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The Society

Philippines

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NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SURVEY

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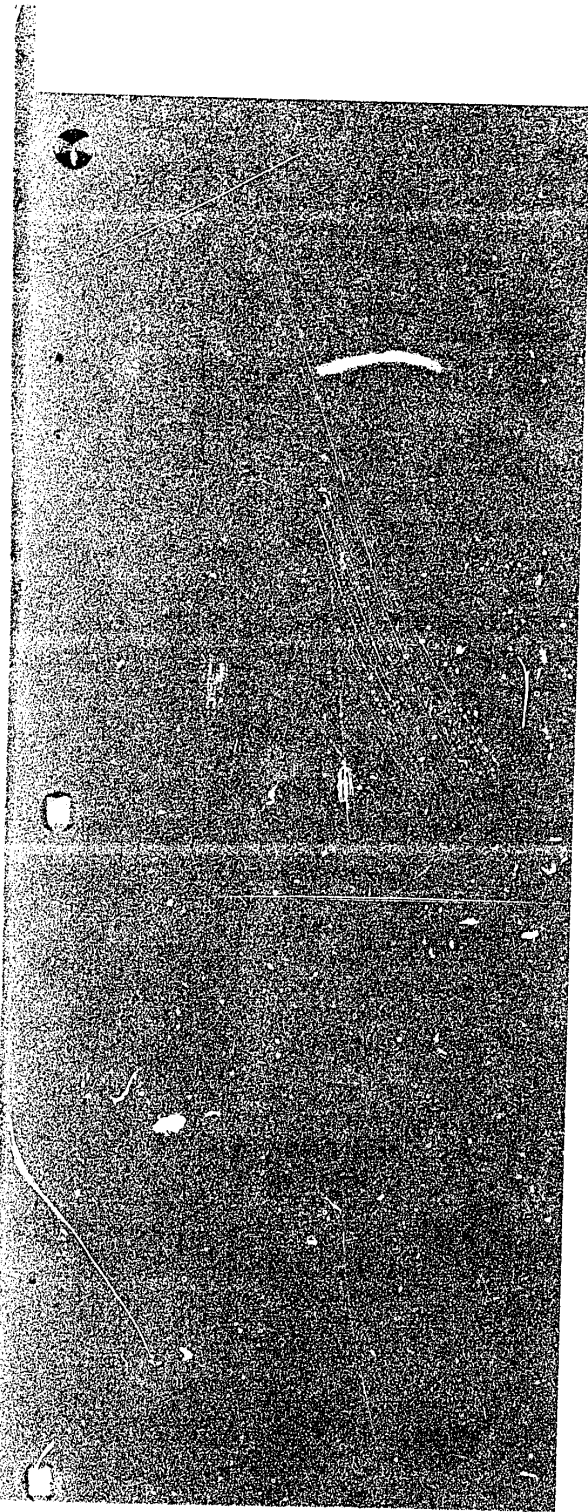
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Philippines

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The Society

A. Introduction (C)

Largely as a result of American cultural influence infused during nearly a half century of intensive U.S. tutelage, the Republic of the Philippines is one of the most Westernized nations in Southeast Asia. Political, social, and economic institutions are modeled on those of the United States, industrialization is advancing, the literacy rate is high, and the average Filipino is more politically adept, more familiar with democratic norms, and more technologically receptive than his counterparts in neighboring countries. Nevertheless, Philippine society still reflects its origin in small agricultural communities, and gross inequities still exist between the impoverished masses and the small, wealthy, and powerful elite. Although growing, mainly as a result of industrialization, the middle class is not large, and the gap between the rich and the poor is widening. Democratic institutions, moreover, are not firmly rooted or politically responsive to the needs and desires of the majority. Corruption and malfeasance in office have been endemic. Since independence, successive administrations have been frustrated in their efforts to institute needed economic and social reforms by the oligarchs who have been unwilling to relinquish even a small part of their wealth and privilege or their power to manipulate political and economic life.

In September 1972, President Marcos' 3-year struggle with the oligarchs culminated in the declaration of martial law and 4 months later in the ratification by citizens' assemblies of a new constitution providing for a transitional period during which the President would wield both executive and legislative power. In the spring of 1973 it was still too

soon to assess the success or failure of the President's efforts at reform. The more fundamental "new society" programs were still in the early stages of planning or implementation. Political opposition was intimidated; the oligarchs were apprehensive and more inclined to accommodation than opposition. Reportedly, however, the President must reach this accommodation quickly, for in the long run the entrenched power of the oligarchs could topple his administration. It was also unclear whether the President's actions represented merely a power grab or a sincere desire to reorder society. In any event, the "revolution from the center," long espoused by the President, was underway.

B. Structure and characteristics of the society (U/OU)

Philippine society is the product of diverse cultural influences which have blended into a distinctive pattern. Populated by Asian peoples whose ethnic origins are similar to those of neighboring Malaysia and Indonesia, the Philippines was subject to Spanish control for more than 300 years and to U.S. administration in this century, a situation which deeply affected Philippine society and created a fusion of Eastern and Western institutions to a degree unequalled among Asian peoples. Despite a diversity in language and customs, the majority of the Philippine people display a cultural unity in which Western religion and education are of prime importance. Adherence to Christianity on the part of more than nine-tenths of the population, a legacy of Spain and its Roman Catholic missionaries, gives the Philippines the unique characteristic of being the only

predominantly Christian nation in the Far East. Formal education was introduced by the Spaniards as early as the 16th century, and broad public education along Western lines was initiated in the 20th century when the U.S. Government established a mass education program as a means of preparing the nation for self-government.

1. Ethnic and cultural groups

The population of the Philippines is essentially homogeneous. Although constituting a sizable number of ethnic groups, the inhabitants are 96% Malay in origin. The predominant cultural group consists of the largely Christian Filipinos, comprising 91% of the total population. A Muslim Filipino minority, commonly referred to as the Moros,¹ represents approximately 5% of the total, and tribespeople another 2.5%. The remainder of the population includes a substantial number of Chinese, most of whom have become Philippine citizens; it also includes U.S. nationals, estimated to total more than 40,000, as well as some Europeans—mainly Spaniards—and other resident aliens.

Anthropologists have surmised that the Philippine Islands were populated through successive waves of migration, initially from mainland Southeast Asia over a period of several thousand years and later from the East Indies. The migrations were facilitated by the ease of transportation through the sheltered inland seas between the islands. Some of these islands became populated more rapidly or densely than others because of their bays, protected waters, and riverine areas adaptable for fishing and agriculture. There was a natural tendency for new migrants to settle in the fertile coastal plains of the islands rather than in the mountainous and forested interiors, and this was at least partially responsible for the initial division of the population between the ancestors of present-day Filipinos and the tribal peoples. The latter, having settled during the first series of prehistoric migrations, were pushed into the interior regions by the more socially advanced Malays who arrived in a later period. Subsequently, as the ease of waterborne communication promoted the diffusion of cultural traits through interisland migrations, linguistic and other cultural similarities developed among the

¹The term "Moro," long used to designate those Filipinos who profess Islam, is now officially frowned upon and is seldom used in the Philippine press. In this chapter, the Moros will be consistently referred to as the Muslims, and Christian Filipinos simply as the Filipinos. In those few cases where simply the term "Filipino" is used, the context will usually make clear whether both the Christian and Muslim elements are included.

lowland Filipinos while the people of the interior, isolated behind mountain and forest barriers, tended to retain their primitive social characteristics.

Fragmented into small insular groups, the people of the Philippines historically have been receptive to foreign penetration through trade and other contacts. Hindu cultural influences emanating from Hindu-Malay empires in the East Indies had an impact on the society from the 7th to the 15th centuries, A.D. The Chinese dominated trade with the islands by the 13th century and during the 15th century claimed suzerainty over many of them. At about the same time, Islam reached the region, resulting in the conversion of some southern groups who thereafter were to constitute a small but restive Muslim minority. The term "Moro," meaning "Moor," was used by the Spaniards a century later to designate these inhabitants of the islands. It is now seldom used because it is considered offensive to many of the Muslims.

The Philippines is the only country of Southeast Asia to have been subjected to Western colonization before developing some degree of centralized government. The Spanish conquest of the islands occurred in the 16th century, spearheaded by the explorations begun by Ferdinand Magellan. Accompanied by Catholic missionaries who made widespread conversions to Christianity, the Spaniards soon established hegemony over many islands which had known no central rule, and by 1600 they had consolidated control over all of the islands except Mindanao and those of the Sulu Archipelago in the south. When the Spaniards came, the basic political and social unit was the *barangay*, a small community of from 30 to 100 families which still survives in the islands as the *barrio*. At the head of each *barangay* was a chief known as a *dato*. The *barangays* were grouped together in small federations, sometimes headed by a single chief whose power extended over a whole island; more often, such a realm covered much less territory. Beyond grouping the *barangays* into villages or towns headed by a *dato*, the Spaniards left the old social order virtually intact. While the Filipinos absorbed many elements of Hispanic-Catholic culture, the Muslims and the tribespeople, who resisted the imposition of Spanish authority, remained on the periphery of the colonial system and of Filipino society. During the period of Spanish rule, migrations of Chinese into the islands resulted in the growth of a Chinese commercial element. Although there was some intermarriage, most of these immigrants formed an alien community within the colony and did not influence Filipino social institutions.

The entry of the United States into the islands, following the Philippine Revolution of 1896-97 and the Spanish-American War, brought many changes in the society. During the period of U.S. tutelage, from 1898 until the attainment of full independence as the Republic of the Philippines on 4 July 1946, Filipinos experienced the strong impact of U.S. influences, particularly as a result of the mass education program begun in 1901. Although the society remained essentially agrarian, as an increasing proportion of the population became literate its capacity to absorb U.S. cultural values through the press and other mass media steadily grew, and a gradual shift from a largely village-centered subsistence economy to a nationwide money economy stimulated desires for higher levels of living. The Japanese occupation in World War II had the effect of increasing Filipino attraction to American culture rather than the reverse, and since the attainment of independence the tendency to acquire U.S. cultural values has grown.

Muslim cultural characteristics differ considerably from those of the Filipinos, the divergencies stemming primarily from Islamic precepts and practices, although some pre-Islamic customs and social institutions have also been preserved, including elements of the *dato* system. The Muslim population is comprised of nine more or less distinctive linguistic groups: the Magindanao, Tausug, Maranao, Samal, Yakan, Badjao, Molbog, Sangil, and Jama-Mapun. More than 95% of all Muslims live either in the Sulu Archipelago or in the provinces of Lanao del Norte, Lanao del Sur, Cotabato, and Zamboanga del Sur on Mindanao Island. Some are found in other provinces of Mindanao, along the southern coast of Palawan Island, and scattered elsewhere in the Philippines. Like the Filipinos, most are farmers or fishermen; the coastal groups have always been known as seafarers. Despite considerable factionalism, the general acceptance of one religion has created a degree of unity among the Muslims which has been strengthened by a common hostility to the Filipinos. After the conquest and conversion (to Catholicism) of the central and northern Filipino peoples, the Spaniards made many unsuccessful attempts to subjugate and convert the Muslims, and for the three centuries of colonial rule the latter carried on successive "holy wars" against the Spaniards and their Filipino soldiers. The U.S. administration did not encounter the same degree of animosity from the Muslims as had the Spaniards, primarily because it adopted a policy of strict noninterference in religious matters. Since independence, the government has had little success in integrating the Muslims into

Philippine society. Lawlessness and banditry, directed mainly against Filipino communities, has persisted over the years, and Muslim resistance to the growing settlement of Filipinos in southern and western Mindanao has resulted in large-scale outbreaks of terrorism in that region, leading to clashes between government forces and Muslim insurgents. The continuing violence in the south was one of the factors inducing President Marcos to impose martial law on the nation in September 1972.

The tribespeople comprise a number of groups scattered over the archipelago, inhabiting the interior of Luzon, Mindoro, Palawan, Panay, Negros, and Mindanao islands. The largest concentration is in the mountainous region of northern and central Luzon, encompassing most of Kalinga-Apayac, Benguet, Ifugao, and Mountain provinces. Major groups include the Ibaloi, Kankanaei, and Bontoc—known collectively as the Igorot—and the Ifugao, Kalinga, Gaddang, Isinai, and Apayao. Luzon tribes range from nomadic bands to the comparatively sophisticated Ifugao, who centuries ago worked out a system of land ownership, water rights, and techniques for rice terracing. Social organization has traditionally centered around the kinship group, economic interests, and the ritual obligations of the indigenous animistic religion. Many of the tribespeople in northern Luzon are being Christianized and assimilated into Filipino society.

The interior of Mindanao is inhabited by more than a dozen tribal groups, including the Subanon, Manobo, Bukidnon, Bila-an, Tiruray, Tagabili, Bagobo, Mandaya, and Tagakaolo. Generally less advanced than the Luzon tribespeople, most live in dense tropical forests where they carry on a shifting, slash-and-burn type of cultivation. Some have a pattern of social organization which resembles that of the Muslims; a few profess Islam, but animistic religious beliefs and practices prevail. The Mindanao tribes are dependent on the Muslims or Filipinos for metals, salt, and other commodities, and some have become partially assimilated into lowland Filipino culture as artisans or as agricultural laborers. In 1971, international interest was aroused by the discovery on Mindanao of a hitherto unknown mountain-dwelling tribe, the Tasaday, which was found living under Stone Age conditions isolated from other tribes of the island.

Tribal peoples on Mindoro, Palawan, Panay, and Negros islands are regarded as the most primitive in the archipelago. On Mindoro there are at least nine groups of mountain dwellers who are collectively known as the Mangyan. A shy and peaceful people,

they include the Iraya, Alangan, Batangan, Buhid, and Hanunoo tribes. Only a few small groups inhabit Palawan, Panay, and Negros. Most of these tribespeople practice an upland agriculture, burning forest patches for new fields and supplementing their diet with game and fruit from the jungle. Almost all are animists.

Scattered about the islands are the Acta, commonly known as Negritos. These people, generally believed to be the first inhabitants of the Philippines, once dwelt in the remote upland regions of the larger islands but now live in the foothills. Originally nomadic, they have become semisedentary, engaging in shifting cultivation, hunting, and fishing. Although the Negritos are beginning to lose their cultural identity through interbreeding, they have resisted assimilation into Filipino society in the past and shy away from government controls.

Most Chinese in the Philippines are descendants of immigrants from the South China coastal provinces of Fukien and Kwangtung. They are concentrated mainly in the cities, particularly Manila. Although the government has promulgated measures aimed at the "Filipinization" of commerce, the Chinese continue to dominate this sphere and have thereby incurred animosity among the Filipinos. In many respects they remain outside the Philippine social structure, retaining their traditional social organization, values, and customs. Many still adhere to the Confucianist, Buddhist, and Taoist precepts of their ancestors. A surprisingly large number, however, have converted to Christianity. The characteristic self-containment of the Chinese notwithstanding, there has been considerable intermarriage and assimilation into Filipino society. Despite their anti-Chinese bias, many Filipino families regard well-to-do Chinese merchants as eligible husbands for their daughters. In such Chinese-Filipino unions the management of family business interests frequently remains in the hands of the Chinese father and his relatives rather than being passed on to the children of the marriage, who tend to identify themselves with the Filipinos.

Persons of European origin residing in the islands are mainly of Spanish descent. Most are associated with "old" families who have amassed wealth through banking, export and import trading, and other profitable ventures. Many prominent Philippine citizens are mestizos of mixed Spanish and Filipino heritage. The American community includes military or other U.S. Government personnel and their families, as well as individuals representing private corporations or international organizations. The majority are in the Philippines on temporary

assignment. Some, however, are wealthy entrepreneurs who reside there more or less permanently.

In terms of physical appearance, the native inhabitants of the Philippines resemble the Malay peoples of Indonesia and Malaysia. Most have broad noses and wide mouths; skin color varies from light olive to dark brown, and hair is generally brown-black. Caucasoid facial features are found among mestizos, and a yellowish skin tone and epicanthic eye fold mark the progeny of Filipino-Chinese unions. Dress, ornamentation, or other cultural criteria are often the only means of distinguishing between the Filipinos, the Muslims, and the tribal peoples, or between one tribesman and another. In some areas, admixtures of Filipino and tribal stock are common. The Negritos provide an exception to the Malay physical type represented by the other Philippine peoples. The typical Negrito of unmixed blood is a dark-skinned pygmy, less than 5 feet tall and with Negroid facial characteristics. Representative Philippine islanders are shown in Figure 1.

Information derived from the 1960 census indicates that as many as 75 different native languages are spoken in the Philippines. However, more than four-fifths of the population speak as their mother tongue one of eight Malayo-Polynesian languages traditionally associated with the Christian Filipinos. These are listed as follows, along with the proportion of the population identified with each at the time of the census.

Cebuano	24.1
Tagalog	21.0
Iloco	11.7
Hiligaynon	10.4
Bikol	7.8
Samar-Leyte	5.5
Pampangan	3.2
Pangasinan	2.5
Other (including Muslim and tribal languages)	13.8
 Total	 100.0

Despite the fact that Cebuano ranks first as a mother tongue, Tagalog is more important and more widely used; more than half of all persons speaking Tagalog in 1960 had learned it as a second language. Its standing stems from the fact that it is the language of the Manila area—the political, economic, and cultural center of Philippine society. Tagalog is hardly distinguishable from "Pilipino," which was proclaimed the national language in 1939. While Pilipino incorporates elements of other Philippine tongues, it has remained almost synonymous with Tagalog, and as a result the name "Pilipino" is not often used. Even in government circles, the national language is

frequently referred to as Tagalog. As a legacy of almost half a century of U.S. administration and its concomitant cultural and economic influences, English is a second official language and it continues to be highly important. It is used as the medium of instruction in all schools above the second grade and as the principal language of the government, of the communications media, and of business. Nevertheless, the use of Tagalog is growing at a faster rate than that of English. By the time of the 1960 census, 44.4% of the population spoke Tagalog either as a first or second language, while 39.5% spoke English. Tagalog is a required subject in Philippine schools from the first grade through high school, and by 1973 it was estimated that more than half of the population could speak the language.

The promotion of English throughout the islands during the U.S. period was in marked contrast to the Spanish regime's indifference toward the popularization of Spanish in the long colonial era. As a result, a knowledge of the language was restricted to a small minority. Today its use is confined to wealthy families of Spanish or mestizo lineage.

