IV. sociable, irresponsible vs. unsociable, responsible, V. unassertive vs. dominant, and VI. ideal leader vs. non-leader. When they thought of their ideal self, they used four of the same categories (I, II, III, and VI) and unassertive, friendly vs. assertive, unfriendly. The categories were generally interpersonal in character.

3. Urban adolescents saw themselves as more modern while rural adolescents wanted to be more modern.

4. Females described themselves as more modern than did males. Both male and female adolescents wanted to be modern but this desire for modernity was manifested differently. In males it was demonstrated in a rejection of the friendly, "nice guy" type of traits while with females it was evident in their desire for traits of leadership, achievement and extroversion.

5. Ss had different reference groups depending on the situation. For recreational situations, peers were considered most important; for modelling situations, parents; emotional situations, peers; career situations, parents; and task-oriented situations, peers.

6. Males were more peer-oriented than were females.

7. Urban $\underline{S}$s chose parents as reference persons more frequently
and peers less frequently than did rural $\underline{S}$s. High SES $\underline{S}$s also chose
parents more frequently. The explanation offered was that the genera-
tion gap between high school students and their parents is greater
in the rural areas where parents are less likely to be educated and
have careers. This would also be true of low SES families.

8. Females had a higher achievement motivation than males.
Distance from Manila or SES did not seem to affect the need for
achievement.

9. In all groups there was a high level of aspiration as seen
in desire for education and professional jobs. However, more Manila
$\underline{S}$s and high SES $\underline{S}$s had a high level of aspiration. More females
had a high level of aspiration than males.

10. Most $\underline{S}$s wanted to earn enough to give them a comfortable
life (P400 - P600 a month) but they did not think that they would
actually earn that much.

11. Groups differed in whom they considered the most successful
person they knew as well as in the description of what made a
successful person. Urban and high SES $\underline{S}$s named members of their family
as the most successful person they knew and described them in terms
of actual achievement. Rural and low SES $\underline{S}$s named persons in national
government or prominent members of the local community and described
them in terms of achievement traits.

The results of our study suggest that exposure to the modernizing
influence of the city does not seem to have as much effect on self-

concept, reference groups, achievement motivation and level of
aspiration as one might expect from the literature on modernization.

Since all $\underline{S}$s tended to give relatively modern, as opposed to
traditional, responses the results may imply that only a minimum
exposure to city influences has as much effect as a more extended
exposure.

Generally, Filipino adolescents, at least those whom we studied,
show many modern attributes. They desire qualities of intelligence,
dependability and hard work. Peers are considered a very important
reference group and a great value is placed on education and professional
jobs. At the same time, however, Filipino adolescents also see them-
selves as possessing many of the more traditional interpersonally-
oriented Filipino traits and desire to retain these traits. The
family is still an important reference group.

In conclusion, it seems that Filipino adolescents have many traits
associated with a modern society. However, they retain many tradi-
tional Filipino qualities. This may be an indication of a happy
compromise between the old and the new--an idiosyncratic mode of
modernization by which the Philippines can remain Filipino and yet be
part of the new modern world.

References

Anderson, C. A. The modernization of education. In M. Weiner (Ed.),
  Modernization: the dynamics of growth. New York: Basic
  Books, 1966.

Atkinson, J. W. (Ed.) Motives in fantasy, action and society.
  Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1958.

Ausubel, D. P. Theory and problems of adolescent development.
  New York: Grune and Stretton, 1954.

Ausubel, D. P. Maori youth. Wellington, New Zealand: Price Milburn, 1961.

Baldwin, J. M. (1895) Mental development in the child and the race:
  methods and processes. (3rd. ed., Rev.) New York:
  Macmillan, 1906.

Bealer, R. C., & Willits, F. K. Rural youth. A case study in the
  rebelliousness of adolescents. Annals of the American
  Academy of Political and Social Science, 1961, 338, 63-69.