Concentrations of the various native languages have been changing, particularly in recent years as increasing numbers of Filipinos have migrated from their place of origin to other parts of the archipelago. Generally, however, the eight principal languages are associated with specific locations (Figure 2). Iloco, Pangasinan, and various tribal languages of northern Luzon make up what linguists designate as the Northern Luzon Group of interrelated tongues. Tagalog is centered in metropolitan Manila and the surrounding lowland areas of Luzon, where it is joined by Pampangan and Bikol. Farther south, Hiligaynon, Samar-Leyte, and Cebuano comprise a mutually intelligible grouping known as the Visayan, after the Visayan Islands where they predominate. Although these languages are also found in Mindanao, the languages of the Muslims and various tribal tongues comprise the majority of the languages spoken in that region and on Palawan Island as well. In contrast to many other Philippine peoples, the Muslims are mostly monolingual.

Because of the common Malayo-Polynesian origin of Philippine languages, it is relatively easy for a person belonging to one linguistic group to learn the language of another. Most are grammatically interrelated, and there are some words and expressions which are identical in all. The Roman alphabet, introduced by the Spaniards and promoted during the period of U.S. tutelage, is used in writing all of the major Philippine languages.

2. Social organization

a. Class structure

Philippine society is still characterized by what is basically a two-class system comprising a small elite and a vast lower class, although a middle sector has been gradually emerging in the larger urban areas since independence. Family prestige and wealth through land ownership remain the primary determinants of high status, but education and the subsequent entry into government service, commerce, or industry are providing increasing opportunity for upward social mobility in the urban centers. In contrast to the growing scope for economic advancement among the urban population, a static situation prevails in rural areas, where there is little chance for impoverished farmers or farm laborers to better their condition. In the context of the national society, cultural identity is an added criterion of status; Muslims and tribespeople are regarded as socially inferior by Filipinos of all classes, and unassimilated Chinese are generally looked upon as outsiders.

The upper class is estimated to represent no more than 5% of the total population, comprised in part of persons who trace their lineage to *datos* who were able to perpetuate their privileged position by becoming landowners during the Spanish colonial period. This landed gentry—the *caciques*—became the dominant class in the provinces and in the developing towns. Within the *cacique* class, *mestizos*, the progeny of Spanish-Filipino marriages, possessed a higher social status than Filipinos and had access to positions not usually open to the latter in the colonial government and in commerce. Under the U.S. administration, mestizo families continued to enjoy high socioeconomic status, and since independence they have largely replaced a so-called Euro-American elite consisting of wealthy U.S. and Spanish business entrepreneurs. Considerable prestige has also accrued to wealthy families of Filipino-Chinese descent who have become assimilated to the dominant culture. The Filipino sector of the upper class—as distinguished from the mestizo and Filipino-Chinese groups—first assumed importance under the U.S. administration. This element, consisting primarily of wealthy landowning families residing in Manila and the provincial cities, subsequently became highly influential, producing many of the political figures who have governed the Philippines since independence. They have also come to dominate such professions as law, medicine, and engineering. Inter-marriage among members of the Filipino elite and the consequent interlocking of

family ties has strengthened social cohesion and expanded family financial resources. Increasingly, members of this group are becoming involved in commercial and financial enterprises traditionally dominated by Euro-American, mestizo, and Chinese entrepreneurs. Despite the fact that land ownership is the basis of their power and social position, upper class families do not spend much time on their holdings. Most live in the cities, preeminently Manila, leaving the administration of their estates in the hands of farm managers or lessees who supervise the tenant farmers working the land.

Although not of sufficient size or cohesion to bridge the widening gap between the upper and lower classes, the urban middle class is nevertheless proportionately larger in the Philippines than in other Southeast Asian countries. The upper middle sector, generally well educated and often possessing upper class values, is composed of civil servants, teachers, businessmen, and professional people. Many of the intellectuals in this group are critical of the elite for its monopoly of wealth and political power and tend to identify themselves with the aspirations of the impoverished masses, particularly the rural villagers. The lower middle class, which might be described as an upper stratum of the urban lower class, includes clerks, small shopkeepers, artisans, and skilled mechanics. Also part of this group are the factory workers, who have benefited from the social mobility caused by industrial expansion.

The lower class, comprising the bulk of the Philippine population, divides into urban and rural components. While most of its urban members fall into such recognizable groups as street peddlers, unskilled laborers, and those in menial service occupations, increasing urbanization is producing a subgroup consisting of impoverished migrants from rural areas who are chronically unemployed. The rural lower class, encompassing well over half of the total population, consists of subsistence cultivators, tenant farmers, and migratory agricultural workers who provide labor for the large plantations. In 1970, one out of every two persons in the islands depended on agriculture or allied occupations for his livelihood. Most of these people live in conditions of great poverty. The average farm in the Philippines is too small to provide the bare essentials of life, and farmers are frequently forced to borrow at exorbitant interest rates in order to subsist. Subsequently they become so deeply mired in debt that they constantly risk foreclosure and a future of virtual peonage as sharecroppers. In 1972, almost half of all farmers in the "rice basket" region of central Luzon were tenant

FIGURE 1. Representative physical types



Filipino Muslim (C)

farmers. Although the abuses of the land tenure system have long generated unrest and even violence among sectors of the rural population, little progress has been made in solving the problem, primarily because of the government's unwillingness to accept the political consequences of implementing the land reform program. After the imposition of martial law late in 1972, President Marcos issued a land redistribution decree affecting the rice- and corn-growing areas. The decree theoretically limits landowners to holdings of $17\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land and allots $12\frac{1}{2}$ acres to each tenant farmer. Information is not yet available on the extent to which this sweeping legislation is being implemented.

Generally speaking, the Muslims continue to maintain their own social structure, based in part on an ancient system which involved three classes: 1) a



Filipino men (U OU)



Filipino peasant woman (U/OU)

Filipino of mixed Chinese-Filipino ancestry (U/OU)

(the late President Sergio Osmena)



Negrito tribesman (U/OU)



Bontoc tribesman (U OU)

hereditary nobility headed by a *dato*, 2) commoners, and 3) slaves. Historically, the strongest *datos* were able to assume a feudal authority over their weaker counterparts, and after the adoption of Islam these became known as sultans. There is still a *dato* class, and the traditional system whereby commoners tilled the land of the *datos* continues to be practiced in many Muslim areas. Today the Muslims customarily elect their own provincial and local leaders from among the *datos*, and the latter are able to control local police services and public works funds in many instances, thereby acquiring opportunities for patronage. Personality conflicts and family feuds are common among them, however, and the resulting factionalism has prevented the *datos* from becoming an effective force, either regionally or at the national level. Although most Muslims engage in fishing, farming, or interisland trading for a living, the spread of education and a gradual shift to a money economy have produced a small Muslim middle class which has been especially evident in the Sulu Archipelago. A few Muslim leaders have served in Congress and in the Cabinet.

No class system as such exists among the unassimilated tribespeople, and little precise information is available concerning prestige factors in the various tribes. Many of those on Mindanao reportedly retain a social organization akin to that of the Muslims, with hereditary *datos* as chieftains. Among the tribes of Luzon there is no formal office of chieftain; leadership and influence have usually been vested in those who own the most riceland. Negritos assign authority to the oldest male in the community, and other groups are ruled by councils of elders or village headmen.

Although most of the Chinese might be said to exercise a commercial middle class role, there is a small elite group of wealthy merchants and businessmen and a similarly small lower class element involved in menial occupations. As in the case of the national society, the principal criteria of high status are family prestige and wealth.

b. Family and kinship groups

Family relationships dominate political, social, and economic life in the Philippines. Family ties have been important to the people of the islands since pre-Spanish days, and the Roman Catholic emphasis on the sacredness of the family unit and the indissolubility of marriage has strongly reinforced these ties among the Christian population. Islam has had a similar effect among its adherents. The Filipino family is bilateral, tracing descent through both

paternal and maternal ancestors, and although the family and society as a whole are male oriented, women share equal status with men in the home and have the traditional and legal right to participate in economic and professional spheres outside the home. By contrast, the Muslim family is patrilineal, and it tends to be more patriarchal than the Filipino family. Moreover, the Muslim tradition permits polygyny. Patterns of familial relations vary among tribal groups, depending upon their proximity to Christian or Muslim influence, but the concept of kinship appears to be important to all of the tribal peoples.

Among the Filipinos the family may be nuclear, consisting of a husband and wife and their unmarried children, or it may be extended, encompassing other relatives. The extended family is the prevalent type in rural areas. Families are linked together not only by blood relationships but also by the Spanish institution of *compadrazgo*, or ritual coparenthood, which extends the concept of kinship beyond the family. In accordance with the requirements of the church, Catholic parents select godparents to sponsor the baptism of their children, and a permanent bond of ritual kinship is established between godparents and parents and between godparents and the children they sponsor. Filipino society has expanded this practice to include sponsorship of confirmation and marriage also. Families with many children acquire a large number of *compadrazgo* kin, often selected on the basis of wealth or higher social status. Wealthy landlords, businessmen, and politicians sometimes have dozens of godchildren among the children of their tenants, employees, and followers. In instances of marked class differences between the sponsors and their godchildren, the *compadrazgo* relationship is not an intimate one.

Mutual assistance and collective responsibility are considered to be primary obligations of the kinship group. Although kinship bonds are strongest at the upper levels of society, cooperation between relatives is common to all classes. Support for parents in their old age and for less fortunate siblings is regarded as essential. Well-to-do Filipinos in the urban centers feel obligated to help relatives obtain employment and, if possible, preferment. As a consequence, both government and private industry are riddled with nepotism. Family loyalty is emphasized to the extent that an offense against a single member is regarded as a threat to the entire kinship group; similarly, the transgression of one member is seen as dishonoring all. An individual's social standing is identified with that of his family, and his occupation and political affiliation are deemed to be inseparable from familial connections.

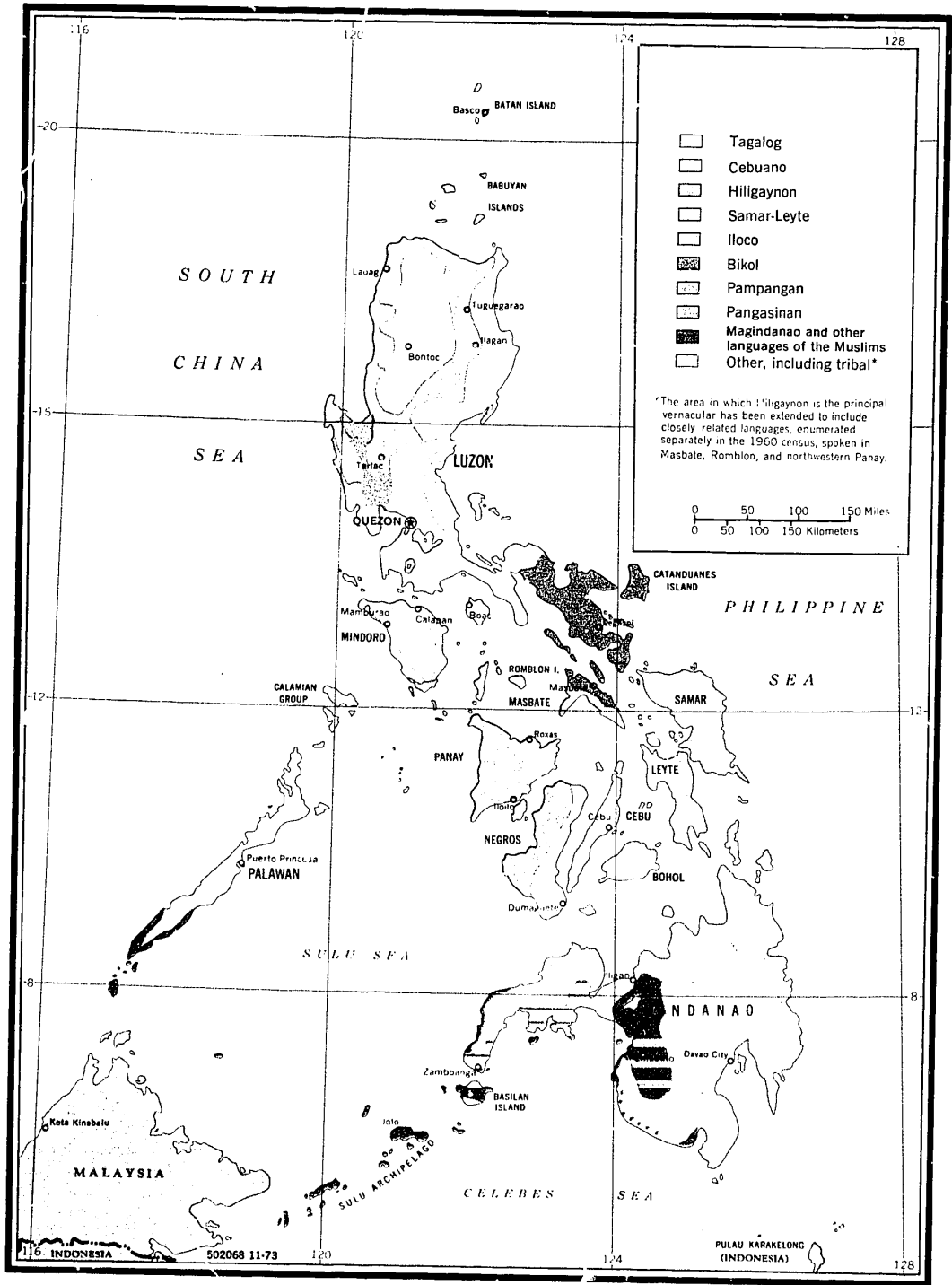


FIGURE 2. Distribution of native languages (U/OU)

The importance of the family is given formal legal recognition in the 1953 Civil Code, which states that "the family is a basic social institution which public policy cherishes and protects." Legal protection for the sanctity of the family is explicitly defined as follows:

In case of doubt, all presumptions favor the solidarity of the family. Thus, every intendment of law or fact leans toward the validity of marriage, the indissolubility of the marriage bonds, the legitimacy of children, the community of property during the marriage, the authority of parents over their children, and the validity of defense for any member of the family in case of unlawful aggression.

Marriage among Filipinos is considered to be an alliance in which the inclinations and aspirations of the bride and groom are subordinated to those of the two families involved. Although there has been a trend toward freedom in the choice of a marriage partner, the selection is still strongly influenced by parents, and parental disapproval usually terminates a courtship. Filipinos marry at an early age—the average age for women is 18, and for men, 20. While devout Catholics among the Filipinos consider it essential to have the wedding ceremony performed by a priest, the severe shortage of clergy in the islands makes this difficult, particularly in rural areas. Many Catholics reportedly are married by civil officials, and consensual unions, involving no ceremony of any kind, are believed to be common.

Filipino family life centers on the children. The early period of a child's life is one of permissiveness and indulgence, but as he matures he is firmly disciplined and taught respect for his elders. Among the rural population he is also expected to become a cohesive part of the family at an early age, helping with its labor and sharing its responsibilities. Tendencies toward individuality are suppressed, and deviational behavior is condemned. In return for such conformity, parents will risk total indebtedness to provide for their children, and any accumulated property, possessions, or savings are looked upon as the future inheritance of the children rather than the personal estate of the parents. Females inherit equally with their male siblings.

In the home the position of Filipino women is complementary, rather than subordinate, to that of men. At all class levels the Filipino wife commonly manages the household, including its financial affairs, and is concerned with rearing the children. In rural areas she is also expected to help in the fields. During pre-Spanish times, the women of the islands were

accorded a status of equality with men, but in the Spanish colonial period they were relegated to an inferior jural and social position. Under the U.S. administration and since independence, they have regained their traditional social equality and have gradually been granted the same legal rights as men. Additionally, they have gained equal opportunity for education, and growing numbers of educated women have been entering professional and managerial ranks in various spheres of activity, including government and industry. Today women predominate in several professional categories, including dentistry, pharmacy, and teaching.

Divorce was virtually nonexistent under the Spaniards and was granted only on grounds of adultery during the period of U.S. tutelage. Current Philippine law prohibits divorce, except for Muslims. Legal separation is permissible, however, in cases of adultery on the part of the wife, concubinage on the part of the husband, or attempted murder of a spouse by either. In the 1960 census, only 0.4% of the adult population were reported as separated or divorced.

Although the family is still of prime importance in the rural barrio, increasing urbanization and the modernizing Western influences which accompany it are affecting traditional family mores. As young Filipinos acquire some schooling and leave the barrios to seek work or further education in the towns, their bonds with home and kin group necessarily weaken as new associations are formed. For rural families that settle in urban areas, the problems of urban living are detrimental to family life. In many cases both parents must find jobs in order to eke out a living, and their children grow up in a milieu that is quite different from the economic and social framework in which the rural family functions. The usual result is an erosion of parental authority and a gradual decline in family solidarity.

Adherence to Islam makes family and kinship at least as important to the Muslims as they are to the Filipinos. The Muslim family is typically extended and patriarchal, with a strong emphasis on male authority. Polygyny is sanctioned by the Koran, each male being entitled to as many as four wives. In practice, however, only a small minority of Muslims are sufficiently wealthy to afford more than one wife. Islam also permits a husband to divorce his wife by simple renunciation, but no information is available concerning the extent to which this has been practiced in the Philippines. In Muslim families the position of females is considerably inferior to that of their Filipino counterparts. For example, sons always receive preference over daughters in education. Among some

Muslim groups, first marriages are carefully arranged by the families concerned, and the groom's family is expected to pay a bride price. The intensity of family loyalties throughout the Muslim area creates kinship ties so strong that disputes between families often flare into feuds that smolder for generations. As in the case of the Filipinos, the Muslim family is being affected by urbanization and modernization, but to a much lesser extent.

Many tribespeople of the Philippines have adopted, in differing degrees, into Filipino or Muslim social patterns. Those tribal groups that remain outside these spheres of influence vary in patterns of marriage and familial relations, although similarities also exist. The use of intermediaries for arranging marriages is frequent, and the groom's family customarily provides a bride price. Among the Negritos, marriages are generally contracted between parents of the couple, and in some instances the contract is made even before the children are born. In certain groups premarital sex is encouraged. Marriage is easily dissolved, and the changing of mates is fairly common. Equal or nearly equal status for women has prevailed in most tribes.

3. Basic values and attitudes

The basic value system of the Filipinos can be traced back to pre-Spanish times when the universe beyond an established known kinship group was believed to be hostile. Although Spanish and U.S. cultural influences and mass education have modified the indigenous values, this traditional view of the world can still be seen in various interrelationships among the Filipinos.

In pre-Christian times, if the Filipino was to be strong enough to withstand the hostile elements of the outside world, he needed a secure place in an established setting. Similarly today, the most deep-seated values of the Filipino relate to his position in society. His concern with his place in the social system involves an emphasis on face-saving, common to many other Asian peoples, which in turn has brought about a national tendency toward euphemism, equivocation, evasiveness, and procrastination. More importantly, it involves a sensitivity to personal status which has been reinforced by the Spanish emphasis on self-esteem. The Tagalog term for the concept is *hiya*, defined as "an awareness of personal dignity and honor." This value has traditionally governed interpersonal relationships among the Filipinos, evidenced by a natural courtesy in everyday encounters and a deference to elders and those in superior positions. However, it is also the source of volatility when real or imagined insults are

experienced. The Muslims share the Filipinos' sense of personal worth. Injury to a Muslim's *maratabat*, or honor, often brings revenge in the form of death. Throughout the Philippines, hypersensitivity to any action deemed to be an affront to dignity or honor is reflected in a high incidence of crime and violence. This is especially true in the transitional society existing in urban areas where many of the traditional restraints are no longer a deterrent to aberrant behavior.

Throughout Philippine history a secure social position has been concomitant with strong family ties. The Filipino believes that these can best be reinforced by the sharing of good fortune, and a system of reciprocal obligations called *utang na loob* has grown out of this belief. One member of a kinship group shares his good fortune or bestows a gift of gratitude upon another member, often in the form of a service or favor, and the acceptance of that gift signifies the acknowledgment of membership in the group. Repayment usually is in greater value, making the donor the debtor in a never ending circle of obligations, each repayment strengthening the cohesiveness of the unit. This highly developed system extends beyond the kinship group and sometimes serves to maintain mutually beneficial relationships between persons of different social levels. A high value is placed on gratitude for services rendered or favors received.

Gregarious by nature, the Filipino seeks pleasure in group activity whenever possible. Important in this connection is the *fiesta*, a legacy of the Spanish colonial era. Usually held in commemoration of the feast day of a patron saint, the *fiesta*, with its attendant carnival atmosphere, is the high point of the year for many Filipinos in rural barrios. Extravagance is also enjoyed whenever possible, although in widely varying degrees. Ostentatious entertainment and pretentious luxuries are common among the wealthy, while poor barrio families have been known to bankrupt themselves for the *fiesta*. Filipinos are further identified with indolence, a trait often attributed to other Southeast Asian peoples as well. Members of the lower class seek socioeconomic advancement not only for the monetary rewards and increased prestige, but also for freedom from manual work. Observers agree, moreover, that upper class Filipinos have frequently lacked the ambition and drive to compete effectively in business enterprises with Chinese and Westerners.

Filipinos have long been noted for their stoicism and resignation in the face of physical disaster or other serious adversity, characteristics which derive from the

grim struggle for subsistence endured by most and from a pervasive belief in the inevitability of "God's will." This sense of stoicism, called *bahala na*, and its accompanying tendency to accept the *status quo* have been giving way to new ideas and attitudes among those Filipinos who have benefited from the massive expansion of education begun under U.S. tutelage and continued since independence. U.S. concepts of nationalism and democracy have raised Filipino political awareness far beyond that of other Southeast Asian countries, and the emphasis placed on national self-reliance, equality of economic opportunity, and a competitive system of free enterprise have greatly increased aspirations for socioeconomic advancement. Since independence, various social conflicts have reached serious proportions. In the urban centers, primarily Manila, intellectuals have become increasingly critical of social inequalities, and activist students, through sometimes violent demonstrations, have aggravated a latent discontent stemming from industry's failure to provide jobs for an expanding urban population. In the rural areas of Luzon, impoverished tenant farmers have risen against their landlords, frequently encouraged by Maoist guerrilla bands. Added to these tensions is the acrid dispute between Muslims and Filipinos over arable land in Mindanao and in the Sulu Archipelago.

The Muslim population, once predominant in Mindanao, has become a minority there after two decades of settlement by Filipinos from islands to the north. From time to time throughout this period the Muslims have resisted the encroachment of the Filipinos. This has caused social tensions, often assuming the dimensions of civil strife. Because the settlers are Christians, the conflict has taken on religious overtones, although the basic issues are the problems of land ownership and the alleged reluctance of the Muslim community to adapt to social and economic change. Although the Sulu Muslims have been more amenable to government programs than those on Mindanao, the fear that land-grabbing Filipinos would also overrun the Sulu Archipelago has led to clashes in that area also. Government troops have been fighting rebel Muslim elements in the southern Philippines ever since President Marcos' declaration of martial law in September 1972. Young educated Muslims seem to be leading a well organized revolt, and amnesty offers by Marcos have been largely ignored. In an address late in March 1973, the President admitted that military action was not the answer to the troubles in the south and announced a number of reforms designed to gain Muslim goodwill and support for his previously announced "New

Society" program. The reforms include writing off the interest on debts owed to the government by the southern provinces in which most of the Muslims reside, strengthening institutions of higher learning throughout the south, and providing at least 2,000 scholarships for Muslim students.

Plans for the "New Society" encompass the previously mentioned land redistribution measures to help impoverished farmers, price and rent controls to benefit the urban poor, and more equitable taxation to relieve financial pressures on all sectors of the population. The credibility of the President has suffered in the past, however, because of his failure to implement grandiose promises, and many Westernized Filipinos are highly critical of his decision to rule by martial law. Few of the Republic's presidents have inspired confidence among the electorate (among the exceptions were the late Manuel Quezon and Ramon Magsaysay). Cynicism toward politics and politicians pervades all sectors of the society, manifested in the increasing disrespect for law and order. A growing attitude, fostered by widespread corruption in government, appears to be that law exists only to be circumvented.

Despite the pervasive cynicism and distrust of officials, Filipino nationalism is strong. The sense of nationhood, symbolized by the slogan "Filipino First," transcends linguistic ties, regional interests, and political loyalties. Filipino pride in national independence and in the country's accomplishments seem almost an extension of *hiya* from the individual to the mass of the population. All take great pride in contributions of the Philippines on the international scene, particularly its active participation in the U.N. and the various U.N. specialized agencies. By the same token, there is great sensitivity to what might be construed as derogatory attitudes toward the nation on the part of foreigners; this is especially true of the educated elite.

Filipino nationalism has been one of the factors fostering hostility toward the Chinese population in the Philippines. Since Spanish times the Chinese have been disliked because of their commercial competition and also, in more recent times, because of their potential for political subversion. Despite rigid administrative regulations and heavy taxation they continue to dominate retail trade. Chinese businessmen usually avoid direct involvement in Philippine politics, but have often contributed heavily to both major political parties in the hope of future favors or mitigation of restrictive legislation. In addition to the friction generated by the near monopoly of trade enjoyed by the Chinese, many

Filipinos are alarmed by the open admiration found among some Chinese toward the accomplishments of the People's Republic of China. Although there is a growing sympathy for Communist ideology among small segments of educated Filipino youth, most politically conscious Filipinos are anti-Communist. The deeply rooted anti-Communist sentiments are being offset to some extent by the realization that normal relations with Communist countries has become economically desirable.

Among foreign peoples, the Japanese have incurred the most hostility from Filipinos, stemming from the atrocities and humiliations suffered during the Japanese occupation of the Philippines in World War II. However, postwar reparations paid by Japan, growing commerce between the two countries, and the healing effect of time have resulted in a considerable lessening of animosity.

The traditional attitude of the people of the Philippines toward Americans has been predominantly one of friendship, manifested in an obvious desire to absorb U.S. cultural values. Many of the older people in the islands, Filipinos and Muslims alike, recall with warm sentiment the dedication of American officials, teachers, and missionaries who worked among them during the period of U.S. tutelage, and the common defense effort against the Japanese in World War II. However, some have always found certain aspects of U.S. culture vulgar, and particularly so during the past decade. Rock music, X-rated films, and the imported hippie cult, while enthusiastically welcomed by many young urban Filipinos, are repugnant to the more conservative elements in the society. Similarly, although a large number of urban Filipinos have adopted such American characteristics as the firm handshake and the instantaneous use of first names, many members of the upper class, particularly mestizos, deplore these practices as a departure from dignity. On a more important level, considerable anti-Americanism is now apparent among certain sectors of the population, chiefly students and intellectuals, who accuse the United States of bolstering the oligarchy. Anti-American feeling is also found among some elements of the rural population who profess to believe the United States is supporting the wealthy Philippine landowners against the interests of the peasants.

C. Population (U/OU)

In the years since independence, phenomenal growth has been characteristic of the Philippine population, the number of the country's inhabitants having more than doubled in the 27-year span. During

the 1960-70 intercensal decade alone, the population rose by 9.6 million. This increment exceeded by 25% the total population in 1903, and it roughly matched the entire population of such countries as Belgium, Chile, Greece, and Portugal. Since 1970, the population has continued to increase rapidly. On the basis of an average annual rate of growth of 3%, it was estimated to have reached 39,693,000 at the beginning of 1973 and 40,194,000 by mid-1973, unless checked, it will number 50 million in 1980.

Until late in the 1960's, the traditional desire for large families and opposition from the Catholic Church effectively precluded any initiatives to curb population growth. Officialdom, moreover, generally regarded growth favorably, seeing it as a means of settling sparsely populated but potentially rich areas of the archipelago. As it became increasingly evident, however, that the burgeoning population was outstripping economic development and threatening to lower an already unsatisfactory level of living, a small group of concerned officials and citizens, with encouragement from foreign foundations and agencies, including the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID), began to press for action to relieve the pressures created by population growth. With assistance from the press and radio, these individuals made public discussion of birth control respectable, earlier inhibitions notwithstanding, and they then lobbied both public officials and religious leaders to sanction family planning programs. In 1969, the government responded with the creation of a Commission on Population, and it subsequently lifted the ban of the importation of contraceptives and incorporated family planning into the overall program of the public health clinics. Today, both public and private clinics offer all forms of birth control measures, although the public clinics "recommend" only the rhythm method of contraception, reflecting the official position of the Catholic Church. This approach has tended to mute church criticism of the program.

While family planning activities, sponsored by some 20 groups under the overall coordination of the Commission on Population, are now underway, the program to date has had only marginal impact, and major obstacles are yet to be overcome. Ignorance of methods of limiting family size is a serious problem. A survey in 1965, for example, discovered that 55% of married urban women and 69% of married rural women were unfamiliar with any form of birth control and that many of these were not especially interested in acquiring such knowledge. Although the proportions undoubtedly have since declined as the result of widespread campaigns designed to acquaint

the populace with knowledge of family planning, the desire for large families remains strong, particularly among rural Filipinos, who still view many children as the only dependable old-age insurance. The 1965 survey indicated that rural women considered five or six children ideal, while the norm for their urban counterparts was four. Until infant and child mortality is further reduced, it is unlikely that many Filipinos will change their minds about the desirability of large families. Family limitation appears to have caught on mainly among middle class, urban couples and among those with some education who are attempting to move up to middle class status. Upper class families, as a general rule, continue to be large.

During the 1960-70 intercensal decade, the Republic's population increased by 35%, rising from 27,087,685 to 36,684,486. Growth was due wholly to natural increase and, in fact, would have been slightly greater had it not been for an annual excess of emigrants over immigrants. Emigration, although not extensive, is of concern to the Philippine Government because many of those who leave the islands are professional persons, particularly physicians, scientists, and nurses. The "brain drain" has been accentuated since 1965, when the United States, the principal destination of Filipino emigrants, relaxed its quota on immigrants from the islands. In the years 1967-71, an annual average of nearly 22,000 Filipinos were admitted to the United States as immigrants; the number of registered Filipino aliens in the United States rose from 80,000 in 1967 to 149,000 in 1971.² Canada follows the United States as the favored destination of Filipino emigrants.

Rapid population growth in the islands is the direct result of a consistently high birth rate and a high but declining death rate. Because the registration of vital events is grossly deficient, it is impossible to determine birth and death rates precisely. Philippine demographers hold that the birth rate has been essentially stable since at least the 1920's, being about 45 per 1,000 population. The death rate, on the other hand, has fallen dramatically, from approximately 26 per 1,000 population in the 1920's to an estimated 12 in 1965-70. For the decades of the 1950's and 1960's, the United Nations has estimated the following vital rates:

	BIRTH RATE	DEATH RATE	RATE OF NATURAL INCREASE
1950-55	45.7	16.0	29.7
1955-60	45.1	14.9	30.2
1960-65	46.6	13.4	33.2
1965-70	44.7	12.0	32.7

²Philippine sources suggest that the number of Filipinos in the United States approximates 250,000.

As the U.N. figures indicate, the birth rate dropped by about 2% during 1950-70, whereas the death rate decreased by 25%. The rate of natural increase rose by 10% during the 1950-70 period, culminating in a 3.3% annual rate during 1965-70. Emigration, however, served to lower somewhat the average annual rate of growth during the late 1960's.

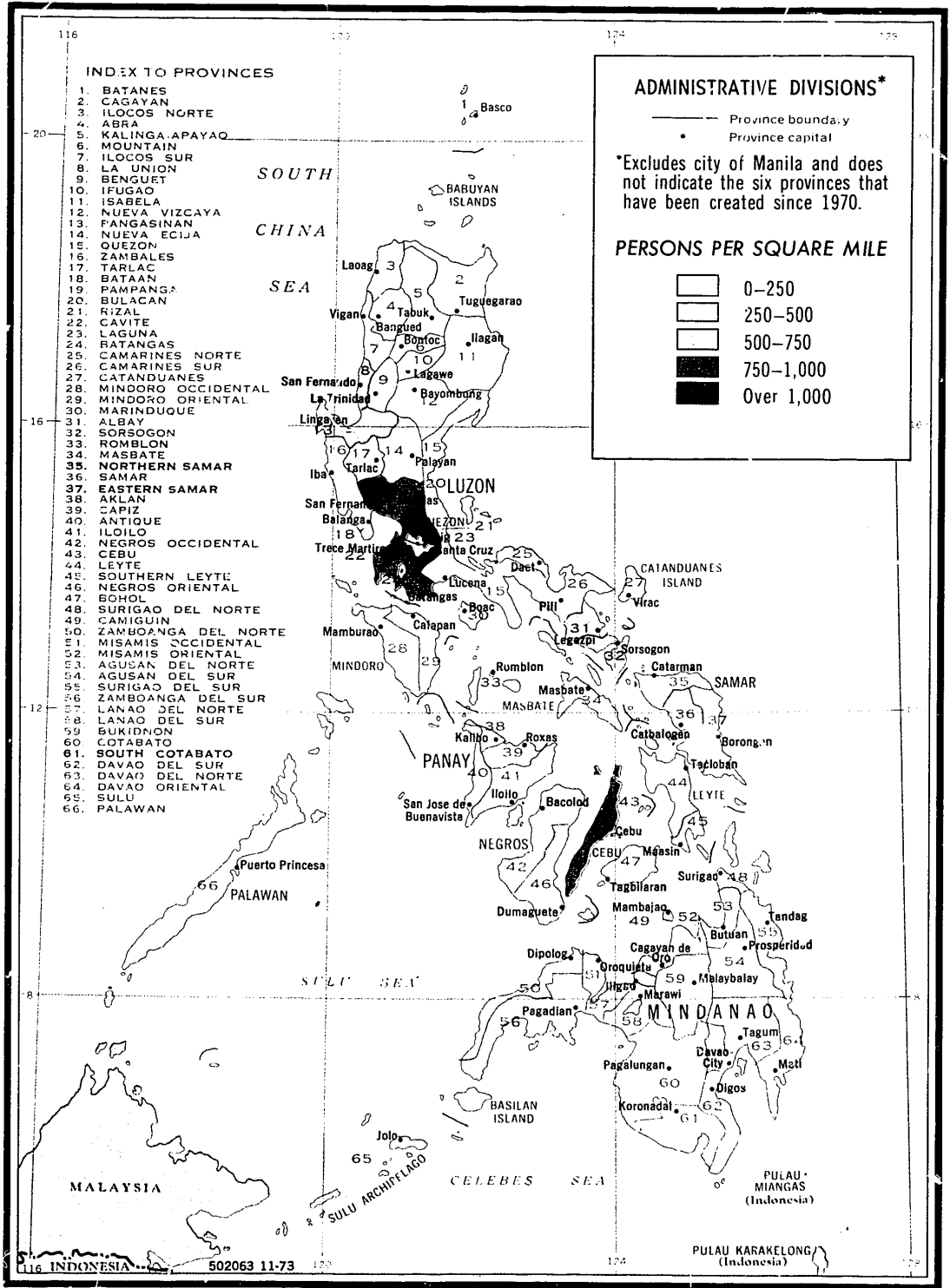
With the decline in the death rate, life expectancy has increased. It rose from about 25 years in 1918 to 45 years on the eve of World War II and was estimated at about 56 years in 1970, with females on the average outliving males by about 4 years.

1. Density and distribution

With an average of 346 persons per square mile in mid-1973, the Philippines was almost six times as densely populated as the United States. Because of great variation in terrain and climate, however, the population is unevenly settled throughout the archipelago. It is heavily concentrated in the central and southern portions of Luzon and in the Visayan Islands (Bohol, Cebu, Leyte, Negros, Panay, and Samar); it is less dense in the islands of Mindoro, Palawan, and Mindanao, in the Sulu Archipelago, and in the northern part of Luzon. The most extensive area of urbanization occurs on Luzon, in the environs of Manila, but both urban and rural populations are concentrated on the coastal plains and lowlands, leaving much of the interior and mountainous parts of the islands thinly settled. The valley of the Cagayan River, the western coastal littoral, and the great central plain on Luzon are the areas of the most intensive cultivation and densest habitation.

Population density varies markedly among the provinces and the city of Manila (Figure 3). The most densely populated area is the city of Manila, which had nearly 89,000 persons per square mile in 1970. Provinces with more than 1,000 residents per square mile were Rizal, Pampanga, Cavite, and Laguna. All are in central or southern Luzon, near Manila. Nine other provinces had densities of between 500 and 1,000 persons per square mile. Palawan Province, comprising Palawan and nearby islands, was the least densely settled province, having only 41 persons per square mile.