Black, C. E. Change as a condition of modern life. In M. Weiner (Ed.),
  Modernization the dynamics of growth. New York: Basic
  Books, 1966.

Brittain, C. V. Adolescent choices and parent-peer cross-pressures.
  Amer. sociol. Rev., 1963, 28, 385-391.

Bulatao, J. C. The Manilenos Mainsprings. In Four readings in
  Philippine values (IPC Papers no. 2). Quezon City:
  Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1964.

Bulatao, J. C. Personal preferences of Philippine students. In
  Symposium on the Filipino personality. Manila.
  Psychological Association of the Philippines, 1965.

Bulatao, J. C. Westernization and the split-level personality in
  the Filipino. Paper read at the conference on mental health
  in Asia, East-West Center, Honolulu, March 1966.

Clark, C. The conditions of economic progress (3rd ed.). London.
  Macmillan, 1957.

Cooley, C. H. (1902) Human nature and the social order (Rev. ed.).
  In Charles H. Cooley, Two Major Works. Glencoe, Ill..
  Free Press, 1956.

Durkheim, E. The division of labor in society. G. Simpson (Trans.
    & Ed.). Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1947.

Guthrie, G. M., The Filipino child and Philippine society. Manila:
    The Philippine Normal college press, 1962.

Guthrie, G. M. The Philippine temperament. In G. M. Guthrie (Ed.),
    Six perspectives on the Philippines. Manila: The Bookmark,
    Inc., 1968.

Guthrie, G. M., & Azores, F. M. Philippine interpersonal behavior
    patterns. In W. F. Bello & A. de Guzman II (Eds.),
    Modernization: its impact in the Philippines III (IPC
    Papers no. 6). Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University
    Press, 1968.

Haller, A. O., & Butterworth, C. E. Peer influences on levels of
    occupational and educational aspiration. Social Forces, 1960,
    38, 289-295.

Hallowell, A. I. Culture and experience. Philadelphia: University of
    Pennsylvania Press, 1954.

Hollnsteiner, M. R. Reciprocity in the lowland Philippines.
    In Four readings on Philippine values (IPC papers no. 2).
    Quezon City: Ateneo de manila University Press, 1964.

Inkeles, A. The modernization of man. In M. Weiner (Ed.),
    Modernization. the dynamics of growth. New York: Basic
    Books, 1966.

James, W. (1890) The principles of Psychology. New York: Smith,
    1962. 2 vols.

Lim, E. A. and Javillonar, G. V. Achievement Motivation in Filipino
    entrepreneurship. Int. soc. Sci. J., 1968, 20 (3), 397-409.

Lynch, F. Social acceptance. In Four readings on Philippine values.
    (IPC papers no. 2). Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University
    Press, 1964.

McClelland, D. C. (Ed.) Studies in motivation. New York: Appleton-
    Century Crofts, 1955.

McClelland, D. C. The achieving society. New York: Free Press, 1961.

McClelland, D. C. The impulse to modernization. In M. Weiner (Ed.),
    Modernization. the dynamics of growth. New York: Basic
    Books, 1966.

McClelland, D. C., Atkinson, J. W., Clark, R. A., & Lowell, E. L.
The achievement motive. New York: Appleton-Century Crofts,
1953.

McClelland, D. C., & Friedman, G. A. A cross-cultural study of the
relationship between child-training practices and
achievement motivation appearing in folk tales. In G. E.
Swanson, T. M. Newcomb, & E. L. Hartley (Eds.), Readings
in social psychology. New York: Holt, 1952.

McClelland, D. C., & Winter, D. G. Motivating economic achievement.
New York: Free Press, 1969.

Mead, G. H. The social self. J. Philosophy, 1913, 10, 374-380.

Nakpil, C. G. Woman enough. Quezon City, Philippines: Vibal
Publishing Co., 1963.

Redfield, R. The folk society. Amer. J. Sociol., 1947, 52, 293-308.