The Philippine population is predominantly rural, and the typical settlement form is the village (*barrio*) or the rural grouping of farm families (*sitio*). Nonetheless, there has been a steady trend toward urbanization, although it is not possible to trace the growth of the urban population, primarily because definitions used in various censuses to determine urban and rural populations have varied. In 1970,



31.8% of the population was classified as urban, but the proportion probably overstates the actual degree of urbanization. Many of the small *poblaciones*³ which meet the socioeconomic requirements for urban area, in fact, small towns with more rural than urban features. Additionally, some of the 59 chartered cities, all of which qualify as urban, contain rural areas within their boundaries.

As determined by the 1970 census, the 59 chartered cities accounted for 65% of the total urban population. Included among them were 17 with populations in excess of 100,000 (Figure 4). The city of Manila, with a 1970 population of 1.3 million, was the only community with more than 1 million inhabitants. Greater Manila, encompassing the city, its suburbs, and such nearby communities as Quezon, Caloocan, and Pasay, had a population of over 3.4 million in 1970, roughly 30% of the total urban population.

All provinces and the city of Manila registered growth during the 1960-70 period, but some provinces grew much more rapidly than others, mainly as the result of interprovincial migration. Overall, an

³A *poblacion* is the seat of a municipality, an administrative division roughly equivalent to a U.S. county.

estimated 2.1 million persons changed their province of residence during the intercensal decade. The volume of migration varied widely by province. Net migration had an almost negligible effect on population growth in such provinces as Surigao del Norte and Zamboanga del Sur. In Rizal Province, however, the contribution of immigration to total population growth was greater than that of natural increase. On the other hand, in Catanduanes Province, outmigration removed more than 88% of natural increase during the decade. Between 1960 and 1970, 25 provinces gained population through immigration, while 41 provinces and the city of Manila lost population as the result of outmigration. In general, the provinces of northern Luzon, the Bicol Peninsula, the Visayan Islands, and northern Mindanao lost population through migration; those in the Cagayan Valley, in central and southern Luzon, and in southern Mindanao gained population (Figure 5). Rizal Province registered the largest gain (784,662), Negros Occidental the largest loss (258,396).

Although the city of Manila lost some 86,000 residents as the result of outmigration, principally to the city's suburbs, the Greater Manila region registered a substantial increase, the metropolitan area

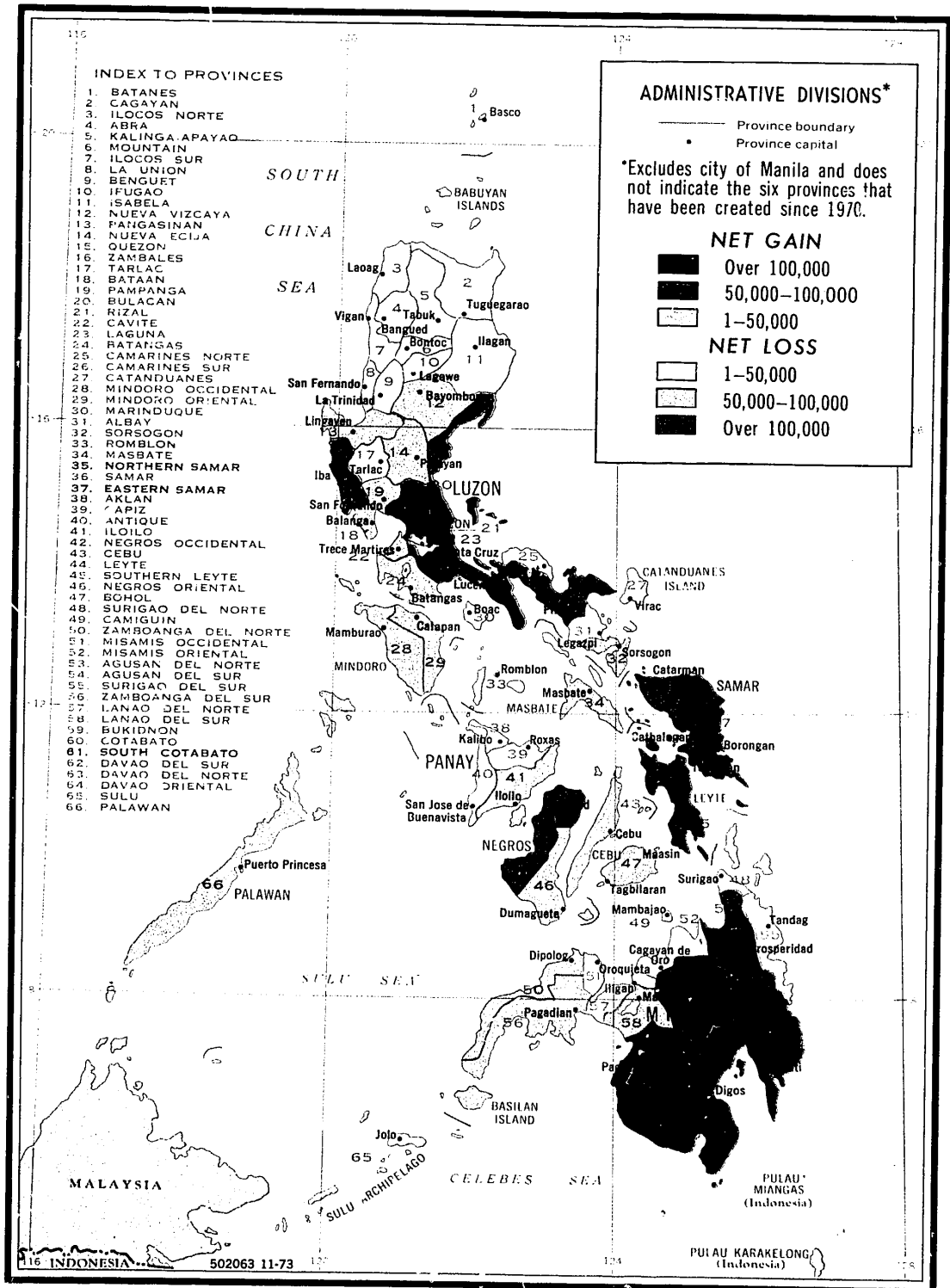
FIGURE 4. Growth of cities* of 100,000 or more inhabitants in 1970 (U/OU)

CITY	ISLAND	POPULATION			AVERAGE ANNUAL RATE OF GROWTH, 1939-70 (IN PERCENT)
		1939	1960	1970	
Manila.....	Luzon.....	623,492	1,138,611	1,330,788	3.1
Quezon.....	do.....	39,013	397,990	754,452	2.1
Davao.....	Mindanao.....	65,546	225,712	392,473	4.7
Cebu.....	Cebu.....	146,817	251,146	347,116	2.8
Caloocan.....	Luzon.....	na	na	274,453	...
Iloilo.....	Panay.....	90,480	151,266	209,738	2.7
Pasay.....	Luzon.....	55,161	132,673	206,283	3.3
Zamboanga.....	Mindanao.....	131,445	131,489	199,901	1.4
Bacolod.....	Negros.....	57,474	119,315	187,300	3.9
Basilan.....	Basilan.....	na	155,712	143,829	...
Angeles.....	Luzon.....	na	na	134,544	...
Butuan.....	Mindanao.....	18,295	82,485	131,094	6.2
Cadiz.....	Negros.....	na	na	124,108	...
Batangas.....	Luzon.....	na	na	108,868	...
Olongapo.....	do.....	na	na	107,785	...
San Pablo.....	do.....	46,311	70,680	105,517	2.7
Iligan.....	Mindanao.....	28,273	58,433	104,493	4.3

na Data not available.

... Not pertinent.

*In the Philippines, cities and municipalities tend to resemble U.S. counties or townships in that they include both urban and rural areas. The data given in this table include the population of both areas. The population of Manila and Quezon are considered completely urban, but in many of the other cities, the bulk of the population actually may be rural.



continuing to be the chief destination of rural Filipinos. Frontier areas, such as Mindanao, ranked second in attraction. Migrants to the Greater Manila area come from all over the archipelago, but especially from northern Luzon and the Bicol Peninsula. The Visayan Islands were the former home of most newcomers to Mindanao. Nearly half of all migrants in the 1960-70 period were young adults. Men and women moved in about equal numbers; more women than men moved to urban centers, while more men than women migrated to frontier areas.

Although the Philippine Government has encouraged migration from overpopulated areas to sparsely inhabited regions, it has not been able to cope with some of the problems arising from migration. In such provinces as Rizal and Bukidnon, where immigration has been especially heavy, the influx of new migrants has severely taxed existing social services and has exacerbated problems of employment, housing, schooling, and health care. Adjustment to a new locale also has caused personal problems for migrants.

2. Age and sex composition

The Philippine population is quite young, although the trend since 1903 toward an ever more youthful population was reversed in the 1960's. In part because of longer life expectancy, the median age rose during the 1960-70 intercensal decade, increasing from 17.1 years to 18.4 years. Nonetheless, children continue to comprise a high proportion of the total population, and the median age in 1970 was almost 10 years lower than that for the United States. The Philippine population pyramid for 1970 (Figure 6), typical of

those for countries with rapidly growing populations, has a broad base, representing the large birth cohorts since 1960; each subsequent age group tapers off slightly, reflecting both the smaller cohorts of births in the past and the steady attrition by deaths as they grow older.

Of the total enumerated population in 1970, 43% were under age 15 and 53% were under age 20. At the other extreme, only 4% were age 65 or older and only 11% were age 50 or older. All together, 47% of the population were in the dependent ages (0-14 and 65 or older), compared to 53% in the working ages (15-64). The resulting ratio of 873 persons of dependent age per 1,000 of working age, although 7% lower than the ratio in 1960, was approximately 26% higher than the ratio in the United States. In such countries as the Philippines, however, the formal dependency ratio overstates the actual degree of dependency, as many children under age 15 are engaged in some form of work activity, and many persons age 65 or older are forced by economic necessity to continue working.

The census of 1970 revealed significant differences in the age composition of the urban and rural populations (Figure 7). Children under age 15 comprised 45% of the rural population, compared to 40% of the urban population. The proportion of persons age 45 or older was also higher in rural areas than in urban centers. In contrast, persons in the 15-44 age groups constituted a larger proportion of the urban population than of the rural. The effects of outmigration were particularly apparent on Catanduanes, Leyte, and Samar, where the proportion of young adults was far below the national average.

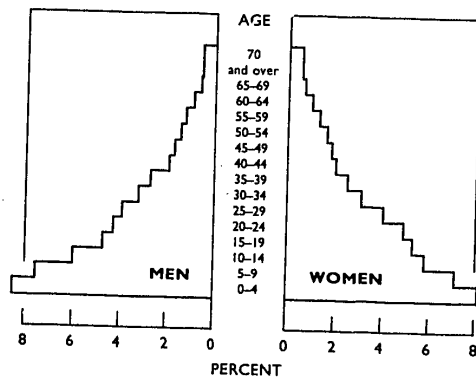


FIGURE 6. Age-sex structure, 1970 (U/OU)

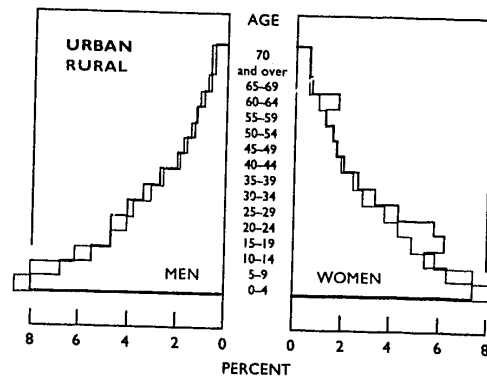


FIGURE 7. Age-sex structure, by urban-rural residence, 1970 (U/OU)

Overall, the dependency ratio in urban areas was 755, compared to 934 in the countryside.

In 1970, the Philippine population comprised 18,250,351 males and 18,434,135 females, or 99 males per 100 females. Sex ratios varied markedly from province to province. High sex ratios were recorded in Palawan (110), Davao del Norte (110), Mindoro Occidental (106), and Agusan del Sur (106). All are frontier-like areas which have attracted male migrants. Low sex ratios were registered in the city of Manila (93) and in such provinces as Ilocos Sur (94), Bulacan (94), Ilocos Norte (95), Capiz (95), and Antique (95). The low ratio in Manila stems from the immigration of women seeking jobs in an area where employment opportunities for them are greatest. Ilocos Sur, Ilocos Norte, Capiz, and Antique are all provinces of outmigration, with apparently more men than women leaving.

D. Living and working conditions

The conditions under which Filipinos live compare favorably with those of most other Asian peoples, substantial progress in providing medical, educational, and other social services having been achieved since World War II. Nonetheless, the nation lags far behind Japan, Singapore, and the Republic of China insofar as levels of living are concerned, largely because rapid population growth has negated the real effects of socioeconomic advancement. Although the postwar expansion in industrial and commercial activities has generated an increase in the proportional size of the society's middle sector, the mass of lower class inhabitants have benefited little from the apparent prosperity, chiefly because employment opportunities have remained insufficient and personal incomes meager. In fact, the gap separating the small wealthy class from the underprivileged group has widened. Among the latter, disease and malnutrition are common, housing conditions are poor, and unemployment and underemployment are widespread. Exacerbating the insecurity which characterizes life in the lower class, violence, in the form of spontaneous antisocial behavior as well as that associated with organized criminality and political partisanship, is rife. While poverty and violence are widespread, the peoples of Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago, where social services are least developed and internecine warfare has been ongoing, appear to endure the greatest hardships. (U/OU)

Indexes of per capita production and income suggest that living conditions improved steadily during the 1960's, but the progress that occurred was

anything but uniform, largely because the distribution of wealth in the Philippines is one of the most inequitable in the world. At mid-decade, for example, the earnings that accrued to families comprising the upper fifth of income earners were 16 times greater than those received by families in the bottom fifth. Nearly seven-tenths of all families had incomes of less than P2,500,⁴ and upper income families were concentrated in the Greater Manila area (Figure 8). Although industrialization proceeded at a rapid pace during the second half of the decade and some progress was made in implementing the land reform program, the disparities in income distribution carried over into the 1970's. In 1970 only 2.5% of all workers in the Philippines had incomes totalling P10,000 or more, whereas 70% earned less than one-fourth that amount. Stemming from exaggerated differentials in wage and salary levels, as well as from the concentration of income-producing properties and enterprises in the hands of a select group of families, the disparity in incomes has been preserved by a system of taxation which favors the wealthy; income tax evasion, much of it deriving from corruption among tax officials, is widespread. (U/OU)

Triggered in part by increases in the minimum wage levels, earnings for workers in nonagricultural activities have risen sharply since the mid-1960's (Figure 9). Reflecting the concentration of skilled manpower as well as the prevalence of high living costs in the Greater Manila area, workers there traditionally have commanded the highest earnings in the nation. In 1971, for instance, the typical unskilled laborer in Manila was paid about P230 monthly, while in the city of Naga the going wage was approximately P188, the lowest amount permissible under terms of the minimum wage law. On a

⁴Year-end exchange rates for the Philippine peso have been approximately as follows:
 1966-69 P3.9 = US\$1.00
 1970-71 P3.4 = US\$1.00
 1972- P6.78 = US\$1.00

FIGURE 8. Distribution of families, by income group, 1965 (U/OU) (Percent)

INCOME GROUP	URBAN		RURAL	ALL AREAS
	Manila	Other		
P2,499 or less	29.4	55.2	78.7	69.4
P2,500-P4,999	35.0	27.1	17.5	21.1
P5,000 and over	35.6	17.7	3.8	9.5
All groups	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

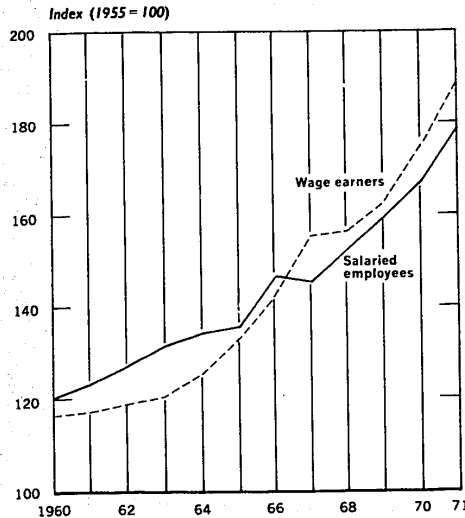


FIGURE 9. Index of earnings in nonagricultural activities (U/OU)

nationwide basis, the monthly earnings of unskilled laborers fell mostly within the range of P190 to P234, while skilled workers, such as mechanics, received appreciably more (P221 to P378). The range in earnings, however, was far wider among white collar employees and professionals, who typically earned much more than manual workers, as indicated by the following monthly salary ranges (in pesos):

Clerks	233-444
Schoolteachers	252-357
Stenographers	290-612
Radio technicians	301-580
Civil engineers	431-1,038
Public health physicians	483-1,108
Trial lawyers	657-1,077
Civil service officials	681-1,387

Salaries for executive and administrative personnel in private enterprises generally were about one-third higher than those earned by their counterparts in government. (U/OU)

Despite the existence of minimum wage legislation applying to workers in "organized production activities," which comprise essentially all formally constituted establishments, it has been estimated conservatively that three-fifths of all the nation's workers received wages lower than the minimum legal rates at the start of the 1970's. Although stemming in large measure from a lack of observance of the

minimum wage statute, the high proportion of workers earning less than the legally prescribed amounts also reflects the sizable number of workers who are excluded from coverage under the law. (U/OU)

Notwithstanding the nationwide increases in wages and salaries, rising costs for consumer goods and services have cut sharply into the real worth of earnings, notably among skilled industrial workers, white-collar employees, and middle class professionals. Although the purchasing power of many, if not most, workers has dropped for many years, the rate of decline was particularly steep in the early 1970's. Spearheaded by increased food costs, chiefly the result of poor rice harvests and an attending heavier reliance on imported foodstuffs, in 1970 the national consumer price index rose by about 15% over the previous year's level and by an additional 22% in 1971; this compares with an average annual increase of only 4.5% during the previous decade (Figure 10). Because of the considerable dependence on imported textiles, moreover, clothing prices also increased markedly following a devaluation in the peso early in 1970. The rise in living costs generally has been more acute in Manila and other large cities than elsewhere in the

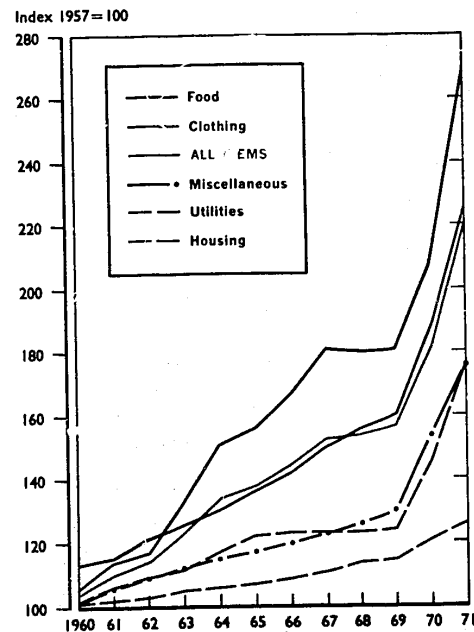


FIGURE 10. Consumer price index (U/OU)

nation. In response to the imposition of price controls and of measures to ensure a more efficient distribution of commodities, consumer prices leveled off somewhat by late 1972; under the martial law in effect at that time, the government was empowered to arrest and prosecute retailers who charged prices above authorized levels. (U/OU)

The rise in food prices has become a matter of prime concern among consumers, particularly those in the lower income groups, who expend the bulk of their funds for food. According to a survey of household incomes and expenditures conducted in 1965, families in the lowest income group (those having yearly incomes of P500 or less) channeled about two-thirds of their earnings for food while families in an intermediate income group (P4,000-5,000) and those in the highest group (P10,000 and over) spent proportionately lower amounts for food but appreciably higher sums on housing and on such miscellaneous items as medical care, education, transportation, personal effects, and recreation and entertainment, as indicated by the following percentage distribution of household expenditures for each income grouping:

	LOWER	MIDDLE	UPPER
Food	67.3	50.9	32.3
Housing	7.9	13.2	27.2
Clothing	5.5	8.0	5.6
Miscellaneous	19.3	27.9	34.9
All items	100.0	100.0	100.0

Reflecting the predominance of lower incomes in the countryside, the typical rural family devoted three-fifths of its income for foodstuffs. Rural consumers can afford to purchase few consumer durables, and many rural inhabitants are self-sufficient in housing. Urban families tend to invest proportionately larger sums of their income on housing and miscellaneous items than their rural counterparts, as indicated by the following percentage distribution pattern of household expenditures by typical residents in each of the two types of localities: (U/OU)

	URBAN	RURAL
Food	46.1	60.0
Housing	18.9	8.7
Clothing	6.0	7.0
Miscellaneous	29.0	24.3
All items	100.0	100.0

While pervasive poverty and maldistribution of wealth have been root causes of antisocial behavior for many years, a rise in the incidence of crime appears to have accompanied the decline in the purchasing

power of consumers. The failure of the employment market to expand quickly enough to absorb job seekers, many of them migrants from the countryside and educated youngsters, also has been responsible. The higher incidence of crime does not relate solely to economic factors, however, as the trend toward increased urbanization, attended by a weakening in family ties, is thought to have contributed to the overall rise in the frequency of antisocial acts. As borne out by the regularity of "amok" attacks, seemingly spontaneous outbreaks of savagery, reported by the local press, the Filipino temperament is highly volatile. Stemming in large measure from a hypersensitivity to insult, whether real or fancied, the attacks often involve the use of lethal weapons, especially handguns and knives. The proclivity for violence is strongest among the Muslims of Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago, where family feuds, sometimes lasting for generations, often lead to bloodletting. With the passage of time, however, this form of violence has been overshadowed by resistance on the part of the Muslims to what they regard as the encroachment of Christian Filipino migrants from elsewhere in the islands. (U/OU)

Even though journalists and the reading public are more preoccupied with press coverage of the more spectacular "amok" violence, crimes involving property, mainly robbery and theft, comprise the most prevalent category. In 1970 such crimes accounted for nearly two-fifths of all felonious acts recorded by the Police Commission, as indicated by the following percentage distribution:

TYPE OF CRIME	NUMBER OF OFFENSES	PERCENT OF TOTAL	CRIMES PER 100,000 INHABITANTS
Against property	105,262	39.4	287
Against persons	78,352	29.4	213
Against the public order or morals	45,401	17.0	124
Others	37,767	14.2	103
All types	266,782	100.0	727

The incidence of theft was 127 acts per 100,000 inhabitants and that of robbery was 67. Among personal crimes, the rates of homicide and murder were 36 and 17, respectively, per 100,000 inhabitants; among all categories of crime, the single most prevalent offense (135 per 100,000 population) was assault. Finally, the most common violations of the public order involved threat or coercion, slander or libel, and vagrancy. (U/OU)

Many crimes, particularly those occurring in rural districts, are unreported to the authorities. In the more

remote areas, these even include such archaic forms of crime as piracy and banditry. Nevertheless, it appears that the crime rate is appreciably higher in the large urban centers, notably in the Manila metropolitan area, than elsewhere. During 1970, in fact, 62,841 crimes (or 23.6% of all those recorded by the Police Commission) occurred in Greater Manila. The incidence of known crimes in the capital area—1,688 acts per 100,000 residents—was more than double the national rate. Irrespective of locality, however, the incidence of crime is somewhat higher during the "hot months" (March through June). Reflecting the intense popular emotionalism evoked by political issues and events, moreover, the incidence of personal crimes, especially assault, tends to rise during electoral campaigns. (U/OU)

Continuing a trend that started in the wake of World War II, juvenile delinquency, mostly involving youngsters from the lower strata of society, has increased. The most common crimes committed by youths, often operating in gangs, are theft (mainly shoplifting, housebreaking, and pocket picking), robbery, assault, gambling, extortion, and smuggling. Because employment opportunities, particularly for school dropouts and first-job seekers, are limited, moreover, vagrancy by youths has become conspicuous. In contrast to the groups that operate for financial gain, gangs of teenagers (some of them hippies) from middle and upper income families have been known to engage in vandalism, petty extortion, and maulings simply as a form of diversion. Few of the depredations by juveniles come to the attention of the authorities, however, partly because victims fear reprisal if they report the acts, but also because the legal and correctional institutions that deal with youthful offenders are inadequate. Nevertheless, somewhat over one-fourth of all lawbreakers arrested in Greater Manila during 1970 were youngsters ages 9-20. Another 23% were in the 21-25 age group. Nine-tenths of all arrested that year were males. (U/OU)

Inefficiency and corruption within the law enforcement agencies and courts contribute not only to the high incidence of juvenile delinquency but also to that of crime in general. Acknowledging this, it was officially observed in 1972 that the police forces serving the Greater Manila area have "failed to live up to public expectations." Considering the high number of reported crimes committed in the area during 1970, the total number of arrests made in that year (26,429) was low. Nearly 47% of those detained, moreover, were arrested for charges involving violations of the public order and morals, whereas the proportions of those arrested for offenses against persons (16%) and

property (23%) were low in relation to the high incidences of crimes in both categories. Traditionally, law enforcement officers and persons staffing the judicial system have been amenable to bribery and reluctant to take action against lawbreakers having political influence or connections. Because of this, there has been a tendency for certain private individuals, often operating in vigilante groups whose membership has been known to include off-duty police officers, to hunt down and kill, or otherwise punish, criminals, bandit gangs, and even Communist insurgents who have eluded the law. Many wealthy or politically prominent persons employ private watchmen and bodyguards, the latter having become a sort of status symbol as well as the nuclei for the "private armies" maintained by some provincial leaders. (U/OU)

Following the declaration of martial law in September 1972, the incidence of street crimes and other violence diminished substantially in Greater Manila and other cities, a development that can be ascribed largely to the imposition of a firearms collection campaign and severe penalties for the possession of unlicensed firearms and for their use in the commission of crimes. Prior to enactment of these measures, the ready availability of such weapons, and particularly of the so-called *paltiks* (homemade handguns), posed the danger of converting every barroom argument into a shootout. During a 2-month period some 450,000 weapons were surrendered to the authorities or confiscated by them. Many of the arms thus gathered, however, were licensed or inoperable, and the collection was least successful in areas beset by insurgency and social unrest, including Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago, where the firearm is a prized necessity as well as a symbol of high status. It has been estimated, moreover, that the number of unlicensed firearms that remained in private hands after the drive probably exceeded that of the collected weapons. The immediate impact of another measure, the summary dismissal of corrupt government employees, including law enforcement personnel, was more difficult to assess. Nonetheless, by January 1973 some 4,800 public employees had been fired. (U/OU)

Concern over the increasingly widespread usage of marijuana and addictive drugs among secondary and postsecondary school-age youngsters, particularly those having completed or abandoned their studies but unable to find work, has prompted authorities to enact new legislation on narcotics and other dangerous substances and to adopt stern countermeasures, including the imposition of capital punishment, to stem the illicit traffic in drugs. Previously confined by

and large to the Chinese community, where some individuals traditionally have engaged in opium smoking, drug abuse by the late 1960's had come to affect individuals in a broad cross section of society, particularly in Greater Manila and other cities. According to official Filipino estimates of questionable accuracy, roughly 200,000 persons smoked marijuana or illegally used narcotics and other dangerous drugs of all types during the early 1970's. While most were marijuana users, between 7,000 and 10,000 of the total were heroin addicts and an even higher number employed barbiturates and amphetamines. Although the supply of marijuana emanates from cannabis plants grown throughout the islands, most of the addictive and otherwise dangerous drugs are smuggled into the country from the Asian mainland, a traffic that is facilitated by the nation's geographical configuration and by the limited effectiveness of the government's antismuggling operations. Despite the seriousness of the problem, only 431 persons were arrested for drug offenses in 1970. (C)

Recognizing the inadequacy of the existing drug law and of the attending enforcement activities, as well as the need to provide rehabilitative services for addicts and stiffer penalties for drug traffickers and peddlers, the government promulgated a Dangerous Drug Act in March 1972; in accordance with this law, a Dangerous Drugs Board, empowered to devise and implement a national antidrug program, was established later that year. Because the archipelago is a potential transshipment link in the illicit drug traffic between the Far East and the United States, and since cases of drug abuse, some resulting in death, have been confirmed among U.S. servicemen stationed in the Philippines, the two countries have exchanged information on drug trafficking, and the United States has trained Filipino officials in drug law enforcement activities. (C)

Prostitution, a far more commonplace social problem than drug abuse, is prevalent in Manila and to a lesser extent in other cities. Reflecting a general permissiveness toward the activity, only 35 arrests related to prostitution were made throughout the nation in 1970. Although the practice is illegal, brothels operate in many localities, often with the tacit approval of municipal officials; the proliferation of motels, bars, and nightclubs is said to have contributed to the problem. Gambling, which also is illegal, has flourished under similar circumstances. Rapid urbanization, accompanied by the spread of public entertainment establishments, apparently has given rise to an increased per capita consumption of

alcoholic beverages, despite the continued popularity of soft drinks. The incidence of arrests for disorderly conduct arising from drunkenness has tended to rise. (U/OU)

I. Health and sanitation (U/OC)

Health services and facilities in the Philippines, largely introduced during the U.S. administration and considerably expanded since independence, are better developed than in most other Southeast Asian countries. Nevertheless, the general level of health among the bulk of the population remains low, and the incidence of preventable disease is high. Dietary deficiencies and poor sanitary conditions, principally contaminated water and food supplies and inadequate or nonexistent waste disposal facilities, still prevail in most areas. Grossly overcrowded slum and squatter dwellings in the cities also pose serious health hazards. Despite progress in recent years, there is still a shortage of drugs and medical equipment, facilities, and professional personnel. Modern medicine, moreover, has not penetrated to many remote villages where the inhabitants continue to rely on traditional healers.

The tropical climate, with continuous heat and humidity, favors the propagation of numerous insect vectors of disease and of many human and animal disease organisms. Several species of mosquitoes have been identified as vectors of malaria and others as carriers of filariasis and dengue fever. An abundance of flies and lice transmit enteric diseases, six species of rats are potential hosts of plague and typhus through infected fleas, and two species of snails are carriers of schistosomiasis. A number of larger forms of animal life, including over 50 kinds of poisonous or dangerous sea and land reptiles, constitute additional threats to health or safety. Animal diseases, moreover, are widespread, and veterinary services inadequate. In the 1960's the Philippines had the highest recorded incidence of rabies in the world, with 200 to 300 cases reported annually. In addition, such natural disasters as earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, typhoons, and severe floods periodically cause widespread death and destruction.

Respiratory diseases are the leading cause of both mortality and morbidity among all age groups. In 1969, according to official statistics, tuberculosis and pneumonia, together with a lesser incidence of bronchitis, accounted for approximately one-third of all registered deaths, followed by cardiovascular diseases and gastroenteritis. Respiratory ailments, including bronchitis, influenza, tuberculosis, pneumonia, and whooping cough, are also major causes of morbidity, followed, in order, by

gastroenteritis and colitis, malaria, measles, beriberi, and dysentery. Malaria is still a serious health problem, despite a nationwide eradication program initiated in 1953 which has reduced the incidence of the disease. Similarly, cholera has long been subject to increasingly effective epidemic control, but it still strikes a substantial segment of the population, particularly in areas not readily accessible to medical treatment. Vaccination, moreover, is considered to be only 50% effective as a preventative. Schistosomiasis is endemic in the eastern Visayan Islands, and filariasis is prevalent in the Bicol Peninsula and on Masbate Island. Although no statistics are available on mental disorders, their incidence in Manila is believed to be higher than in most large Western cities.

Infant deaths account for about one-fourth of all fatalities, the infant mortality rate in 1970 amounting to an estimated 67 deaths of children under age 1 per 1,000 live births. The leading causes of death among infants were pneumonia and bronchitis (63%), gastroenteritis and colitis (19%), and beriberi (16%). According to one authority, however, the number of children who would not have contracted an infectious disease had they been well nourished suggests that malnutrition is actually the greatest factor in infant mortality. It is estimated that 85% of all school-age children are afflicted with intestinal parasites.

Superficially, both the personnel and the facilities for medical care appear adequate to serve the needs of the population. In 1970, for example, 37,731 physicians were practicing in the Philippines, or a ratio of about 1 to 1,200 of the population. Their distribution, however, was extremely uneven, most physicians being concentrated in the major cities and towns. In Manila, for instance, the ratio was 1 to 250-500, compared with about 1 to 5,000 in rural areas. Except for missionaries, almost the only physicians in the more remote regions are public health doctors recruited by the Department of Health, a category numbering perhaps 4% of all doctors in the country in the mid-1960's. Private physicians, although practicing primarily in the cities and towns, may work part time for government hospitals, public schools, or municipal services. Other medical and paramedical personnel in 1970 included the following:

Dentists	12,082
Pharmacists	18,909
Nurses	36,162
Midwives	15,492

As with physicians, there is a shortage of qualified nurses and midwives in rural areas.

Although the quality of medical education in the Philippines is superior to that in most other Southeast

Asian countries, it is substandard compared with educational opportunities in Western nations. Facilities for postgraduate study in medicine and nursing are particularly inadequate. Consequently, many graduates in these fields seek such training abroad, primarily in the United States, where advanced study has been furthered by the exchange of persons program and by a provision of the U.S. immigration law of 1965 granting preference to professional immigrants with "exceptional ability in the sciences or arts." According to a recent survey, many Filipino youths choose medicine as a career because it offers the opportunity for education and employment in the United States. Most, in fact, remain abroad after completing their studies. Nursing students follow a similar pattern. In 1970, for example, about 10,000 Filipino nurses were residing in the United States, compared with the 36,162 serving in the Philippines.

In rural areas, particularly in more remote regions, many inhabitants continue to rely on traditional medicine, which dates back to the pre-Hispanic period. It is still widely believed that illness and death are caused by incurring the displeasure of ancestral spirits or other deities who, in the case of illness, must be propitiated before recovery can occur. For this purpose a local healer, or *sirikano*, is engaged to communicate with the spirits through incantations and animal sacrifices and to offer herbal remedies. In many cases a physician is called in only after the healer has given up hope. Indeed, nearly half of all deaths in the nation are not attended by medical personnel.

In recent years, medical facilities have increased markedly, although most hospitals are located in urban centers. From 1960 to 1970 the number of hospitals more than doubled, rising from 351 to 737; hospital beds increased from 23,352 to 54,589, the bed-to-population ratio rising concomitantly from 8 per 10,000 to almost 15 per 10,000. Of the 737 hospitals, 494 were private institutions, including those operated by Catholic orders and universities, and 243 were run by the Department of Health and other government agencies. General hospitals numbered 607 (385 private) and special hospitals 122 (109 private), and there were eight leprosariums administered by the Department of Health. Special hospitals included facilities for orthopedics, obstetrics, pediatrics, tuberculosis, communicable diseases, and mental health.

By Western standards, most government hospitals are overcrowded, understaffed, poorly equipped, and unsanitary. Some private and university hospitals,

however, particularly those in Manila, are competently staffed, well equipped, and offer a full range of services. Laboratories and facilities for medical research in general, moreover, are well developed for a Southeast Asian country.

In rural areas, health services are provided largely by Rural Health Units, which numbered 1,434 in 1970. Initiated in 1954, these units maintain health centers in the *poblaciones* as well as in some of the *barrios* (Figure 11). Although each unit is supposed to be staffed by a physician, a nurse, a midwife, and a sanitary inspector to supervise environmental sanitation, some lack a full staff and are no more than dispensaries serving ambulatory patients. A number of units participate in such programs as tuberculosis control and maternal and child health care. In 1970 there were also 292 rural dental health units serving 1,379 municipalities.

A large proportion of medical care is free of charge, including the services extended by the Rural Health Units. In FY70 (ends 30 June of stated year), moreover, 90% of all beds in government hospitals and 10% of those in private facilities were also free, thus providing a ratio of approximately 7 free beds per 10,000 of the population.