Rosen, B. C. Conflicting group membership: a study of parent-peer
group cross-pressures. Amer. sociol. Rev., 1955, 20, 155-161.

Rosen, B. C. Family structure and achievement motivation. Amer.
sociol. Rev., 1961, 26, 574-585.

Rosen, B. C., & D'Andrade, R. G. The psychosocial origin of
achievement motivation. Sociometry, 1959, 22, 185-218.

Sherif, M., & Sherif, C. W. Reference groups: exploration into
conformity and deviation of adolescents. New York:
Harper, 1964.

Shils, E. Modernization and higher education. In M. Weiner (Ed.),
Modernization: the dynamics of growth. New York: Basic Books,
1966.

Stoodley, P. H. A cross-cultural study of structure and conflict in
social norms. In B. H. Stoodley (Ed.), Society and self.
New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962a.

Stoodley, B. H. Normative attitudes of Filipino youth compared with
German and American youth. In B. H. Stoodley (Ed.), Society
and self. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962b.

Tonnies, F. Fundamental concepts of sociology. C. P. Loomis
(Trans. & suppl.). New York: American Book Co., 1940.

Torrance, E. P. Rewarding creative behavior. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.:
Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965.

Weiner, M. (Ed.) Modernization: the dynamics of growth. New York:
Basic Books, 1966.

DOCUMENT CONTROL DATA · R & D

Security classification of title, body of abstract and indexing annotation must be entered when the overall report is classified)

1. ORIGINATING ACTIVITY *(Corporate author)*	2a. REPORT SECURITY CLASSIFICATION
The Pennsylvania State University University Park, Pennsylvania 16802 (514 Psychology Building)	Unclassified
	2b. GROUP

3. REPORT TITLE

The Impact of Modernization on Philippine Adolescents

4. DESCRIPTIVE NOTES *(Type of report and inclusive dates)*

5. AUTHOR(S) *(First name, middle initial, last name)*

Patricia B. Licuanan
Project title: Impact of Modernization in the Philippines
Project director: George M. Guthrie

6. REPORT DATE	7a. TOTAL NO. OF PAGES	7b. NO. OF REFS
July 1970	42	43

9a. CONTRACT OR GRANT NO	9a. ORIGINATOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S)
ARPA Order No. 855, Nonr 656 (37)	Technical Report No. 6
b. PROJECT NO	
c.	9b. OTHER REPORT NO(S) *(Any other numbers that may be assigned this report)*
d.	

10. DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT

Distribution of this document is unlimited.

11. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES	12. SPONSORING MILITARY ACTIVITY
	Advanced Research Projects Agency Monitored by: Group Psychology Branch Office of Naval Research

13. ABSTRACT

The effects of modernization on attitudes of young Filipinos was studied in a Manila high school and three high schools in the provinces at 100, 200 and 400 kilometers distance from Manila. Scales and questionnaires were developed to measure reference groups, level of aspiration, self-concept and need achievement.

The results indicate that there were few differences between urban and rural students associated with proximity to the modernizing influences of Manila. Nor were there differences between high school boys and girls. There were differences associated with socioeconomic status, but all 200 respondents tended to respond in the direction expected of modern people. A majority of all groups aspired to a college education.

There were few indications of conflict between old and new outlooks, or between the youthful respondents and their parents. With high aspiration & drive to achieve, there is a danger that Filipino young people will become disillusioned and resentful with the lack of opportunity for them to use their education and to improve their low standard of living.

The modern outlook apparently spreads well ahead of the industrial and economic changes of modernization.

KEY WORDS	LINK A		LINK B		LINK C	
	ROLE	WT	ROLE	WT	ROLE	WT
Philippines						
Modernization						
Adolescents						
Attitudes in a developing country						
Rural youth						
Aspirations of youth						
Expectations of youth						
Education						

DD FORM 1473 (BACK)
(PAGE 2)