Budgetary problems have impeded the optimum development of health services. During FY72, for example, the annual expenditure on public health and medical care amounted to slightly less than 5% of the total budget. The Department of Health, moreover, has tended to allocate its scarce resources to less significant aspects of the health program. Allotments for dental services and leprosariums, for instance, have been excessive in proportion to the limited scope of

dental problems and the fairly low incidence of leprosy. Furthermore, instead of improving existing hospitals and increasing the occupancy of beds through adequate staffing, the government has often preferred to build new and frequently unnecessary facilities simply to make an impression on the electorate. In 1969, for example, of those hospitals administered by the Department of Health, 120 were inoperative "ghost hospitals" awaiting funds for staffing.

In general, morbidity rates for many diseases have been rising in recent years, while mortality rates have been declining. This trend indicates, in part, the failure of environmental sanitation to improve in the face of rapid population growth while progress in epidemic control and the increased availability of medical services have reduced mortality rates. Indeed, most of the population, particularly rural Filipinos and urban slum dwellers, show little concern for modern sanitation and are unaware of the need for personal hygiene.

The Philippines are richly endowed with water resources. There are many fine rivers, a largely untapped supply of ground water, and abundant rainfall at certain times of the year. Nevertheless, water pollution is a major health problem despite the existence of piped systems in most cities. Sources of drinking water in 1968 are shown in the following tabulation (in percent of total households):

	URBAN	RURAL
Waterworks	56.2	8.6
Wells	40.8	68.1
Cisterns	1.5	1.2
Springs	0.8	16.1
Other	0.7	6.0
Total	100.0	100.0

As of FY70, about 16.9 million people, or roughly 46% of the population, benefited from an adequate supply of potable water. Of this number, 3 million, or about 8%, were being served by the Manila and Suburbs Waterwork System, the country's most extensive plant with modern chemical treatment facilities. Outside the Greater Manila area some 7.5 million people, inhabiting 51 cities, 613 municipalities, and 1,290 *barrios*, were being served by 1,349 other waterwork systems. However, six cities, 800 municipalities, and 1,000 *barrios* were still in need of a piped water system. Residents of these communities obtain water not only from such relatively sanitary sources as artesian wells and springs, but also from polluted rivers and streams in which they also bathe and wash their dishes. Even piped water systems are subject to



FIGURE 11. Rural Health Unit facility, Tabuk, in northern Luzon. This modern center provides basic health services for the surrounding areas. (C)

considerable contamination. In the Tondo area of Manila, for example, water frequently becomes contaminated from leaking pipes. Under the Four Year Development Plan 1972-75, the government expects to provide potable water to an additional 3 million people through the development of piped systems, artesian wells, and springs. The Manila system is also slated for improvement.

Waste disposal methods are likewise a potential health hazard in both urban and rural areas. In 1968, one-third of all households lacked toilet facilities of any kind, while many other dwellings were equipped with rudimentary facilities, as indicated by the following percentage distribution:

	URBAN	RURAL	ALL AREAS
Private toilet	48.1	7.9	20.0
Public toilet	3.8	0.8	1.7
Pit latrine	30.8	50.5	44.5
Other	1.3	0.1	0.6
None	16.0	40.7	33.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Amalgams of modern and primitive waste disposal methods are common to all the larger cities, while in the countryside indiscriminate defecation is almost as prevalent as the use of pit latrines. Although metropolitan Manila has the most extensive sewerage system in the country, it is nonetheless obsolete and inadequate. Only 46% of the city's 1.3 million inhabitants are served by the system, which has no treatment facilities, and the situation is much the same in suburban areas. Consequently, raw sewage is

discharged into Manila Bay not far from existing port facilities, fishing areas, and beaches. The Four Year Plan provides for improvement of the Manila sewerage system, but projects for other areas are not envisaged.

Garbage is collected in Manila and other cities, but not in all sections nor with the same frequency. Rural migrants, unfamiliar with urban living, throw their garbage and other trash into the streets (Figure 12). In the barrios, garbage collection is virtually nonexistent, solid waste often being dumped into the rivers or the sea. In addition, industrial wastes are rapidly becoming a problem. As no provision is made for collecting these wastes, companies are forced to locate their plants near rivers and creeks or other bodies of water. In the Manila area, industrial wastes are discharged into Manila Bay along with raw sewage. Air pollution from automobiles and factories is also increasing.

In general, government efforts to educate the population with respect to sanitary food handling practices have made slow progress. Regulations are not strictly enforced. Although cold storage facilities are fairly adequate in Manila, few are maintained outside the metropolitan area. In most rural communities, food sanitation and refrigeration in the Western sense are almost unknown. Indeed, markets everywhere display fish, meat, fruit, and vegetables on open counters where they are exposed to flies and dust (Figure 13). Modern slaughterhouses are available in some urban areas but are inadequate to meet existing needs.



FIGURE 12. Typical street in the Tondo waterfront slum area of Manila. Garbage and trash are thrown into the street. (C)



FIGURE 13. Fish stall in the city market, Bacolod. Fish are displayed on open counters where they are exposed to tropical heat, flies, other insects, and dust. (U/OU)

2. Diet and nutrition (U/OU)

Despite a modest advance, food production has not kept pace with population growth. Efforts to achieve self-sufficiency in foodstuffs have centered on increasing the production of rice, the basic staple of the diet, through the cultivation of high-yield varieties, expanded irrigation, and greater use of chemical fertilizers. These measures were effective in 1968 and 1969, but deficits have occurred since 1970, largely because of typhoons, floods, and infestation from the tungro virus which attacks rice plants.

Although no one starves, malnutrition is chronic and widespread, the average diet being high in carbohydrates but low in proteins, vitamins, and minerals. Marked deficiencies, varying according to locality, occur in animal protein, vitamins A, B, and C, riboflavin, and iron. In most villages, for example, highly polished white rice, which loses almost all of its vitamin B during processing and subsequent washing, is used exclusively, while the more nutritious brown rice is regarded as inferior food. The lack of vitamin B, particularly B1, is directly responsible for the prevalence of beriberi, a major cause of death. Pellagra, another disease related to poor nutrition, is also common.

The basic diet consists of rice or corn, fish, and vegetables, supplemented by fruits. The typical diet, however, is high in starch; in addition to such staples as rice and corn, sweet potatoes, cassava, and taro are widely consumed. Other common vegetables include eggplant, squash, carrots, peas, and beans, while the principal fruits are coconuts, bananas, pineapples, papayas, mangoes, and melons. Meat consumption is

low. Fish is consumed more regularly than meat in most areas because it is less expensive and more readily available. Similarly, carabao (water buffalo) and pork are preferred to beef. The Moros, however, observe the Islamic injunction against pork. Sugar is mainly consumed in the form of soft drinks, which are popular and available throughout the islands, even in remote regions. Other locally produced beverages include coffee and alcoholic drinks made from coconut juice and sugarcane.

In 1970, according to government statistics, the daily per capita consumption of calories reached 2,097, a figure lower than the 2,400 calories recommended by the Food and Agriculture Organization but significantly higher than the 1,721 calories recorded in 1953. Grains accounted for almost two-thirds of total caloric intake, rice providing about 45% and corn 15% (Figure 14). Foods high in carbohydrates comprised substantially more than three-fourths of total calories consumed, while protein intake—about one-third derived from animals—represented only one-tenth. The diets of the upper and middle classes, particularly in urban areas, are much more nutritious than those of the lower class. In metropolitan Manila, for example, a wide variety of foods, including imported commodities, is readily available in modern supermarkets to those who can afford them (Figure 15).

In its efforts to raise nutritional standards, the government has received advice and assistance from U.N. agencies, AID, and a number of U.S. voluntary organizations. In 1969, for example, the Department of Health, with support from AID, initiated a comprehensive national program to improve the nutrition of preschool children, as well as pregnant and lactating mothers. Instruction in the nutrient value of foods is provided in demonstration centers operated by local health units.

3. Housing (U/OU)

Housing conditions sharply define the ever widening gulf between the small wealthy upper class and the impoverished majority. The average dwelling is a primitive structure, frequently overcrowded and devoid of modern sanitation and other amenities. Although local materials for the construction of huts in rural areas are readily available, there is an acute shortage of housing in the cities where home construction lags far behind population growth, the shortfall being aggravated by continuing rural to urban migration. In 1970 the housing shortage in the country as a whole was placed at 2.8 million units, a figure projected to increase to 4.7 million by 1980, or a

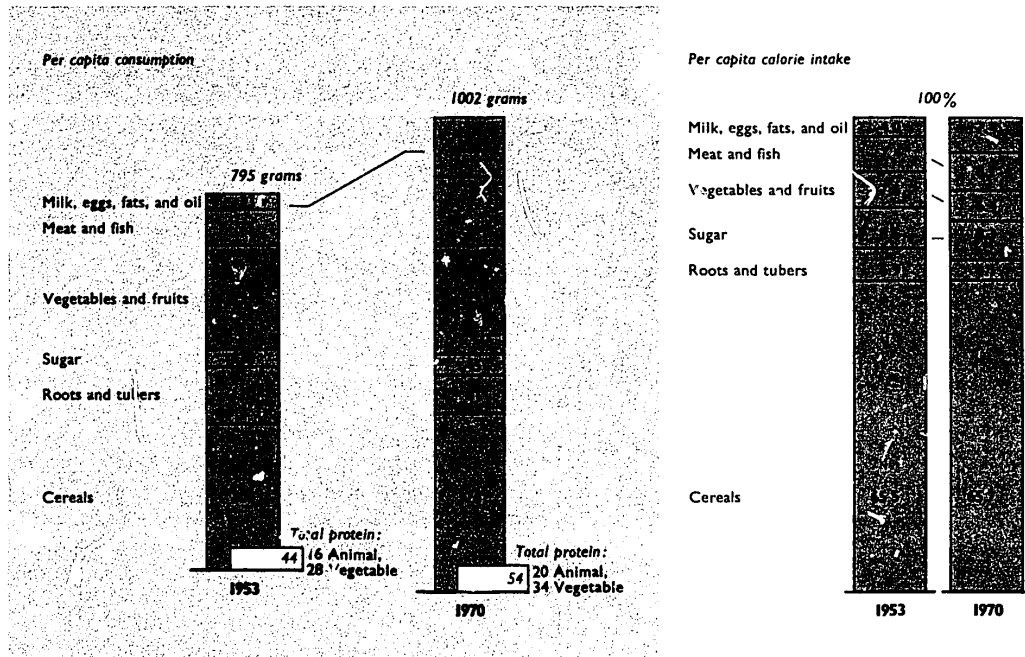


FIGURE 14. Trends in daily food consumption (U/OU)

need for 470,000 new homes per year. According to 1970 census projections, which are somewhat lower, almost half of the 1980 population will be poorly housed if present trends continue.

In 1968 only 2.6% of GNP was allocated to housing, as contrasted with 5% or more in the United States and certain European countries. Of the private housing built in 1972, moreover, 85% were expensive units designed for 12% of the population, comprising families in the upper income bracket. Although an additional 23% of the population could probably afford housing on government-owned land financed by government-supported loans, the remaining 65% would require units completely subsidized with public funds.

Despite the obvious need, the government has done little to promote home construction except for resettlement projects for migrants on Mindanao, housing programs for government employees and other social insurance policyholders, and the provision of loans for the purchase of houses by middle income groups. According to a 1971 AID study, the urban housing shortage can only be alleviated by increasing the amount of GNP devoted to housing and redirecting allocations from high-cost to low-cost



FIGURE 15. Modern supermarket in Manila (U/OU)

units. Thus far, however, Congress has failed to appropriate funds for a significant low-cost program. Only 1.8% of the 117,540 families expected to benefit from the housing program of the Four Year Plan are squatter families, the most severely disadvantaged group in the nation.

The squatter and other slum areas in Philippine cities are probably the worst appearing in Southeast Asia. In 1971 in the Manila area alone, more than 183,000 families, or 1.1 million persons, were living in overcrowded squatter or slum colonies, their number increasing at the rate of 12% per year. Shacks made from scrap material have been constructed in every available space—under bridges, along river banks, on vacant lots, and even on the breakwaters of Manila Bay. Conditions reach their nadir in the appalling Tondo waterfront area, notorious for years as a breeding ground for disease and crime. Within its limits, squatters live in thousands of flimsy shacks crowded on stilts above low-lying land which becomes a vast, stagnant, filthy mire during the rainy season. Other Tondo families live a cramped existence in shared quarters, sometimes several families to a room; in dry areas some even live under the houses on bare earth with only 4 feet of headroom. Other cities have similar problem areas on a smaller scale, such as Tacloban on Leyte Island (Figure 16) and Cebu.

Well over half of 1.1 million urban buildings enumerated by the 1970 census are constructed of durable materials, such as sundried brick, stone, concrete, or galvanized iron. Upper class Filipinos live in traditional Spanish-style homes of brick or cement with walled courtyards or in modern ranch-style houses (Figure 17) and luxurious high-rise apartments in fashionable suburbs. Real estate developers of upper class housing projects employ most of the promotional and luxury construction techniques used in the United States, including the provision of clubhouses and swimming pools. The urban middle class usually reside in old-fashioned wooden houses built on stilts with roofs of tile or galvanized iron or in modern two-story home constructed in the Spanish style of brick and cement with tile roofs (Figure 18).

According to the 1970 census, about half of rural houses (Figure 19) are built of nondurable or light materials, one-quarter of "strong" materials, and one-quarter of mixed. Most rural huts have walls of nipa palm, cogon grass, or split bamboo, nipa or cogon roofs, and bamboo floors. Except for the homes of the fairly well-to-do, these huts are one- or two-room dwellings, almost all anchored on stilts 5 to 8 feet off the ground. Livestock are usually kept beneath the house, a practice contributing to the high incidence of

diseases transmitted by flies and other vectors. Most Muslims in the Sulu Archipelago and in certain provinces in Mindanao dwell in houses built on stilts over water. The huts of the Igorots in the mountainous region of northern Luzon have steeply pitched roofs and are often windowless to keep out the cold night air. In keeping with extended family mores, close relatives in all areas live near one another, often on the same lot.

In addition to the inadequate water and sanitation facilities characteristic of lower class dwellings in both urban and rural areas, only about 6% of rural houses had electricity in 1968, as compared with 63% of urban households and virtually all permanent dwellings in Manila. In 1971, with assistance from AID and the IBRD, the government initiated a program to establish electric service cooperatives in rural areas.

4. Work opportunities and conditions

a. *The people and work (U/OU)*

Notwithstanding rapid urban growth and progress in industrialization, agriculture and kindred activities still employ the single largest bloc of workers. Despite having declined by more than 10 percentage points since 1960, the size of the agricultural work force (including hunters, fishermen, and those employed in the lumber industry) stood at about one-half of all workers in the early 1970's. The prevalence of antiquated methods of cultivation, combined with the enervating climate and the threats posed by health hazards and natural calamities, renders conditions in the agricultural sector among the worst in the nation. Moreover, programs to modernize agriculture, redistribute land, and otherwise reform the archaic pattern of land tenure as yet have not been sufficiently effective to ameliorate the living and working conditions of rural inhabitants, be they tenant farmers cultivating small plots of land in the "rice basket" of central Luzon or laborers on the great sugar plantations of the Visayan Islands. Migration to the cities or to certain underpopulated islands in the south thus far has constituted the main outlet from the hardships of rural life.

Compounding the difficulty of absorbing some 400,000 new entrants to the labor force annually, the rural-to-urban migration has contributed significantly to an intense competition for jobs and to the prevalence of high unemployment, both of which are particularly noticeable among slum dwellers. During the years 1970-72, estimates of unemployment generally fell between 7.5% and 8.6%, with somewhat

FIGURE 16. Littered slum area, Tacloban. Two-story wooden houses on stilts are crowded together along the polluted creek. (C)



FIGURE 17. Upper class housing, Manila (U/OU)



A house in the Spanish style, common before World War II. Located on Taft Avenue, it is built of brick and cement with glass windows, tile roof, and wrought-iron grillwork.



Ranch-style dwelling popular in the post-war period. Situated in the wealthy Forbes Park residential section, it is air-conditioned, and the yard is landscaped with native plants in the American manner.



Old-fashioned house, Pasay. The wooden structure is built on stilts and has a tiled roof.



A typical upper middle class residence. Spanish in style, modern in comfort, it is a type preferred by many residents in large urban centers.

FIGURE 18. Middle class housing (U/OU)

over one-half of the unemployed being first job seekers, mainly youngsters. The highest rates occurred in the Greater Manila area. Among experienced nonagricultural workers, those in mining, quarrying, construction, and household service experienced the highest rates of joblessness. Men outnumbered women by roughly two to one among the unemployed.

Even though the migration of farmers and plantation laborers to the cities has no doubt relieved some of the pressure of job competition in rural areas, unemployment remains high in the more densely populated rural districts. In Tarlac Province, for example, which is situated in the rice basket region, the rate of joblessness stood at 7.2% in 1970. Nonetheless, in rural areas underemployment is a far more pervasive problem than unemployment. In the

labor force at large, about one-fourth of all persons worked less than 40 hours per week in early 1971. This compares with nearly one-third of all individuals (mostly tenant farmers and small landholders) in the agricultural sector.

The rate of joblessness among graduates of secondary and postsecondary educational institutions has been chronically high for many years, caused by an oversupply of persons trained in the liberal arts and in certain "prestige professions," such as law. The problem is related to the importance that Filipinos attach to nonmanual, white collar occupations. Discontent among well-educated, jobless persons appears to be a source of some political unrest. There has also been a flight from the archipelago of highly trained personnel, notably in the medical fields, who are dissatisfied with employment conditions in the Philippines. The supply of technically skilled manual workers also is insufficient, particularly in activities relating to printing, equipment maintenance and repair, mining and quarrying, and metalworking. The scarcities, however, are not related solely to imbalances in the educational system, as many skilled personnel have emigrated, mainly to the United States, Canada, and Malaysia, and to a lesser extent, to countries in East Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Reflecting the magnitude of the "brain and muscle drain," some 178,000 Filipinos, including numerous professionals and technicians, worked abroad in 1969. In 1973, concern over the exodus of physicians and nurses prompted officials of the Department of Labor to undertake a study of measures to curtail the emigration.

Losses in skilled and needed workers appear to derive, at least in part, from serious deficiencies in manpower planning and placement. Incongruously, the Manila bureau of the Office of Manpower Services, charged with administering labor exchanges since its establishment in 1952, has been more adept in referring Filipinos to jobs overseas than in placing them locally. The office's effectiveness is severely limited, as it possesses only six regional branches outside the capital. Private employment agencies also operate, mainly in Manila, but most employers recruit and hire directly. Generally, preference in hiring is accorded to family members, friends, and people from the same locality as the employer, with little consideration for the qualifications of such candidates. Under the ruse of attempting to place workers in overseas jobs, some of the private agencies have bilked numerous workers who wished to emigrate.

The departure of trained workers, especially those possessing technical skills, also has been prompted by



Typical peasant house along the coast of Negros Island. The dwelling has nipa walls and a thatched roof. (C)

FIGURE 1C. Representative types of rural housing

Thatched hut on Mindanao, constructed of bamboo and nipa. A tethered carabao and several hogs are kept under the house, a common practice throughout the islands. (U/OU)



Characteristic Muslim houses in Jolo, Sulu Archipelago. Entire Muslim communities live in dwellings built on stilts over harbor waters. (C)



Igorot tribal village in a mountainous region of northern Luzon. Rice terraces can be seen in the background. (U/OU)

the inadequacy of earnings in the local job markets. Dissatisfaction with prevailing wages, salaries, and fringe benefits, particularly in view of the erosion in purchasing power because of mounting prices for consumer goods and services, had been widespread prior to the imposition of martial law. Whatever the reason, the losses in manpower have been serious, for the high levels of literacy and educational attainment that prevail among Filipinos constitute important national assets. In fact, the awareness of business opportunities and willingness to assume risks for profit is widespread among the population, and material advancement ranks high in the system of personal and social values. Likewise, some of the minority groups have played a significant role in developing the economy. The Chinese continue to predominate in commerce and manufacturing and enjoy a high economic standing, although many Chinese enterprises have operated through "front" organizations established to circumvent legislation designed to "Filipinize" the economy. U.S. nationals are influential in manufacturing, external trade, public utilities, and mining. Spaniards are prominent in manufacturing and trade and have supplied some of the nation's entrepreneurial initiative. Because of their small numbers and general primitiveness, the tribespeople have been rather insignificant in the overall pattern of economic activity.

Other than the predilection for white collar jobs, few inhibitions exist concerning the acceptance of employment. Also, whatever barriers may exist to the enjoyment of equal opportunities for employment by members of the various ethnic groups are weak. Parity in employment among persons of both sexes, however, is almost nonexistent, despite legislative prohibitions against discrimination on account of sex. Briefly stated, although men outnumber women by almost two to one in the labor force, women are more numerous than men in the more menial sales and service occupations. In addition, while the principle of equal pay for persons of both sexes is a statutory requirement, women earn substantially less than men who perform comparable tasks, except in the government service, where the law is observed. Thus, women virtually monopolize the lowest paying jobs, notably in the food, tobacco (Figure 20), paper, textile, clothing, and pharmaceutical industries. Because of the existence of legislation forbidding nightwork and requiring employers to offer maternity benefits, another form of discrimination involves the reluctance of employers to hire women. In a seeming paradox, however, women frequently serve as

managers of family enterprises, and many hold top-ranking technical and professional positions in both private and public sectors.

In addition to disregarding legal protections for women workers, employers abuse those pertaining to the employment of children. Children under age 12 cannot legally be employed, except in family establishments and only after school hours; those ages 12-15 can be hired for light, nonhazardous work. Parental consent technically is required for hiring youths under age 18. Advance results of the 1970 census reveal that sizable numbers of youngsters in the 10-14 age group are economically active, most serving as unpaid family workers.

b. Labor law and practice (U/OU)

Conforming in many respects to international conventions regarding conditions of work and workers' rights as well as incorporating certain provisions of U.S. law in such matters, the existing labor legislation in the Philippines is comprehensive and progressive. Its practical application, however, is far from uniform. As the result of a substantial degree of compliance with the existing statutes, the best working conditions prevail in large urban Philippine firms and in establishments controlled by foreign interests. In the more progressive firms, and where collective bargaining contracts exist, expanded fringe benefits also are more evident. The manufacturing and petroleum industries usually pay the most generous overtime premiums; shift differentials are also common in the sugar, textile, rubber, petroleum, and mining industries. Paid holidays, sick leave, and other benefits increasingly are being adopted.

By contrast, abuses of the labor statutes are prevalent in agricultural employment and abound in cottage industry and in other small enterprises, which outnumber the larger firms in most spheres of economic activity. Noncompliance with prescribed standards is said to be particularly evident in establishments operated by members of the Chinese community. Violations of the law are not confined to the smaller establishments, however, as some plantation owners, including members of the oligarchy, have been adept at avoiding compliance with the minimum wage law and have otherwise exploited their laborers. Throughout the archipelago, the more blatant violations involve child labor, unsanitary and hazardous workplaces, cramped quarters, poor lighting and ventilation, excessively long workdays, and disregard of the minimum wage law. Additionally, many of the techniques and

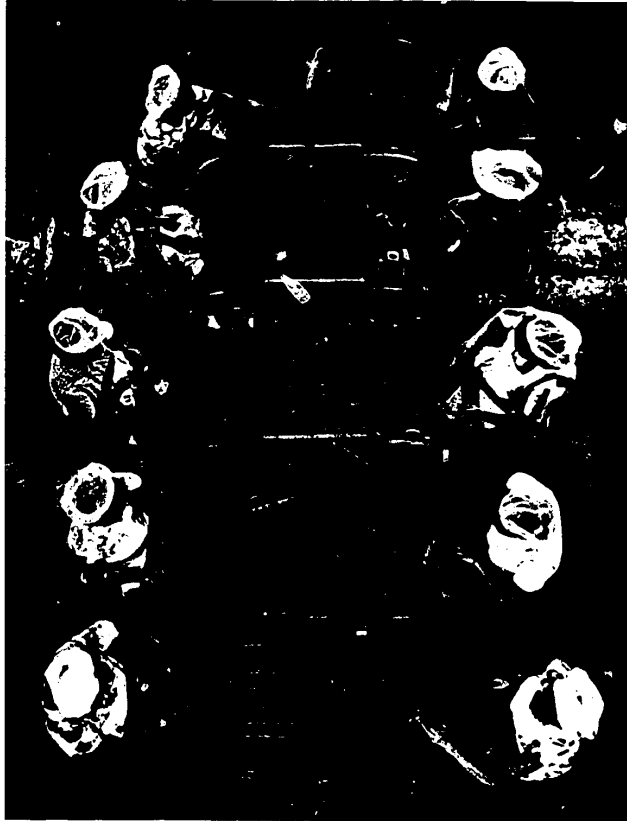


FIGURE 20. Women rolling cigars. While the panatelas rolled in this Manila plant command premium prices throughout the world, crude working conditions and meager wages prevail in the industry. (U/OU)

implements used in farming and in the small workshops are archaic.

Irrespective of the type of employment and location of the workplace, conditions of work generally are better among unionized than nonunionized workers, as trade union leaders have tended to press for enforcement of the labor statutes in the face of resistance by employers, many of whom are organized into economically powerful groups. The notable exception is found on some plantations; so as to stifle the formation of legitimate trade unionism, plantation operators have been known to establish company unions, many of which function as captive instruments and do little in the way of championing workers' rights. Enforcement of the laws, however, also has been hampered by shortages of funds and of adequately trained personnel within the Department

of Labor, which is responsible for supervising the compliance. The application of the laws also is curtailed by the existence of a substantial number of corrupt officials within the department; in return for personal favors or bribes, such individuals have been known to overlook violations or have neglected to carry out proper investigations following complaints. Additionally, many workers are ignorant of the legal protections that are at hand, while among the more knowledgeable workers, some are reluctant to complain of abuses for fear of being dismissed.

Substantive legislation in labor affairs dates from 1936, when a law requiring the compulsory arbitration of labor disputes was enacted. Prior to that time, the government had normally refrained from intervention in industrial relations, and labor legislation had been limited to measures governing workmen's compensa-

tion. Reversing its policy of compulsory arbitration while simultaneously attempting to foster the development of free collective bargaining and a viable trade union movement, the government in 1953 passed the Industrial Peace Act, sometimes referred to as the Philippine Magna Carta of Labor. Under terms of the act, employers are prohibited from discouraging or otherwise restraining workers' attempts to unionize. The right of organized workers to elect their own officers and to decide on bylaws and policies by secret ballot also is guaranteed. Although unions must register with the Department of Labor, protections exist against arbitrary governmental intervention in union affairs. A 1960 amendment to the act abolished original provisions barring union membership by "subversives" and requiring that all union officers file loyalty declarations.

With the passage of an emergency decree late in 1972 and under the powers vested in the executive branch of government under the martial law in effect at that time, the central government resumed a more active and forceful role in industrial relations. Besides banning strikes and picketing, the government, through a newly created National Labor Relations Commission, reestablished its authority to arbitrate labor disputes which eluded prompt settlement by means of bargaining on a voluntary basis. The commission, composed of the Secretary of Labor and other high-ranking officials of his department, evidently replaced the corrupt Court of Industrial Relations, which, since its formation in 1936, had been the nation's main body for adjudicating labor disputes. In addition to its arbitration functions, the new commission was given "original and exclusive jurisdiction" over all matters pertaining to industrial relations. By enjoining lockouts and the dismissal of workers having at least 1 year of tenure without written authorization from the Secretary of Labor, the government, within the scope of its plan to mold a "New Society," apparently resolved to control firmly the activities of employers and workers alike.

Trade union and management activities and the overall functioning of industrial relations normally are regulated by the Department of Labor in accordance with precepts stipulated in the Industrial Peace Act, but other legislation deals with conditions of work, the employment of women and children, and remuneration. The earliest labor law (1908) required establishments employing more than six persons to compensate workers who incurred job related disabilities or illnesses, except in cases involving worker negligence. Subsequently revised and amended, the workmen's compensation legislation

currently applies to firms having a capital investment totalling over P10,000, or more than six employees engaged in hazardous duties; domestic servants and casual employees are not covered. Under terms of the Land Reform Code, wage earners in agriculture became eligible for workmen's compensation in 1963. In all branches of economic activity the cost of the program is borne entirely by employers, most of whom are required to obtain prescribed amounts of liability coverage from private insurance carriers. The amount of benefits payable under the program varies according to the degree, or length, of disability, the maximum amount being P6,000 for those incurring full, permanent incapacitation; surviving dependents of workers who die as the result of an occupational accident or illness also are eligible for benefits, subject to the same ceiling. Additionally, employers must provide whatever medical services are required by a disabled worker.

A 1954 law prescribes general standards of health, sanitation, and safety in the workplace and requires employers in all types of activities, including state corporations, having more than 30 employees to maintain emergency medical facilities. Other legislation requires that industrial workers and miners be furnished safety equipment and that their places of work be equipped with machinery and tools which meet standards prescribed by the Department of Labor.

Despite legalization of the 8-hour workday and the 6-day workweek in 1939, many workers in private industry, especially those in blue collar occupations, work substantially longer. Likewise, wage laborers in agriculture, who were guaranteed an 8-hour workday and a 5-day workweek under terms of the Land Reform Code, typically work more than 40 hours weekly; many tenant farmers and small landholders, however, work less than 40 hours. During early 1971, more than one-third of all employed persons labored more than 48 hours per week, as indicated by the following percentage distribution:

HOURS WORKED	MALE	FEMALE	BOTH SEXES
9 or less	1.2	2.7	1.6
10-19	3.1	10.1	5.2
20-29	8.0	11.9	9.2
30-39	8.9	11.2	9.6
40	14.4	15.4	14.7
41-48	16.7	16.2	23.5
49 and over	37.7	32.5	36.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Domestic servants, miners, quarriers, construction laborers, and individuals employed in the transportation, storage, and communications industries generally

recorded the longest workweeks. By contrast, government employees work a 40-hour week, a length of time that also is observed by bank and insurance company employees and petroleum workers. Most collective agreements call for the payment of an overtime premium amounting to as much as 60% of regular wages, but the law requires only a 25% increment. In the absence of statutory guidelines concerning paid vacations and sick leave, such benefits often are stipulated in collective agreements or as the result of plans adopted voluntarily by employers.

Minimum wage legislation, enacted in 1951 and revised in 1965 and 1970, applies to workers in all branches of economic activity, in both public and private sectors, excluding tenant farmers, small landowners, and domestic servants; additionally, the operators of cottage industries registered with the Department of Labor may receive exemption from the law. As of 1970, minimum daily wages were as follows: P8.00 for nonagricultural workers and for employees of the central government and state enterprises; P6.00 for retail sales personnel and service workers; P5.00 for the employees of provincial, municipal, and city governments; and P4.75 for agricultural laborers. For the purpose of carrying out a continuing assessment of the adequacy of wages, the 1970 legislation established a Wage Commission; while acting mainly in an advisory capacity to labor and management, the commission is empowered to order wage adjustments in a given industry.

Since its enactment more than two decades ago, the minimum wage legislation has been poorly enforced except within the larger, more modern industrial and commercial enterprises, where wages higher than the stipulated minimums generally prevail. In the smaller establishments, as well as in the agricultural firms, observance of the law often has depended on whether or not the workers are organized and on the effectiveness of their leaders in collective bargaining. The practice of requiring workers to sign receipts for wages higher than those actually received has been a major obstacle to enforcement of the statute. Although known as the "Chinese practice," the manipulation of payroll records so as to conceal the payment of illegally low wages also has been practiced by Filipino employers. In attempts to curb this abuse, the 1970 minimum wage law guaranteed the admissibility of oral evidence concerning charges of failure to abide by the prescribed rates. The statute also requires that the value of bonuses, fringe benefits, or payments in kind cannot be deducted from wages, a once customary practice. Another law stipulates that severance pay

must amount to 2 weeks' earnings for each year of service. Additionally, the payment of a Christmas bonus, the amount of which varies from 2 to 4 weeks' earnings, is widespread.

Employment in government agencies, whether at the national, provincial, municipal, or city levels, is regulated by constitutional provisions and by the Civil Service Act of 1959. There are two types of civil service appointments, competitive and noncompetitive. Those of the former type ostensibly are based on merit, and candidates must submit to a competitive examination. Individuals occupying competitive jobs are legally required to refrain from political activism and are protected from dismissal for political reasons. Although there has been some attempt over the years to enforce the system of merit appointments, family and community connections, political considerations, and bribery often have been brought to bear in the selection of appointees. Noncompetitive appointments go to individuals occupying "policymaking, highly technical, or confidential" positions. In 1970, 84% of all government workers (mostly schoolteachers) held competitive appointments, the remaining 16% having been noncompetitive jobholders.

c. Labor and management (C)

From the standpoints of organizational strength and the effectiveness, labor and management groups in the Philippines are more highly developed than their counterparts elsewhere in Southeast Asia. Because of this, collective bargaining is a fairly well entrenched institution throughout the archipelago. During the period 1961-71, 2,726 labor agreements were formulated as the result of such negotiations. While most of the agreements involved manufacturing establishments in the major urban centers, some involved the sugar and lumber industries and mining operations. Similarly, because of the viability and freedom of action enjoyed by both labor and management camps, industrial disputes, oftentimes attended by strikes, picketing, demonstrations, and lockouts, were numerous prior to the government's imposition of a ban on such activities late in 1972. Before that time the number of strikes carried out each year usually ranged between 100 and 150, and the number of man-days lost between 600,000 and 800,000. In the immediate pre-1972 period, radical student and youth groups, in solidarity with leftist trade unionists, often joined in the labor disturbances. Although some strikes assumed political overtones, most stoppages involved seemingly legitimate grievances, mostly dealing with wages and fringe benefits. Because few unions possessed adequate strike

benefit funds, however, most strikes were of short duration, except when the striking workers felt exceptionally strongly about the issues concerned.

Heralding the start of two decades of free trade unionism, the enactment of the Industrial Peace Act was followed by a rapid growth in labor organizations. Prior to that time, few labor unions functioned, partly because of limited industrial development and the absence of protection for workers wishing to organize. Thus, while many small trade unions were formed in the 1930's, mostly at the initiative of lawyers who specialized in handling cases before the Court of Industrial Relations, the organizations remained feeble and unstable. Although unification continued to elude the labor movement after passage of the act, the domination of unions by lawyers increasingly came to be challenged by leaders of working class origins, some of them recipients of U.S.-supported training in trade unionism, who perceived the advantages of endeavoring to solve industrial disputes through collective bargaining rather than relying on the cumbersome and costly judicial processes.

Numerous unions remain unaffiliated, often operating solely within a single workplace. The most important ones, however, are organized on an industry-wide basis and combined into regional federations which are, in turn, confederated at the national level, thereby obtaining greater strength in negotiations with management and, more generally, in influencing the formulation of governmental policy in socioeconomic spheres. The regional and national entities accept affiliates without regard to industry or trade. According to a Department of Labor estimate, somewhat fewer than one-tenth of all workers were unionized in the early 1970's, the proportion of those so organized having been higher in the nonagricultural sector, where approximately one-fourth of all workers were members, than in the agricultural one. As of May 1972, a total of 2,794 active labor unions were registered with the department. By comparison, only 719 unions, having a cumulative membership of 143,000 workers, existed in 1952.

Since the dissolution in 1951 of the Communist-dominated Congress of Labor Organizations, periodic but futile attempts have been made to combine all labor groups in a single, nationwide organization, much of the initiative for unification having emanated from leftist labor leaders. The failure to attain unity has stemmed mainly from the reluctance of many leaders, at both local and higher levels, to relinquish some measure of control over their respective groups, an attitude fueled by internal jealousies and, in some instances, by venal leadership.

Consequently, the jurisdictional competition among unions has been keen, and members frequently have shifted from one organization to another, as have union locals. Three principal confederations of labor, claiming an aggregate membership of 1.4 million workers and embracing 191 constituent groups, were extant in 1971. Additionally, 24 lesser groups operated either at the regional or national level.

The nation's largest confederation is the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines (TUCP), which was formed in 1970 by the merger of two important confederations. After its first year in operation, and following the secession of a large bloc of federations, the TUCP claimed a membership of 600,000; its 18 principal constituent groups represented stevedores and workers in the petroleum, construction, lumber, steel, metalworking, and electronics industries. In a move that was precipitated by the failure of a nationwide general strike to obtain a revision of the minimum wage law, the breakaway federations, whose main constituent unions were in the Visayan Islands and Mindanao, formed the Philippine Congress of Trade Unions (PHILCONTU) in 1971. At that time, the new union claimed 500,000 members, and its 12 affiliated federations comprised workers in the sugar, lumber, and public entertainment industries, railway personnel, and government social security employees. The third major organization, the Federation of Free Workers (FFW), claimed a membership of 300,000 workers. Most of its 161 affiliate groups were concentrated in the Greater Manila area and comprised bank and insurance firm employees and workers in the lumber processing and public entertainment fields. Founded in 1950 under the guidance of a U.S. Jesuit priest, the FFW gained attention by combating collusion between employers and corrupt labor leaders. Among the lesser groups, the National Association of Trade Unions (NATU) has the distinction of being the oldest confederation; founded in 1934, it is the strongest organization under leftist leadership and represents bank, insurance, and other white collar employees. Another leftist-oriented entity, the National Federation of Labor Unions (NAFLU), represents chiefly plantation laborers, ceramics workers, and tile makers.

Besides the NAFLU, at least eight other unions or federations, some of which permitted affiliation of industrial workers, represented agricultural workers in 1971. The most important organization exclusively representing farm workers is the Catholic-influenced Federation of Free Farmers (FFF), which in 1971 claimed a membership of 70,000, including both plantation laborers and tenant farmers. Other

important organizations representing plantation workers include the Associated Labor Union, based in Cebu; the Congress of Independent Organizations, in Bacolod; the National Union of Plantation, Agricultural, and Allied Workers of the Philippines, in San Fernando; and the National Congress of Unions in the Sugar Industry of the Philippines.

Most of the leading labor organizations are affiliated with at least one external labor entity, and most contemporary labor leaders have had some contact with the U.S. labor movement. The TUCP, for example, is an affiliate of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), and the FFW is linked to the World Confederation of Labor (WCL). NATU and NAFLU representatives participate in conferences sponsored by the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU); to an increasing degree, however, such meetings have been attended by ideologically moderate trade unionists as well. In addition to training provided through the U.S.-supported Asian Labor Education Center (ALEC), U.S. assistance aimed at developing the nation's trade union movement has also been channeled through the Asian-American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI). Financed principally by AID in conjunction with the AFL-CIO, the AAFLI has furnished a variety of technical assistance and training, often drawing on the expertise of U.S. trade unionists; associates of the TUCP, PHILCONTU, and FFF have participated in the organization's programs.

In union shops, management and union personnel alike generally share in the exercise of authority over workers. On matters pertaining to the terms of collective agreements, shop stewards act as intermediaries between the workers and management. While many workers still pay dues directly to their unions, the checkoff system of collecting the assessments increasingly is being adopted, especially in the large firms and usually in accordance with contract terms. In firms not having the enforced collection of dues, nonpaying union members frequently outnumber paying ones.

Despite inroads made by the labor movement and by modern, stock-issuing enterprises since World War II, business and industry remain largely proprietary. Among establishments employing five or more workers, only a small proportion are corporations, and small-scale industry still accounts for about two-thirds of all employment in the manufacturing sector. In the traditional entrepreneurial structure, administrators are drawn mainly from within the family, where technical skills and managerial practices have been

handed down for generations. Nonetheless, a variety of formal management training programs exist in the country, sponsored by government agencies and by private firms, both foreign and domestic. Collectively, and regardless of whether they be associated with traditional or modern firms, Philippine managers generally are well educated, many having received advanced training locally or at institutions of higher learning in the United States or Europe.

Whether Philippine or foreign, many employers and managers are grouped into a number of special and general interest organizations, some of which have enjoyed considerable influence in economic and political affairs, frequently by exerting pressure to determine the outcome of congressional legislation and executive decisions. Among the specialized entities, the Textile Mills Association of the Philippines, the Philippine Automotive Distributors Association, the Philippine Federation of Rice and Corn Planters, the National Federation of Sugar Cane Planters, and a counterpart group representing tobacco growers are the most powerful. Three of the most influential general interest organizations are the Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines, the Philippine Chamber of Industries, and the Council of Employers Organizations. Links at the entrepreneurial and managerial levels exist between Filipinos and individuals in the United States, West Germany, Israel, Switzerland, Italy, the Netherlands, Japan, and member nations of the Colombo Plan. Additionally, a number of technical and professional associations play a significant role in regulating or raising work standards.

Economic conservatism has been the outstanding characteristic of most entrepreneurs and managers throughout the archipelago, a distinction that has been particularly evident among plantation operators and other large landowners. Dedicated to maintaining the socioeconomic and political status quo, these conservative elements generally oppose the government's entry into industrial activities, tending to equate any expansion in governmental functions to a redistribution of wealth. For similar reasons, some among their numbers have attempted to frustrate the land reform program, opposed tax reforms, and prevented organizational and functional changes in local governments. Often monopolizing certain subsectors of economic activity, entrepreneurs have been known to engage in price fixing and to bribe or bestow favors upon public officials in order to insure their privileged status or to secure favorable decisions. Insofar as industrial relations are concerned, many appear to ignore the importance of maintaining

rapport with their employees; motivated by the desire to maximize profits, some employers fail to abide by the legal standards governing conditions of work and otherwise fail to attend to the welfare needs of their workers.

Nonetheless, there is a growing number of individuals within the business community, some of them the offspring of oligarchs, who have taken a genuine interest in economic modernization and in improving the living and working conditions of persons in the lower strata of society. In contrast to the conservative stereotype, the more progressive entrepreneurs, most of them industrialists, have studied and applied contemporary management techniques. Reflecting the emergence of these attitudes, businessmen representing 126 companies in 1970 formed the Philippines Business for Progress, an organization pledged to investing 1% of the member firms' profits in social development projects. Perhaps to dispel their image as exploiters of workers, sugar industrialists have established a fund amounting to about 2% of the industry's gross earnings in order to liberalize employee bonuses and to establish consumer cooperatives and credit unions. In a related matter, sugar company heads in Bacolod have collaborated with Catholic social activists in undertaking to train laborers in trade unionism and the establishment of cooperatives.

5. Social security and welfare (U/OU)

a. Welfare services

Despite changes in family organization, especially in the cities, the extended family still fulfills many welfare functions assumed in Western nations by government or private agencies. Custom still decrees that aged parents be cared for by their children and that the disabled, the handicapped, and the unemployed be supported by family or kin. In rural areas, where the family system is strong, the need for welfare services is not widely recognized, but in the cities the more impersonal pattern of social organization has promoted the growth of both public and private welfare services. Handicapped by limited funds and often by bureaucratic inefficiency, such services remain inadequate to meet the minimum needs of the population.

The principal welfare services of the government are conducted by the Department of Social Welfare, which works closely with the Department of Health and other agencies concerned. Activities of the department, largely in urban areas, include the operation of day care centers for the children of

working mothers; workshops for mentally retarded, emotionally disturbed, and physically handicapped children; training centers for school dropouts and juvenile delinquents; vocational rehabilitation centers for the physically disabled, as well as released prisoners, recovered drug addicts and alcoholics, and negative Hansenites (lepers); and a network of community centers—many located in resettlement communities and low-cost housing projects—which provide advice and assistance to distressed families in social and financial difficulties. Additionally, the department conducts job training and placement services, inservice training of social workers, and research on social problems. Branch offices have been established to serve families in remote barrios where welfare services are sorely needed.

Community development and welfare in rural areas is conducted primarily by the Presidential Arm for Community Development (PACD). Initiated during the Magsaysay administration, this agency has increased its activities markedly under President Marcos and has long been known internationally as a model in its field. The PACD coordinates and funds self-help projects at the barrio level in collaboration with other government agencies concerned, private welfare groups, and the Philippine Armed Forces, which operates a civic action program. Philippine student volunteers participate in PACD activities, augmented by U.S. Peace Corps Volunteers and a similar group from Japan. Projects have included rural electrification and the construction of low-cost housing, waterworks and other sanitation facilities, irrigation dams and canals, feeder roads, and multipurpose centers, some of which serve as combined health clinics, reading rooms, assembly halls, and primary school classrooms. The agency has also been active in adult education, demonstration farming, and the formation of cooperatives; it has provided medical treatment to indigents and helped resettle squatters in resettlement communities. During the 1966-69 period, 7,154 projects were conducted under PACD grants-in-aid, while 203,953 projects were partially assisted. In FY69 the PACD also distributed a grant-in-aid of P2,000 to each barrio in the country to help implement priority community projects.

Private welfare services are supported by such varied organizations as the Community Chest of Greater Manila, the Boy Scouts, the Philippine National Red Cross, the National League of Puericulture Centers (NLPC), and Catholic and Protestant groups. The Red Cross, a semiofficial organization that includes high government officials on its board of directors, provides

disaster relief, collects blood from voluntary donors, and maintains home nursing services in urban centers throughout the country. Since 1972, the Red Cross has also been engaged in aiding noncombatants driven from their homes by the fighting on Mindanao; nearly 1 million persons reportedly had been displaced by early 1973. The NLPC, also semiofficial, conducts numerous puericulture centers (from the Latin, meaning "child care") offering maternal and child health care, as well as medical services to indigents. In fact, general medical patients comprise about 77% of all cases treated. Established in 1913 under the U.S. administration, the NLPC in 1969 operated 967 centers throughout the archipelago, including maternity houses and hospital and family planning clinics, and has received assistance from UNICEF, WHO, and AID. Puericulture centers and Rural Health Units frequently occupy the same premises, and their personnel are often indistinguishable. Religious groups largely provide disaster relief and institutional care for the disadvantaged through such organizations as the Catholic Relief Services, with headquarters in the United States, and Catholic Charities, an agency of the Archdiocese of Manila.

When natural disasters occur, the country is still heavily dependent on emergency aid from U.S. and U.N. agencies. In the disastrous Luzon floods of the summer of 1972, for example, U.S. Army disaster relief teams assisted the Philippine Armed Forces in evacuating victims by helicopter and distributing food and medical supplies, thereby averting famine and serious epidemics. Returning villagers also received outside assistance in rebuilding homes and replanting damaged crops.

b. Social insurance

National social insurance programs provide compulsory and fairly comprehensive coverage to increasing numbers of wage and salary earners; only unemployment insurance has not been enacted. In 1972, according to government figures, 23.5% of the total labor force were covered by some form of social insurance. Basic laws, as amended, consist of the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1927, the Government Service Insurance Act of 1936, and the Social Security Act of 1954; the latest legislation is the Medical Care Act of 1969, known as Medicare.

In 1971 the Social Security System (SSS), administered by the government corporation of the same name, covered 3.1 million workers, or roughly one-fourth of all wage and salary earners, as contrasted with about 224,000 workers registered in 1954; excluded are the self-employed, tenant farmers,

agricultural workers employed for less than 6 months per year, domestic servants, casual workers, family workers, student nurses, and public employees, who are covered by a separate program. Participating employers rose from slightly over 1,000 in 1954 to over 106,000 in 1971. Expanded coverage has resulted from an increase in the number of workers aged 18-24 who are entering the labor force, from improved effectiveness in enforcing SSS procedures, and from progress in industrialization. The geographic distribution of insured workers coincides with the most economically advanced regions of the country; 66% of the insured, for example, live on Luzon, 83% of whom are concentrated in the Greater Manila area. The program is supported by contributions from both employees and employers, the amount determined by graduated wage scales. Contributions and benefits are based on earnings up to a maximum of P500 monthly.

Benefits are provided for sickness, retirement, permanent disability, and death. After 1 year of contribution, employees are eligible for sickness compensation if confined in a hospital for more than 5 days. Retirement benefits are paid beginning at age 60 after at least 10 years of contribution, the minimum monthly pension being P30, while an employee who has contributed for less than 10 years receives a lump sum refund of total employee-employer contributions. Similar provisions apply to invalidity pensions for permanent and total disablement except that benefits can be paid after 3 years of contribution and a lump sum refund if less than 3 years. Wives and children or other designated beneficiaries are eligible for survivors' benefits, generally a lump sum of not less than P500.

Additional services provided by the SSS for insured employees include loans for housing, for education, for assistance in time of financial distress, and for investment, together with the use of some 34 community hospitals and other medical facilities financed by SSS loans. The corporation has also funded the construction of low-cost housing for rent to low-income insured. Reportedly, considerable delay has occurred in processing applications for both benefits and loans. Some 50% of contributions from employees and employers, moreover, are in arrears, and thousands of borrowers have been delinquent in repaying their loans.

Since 1937 the Government Service Insurance System (GSIS), another government corporation, has provided life insurance protection and retirement benefits to all civil servants as well as to officers and career enlisted men in the armed forces. Premium payments adjusted to employee wage scales are made by the insured and by the government. Retirement is

compulsory at age 65, except for members of the judiciary who must retire at 70. Like the SSS, the GSIS offers loans to insured workers for housing and other purposes. In addition to these programs, a number of private corporations have separate retirement systems which, however, generally offer less favorable terms than do those of the SSS and GSIS, although the private programs provide certain tax advantages.

After years of pressure for a national health insurance act to supplement the sick pay provisions of the Social Security Act, legislation for the Medicare program was enacted in 1969. The law provides for the coordination of medical care between government and private medical facilities and preserves freedom of choice as to physicians and hospitals. The program is divided into two phases: coverage of all public and private wage and salary earners insured under SSS and GSIS, which was implemented in 1972; and coverage of the entire population, which is slated to become fully operational in 1974. While the SSS and GSIS handle day-to-day processing of the first phase, the overall program is administered by the Philippine Medical Care Commission. According to fixed schedules, Medicare directly compensates physicians and facilities providing surgical and medical services and hospitalization. Excluded from compensation are routine dental services, cosmetic surgery or treatment, optometric services or surgery, psychiatric cases, and diagnostic and normal obstetrical services. The system is financed by equal contributions from employees and employers of at least 1.25% of payroll, as adjusted to graduated scales based on wages existing in 1966 up to a maximum of P300 monthly. This ceiling was established at a lower level than that of the SSS maximum because of the low income of the nonemployed population eventually to be covered. As of 1973, however, it appeared unlikely that Medicare could be sufficiently expanded to provide universal coverage by 1974.

E. Religion (U/OU)

Christianity, brought from Spain by Roman Catholic missionaries, has been fostered in the 20th century by missionaries from other countries as well, notably the United States, Germany, and Belgium. While the country is about 93% Christian, it also contains a Muslim community totaling approximately 5% of the population and close to half a million animists. Most of the remaining population consists of people of Chinese descent who practice traditional Chinese religion.

Foreign influence has been a common feature of religion in the islands. The predominant religious groups not only are international by nature of their affiliation, but through the years have also been dependent upon supplemental funds and clergy from foreign countries in order to function. This is true of the Muslims as well as the Christians. Tracing their religion back to Arab missionaries and traders who introduced Islam in the 14th century, the Muslim Filipinos identify with other Islamic peoples, welcoming religious support from Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, and neighboring Indonesia. Unlike the Arabs, the Spaniards brought Catholicism to the Philippines as an assumed obligation of conquest. So successful was Spanish proselytizing that today more than four-fifths of the population is Roman Catholic. However, ethnocentric prejudice and a desire to preserve their privileged position prompted the Spanish clergy to stunt the growth of the native priesthood by restricting the number of Filipino priests and the quality of their training. As a result, a folk Catholicism grew up which masked idolatry, superstition, and belief in magic behind outward religious formalism. Well-trained Filipino clergy with sound doctrinal knowledge are still so few in number that the church must rely heavily on foreign-born priests. Resentment of Spanish domination of the Catholic Church in the islands was one of the factors in the revolt against Spain, and out of this situation emerged a schismatic religious group commonly known as the Aglipayan Church. Founded in 1902, it became the second largest religious community in the country, receiving support from Freemasons in Spain and the United States. Meanwhile, the entry of the United States into the Philippines had produced conditions favorable to the spread of traditional Protestantism. Numerous Protestant churches have been established through the work of U.S. missionaries and Filipino converts. Essentially American in spirit and denomination, these churches are financially dependent, for the most part, upon mother churches in the United States. An exception is *Iglesia ni Kristo*, which is similar to the Protestant churches in some respects but entirely Filipino in origin and in its staffing.

Regardless of affiliation, Philippine people generally have a sense of religious involvement. The Bible is said to be popular literature in small towns and the hinterland, and public disputation concerning religious interpretations between champions of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism draw enthusiastic listeners in rural areas. Eclecticism seems to be a common characteristic of religion among many

Filipinos; worshipping frequently in one church does not necessarily preclude having a child baptized in another church.

The U.S. concept of freedom of religion was officially introduced by the Treaty of Paris, by which Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States in 1898. Among other things, the treaty provided that all inhabitants of the islands "be secured in the free exercise of religion." A guarantee of religious freedom, patterned after that obtaining in the United States, was endorsed by the Philippine Government in its constitution. In addition, with minor exceptions, the use of public money for the support of any religious group is prohibited. Certain state policies regarding religion have redounded to the advantage of the Catholic Church, not necessarily because of discrimination but because of the size of the church compared with other religious bodies in the country. Thus, a provision of the constitution exempting from taxation all churches, cemeteries, parsonages, and convents, and all lands and buildings used exclusively for religious, charitable, or educational purposes, is of particular benefit to the Catholic Church. The Philippine Civil Code, based primarily on the Spanish Civil Code, reflects traditional Roman Catholic beliefs in that it expressly affirms the inviolability of marriage and makes no provision for divorce. The state permits optional religious instruction in the public schools, to be provided only to those children whose parents request it.

1. Roman Catholicism

Within 40 years after the coming of the Spaniards, most of the people of the islands had embraced Catholicism. This phenomenon was due in part to the fact that, except in the Muslim areas of the south, the Spanish missionaries encountered no organized religious system to offer resistance to the beliefs that they sought to introduce. Moreover, many facets of Catholicism appealed immediately to the Filipinos' love of ritual and reverence for the supernatural. Subsequently they embellished the liturgy with bizarre trappings of either animistic or folk origin and adapted it to the local way of life. While the average Filipino communicant's interest in the finer points of faith and morals probably ranges from modest to minimal and his daily life often includes practices violently at odds with the tenets of the faith, he has incorporated Catholicism into the fabric of his emotions.

Most Catholic churches in the Philippines are constructed in traditional Spanish style (Figure 21).

Similarly, the religion as practiced in the islands resembles the type of Catholicism found in Spain and Latin America rather than that of the United States. A significant segment of the adult male population leaves attendance at Mass and other services to the females of the family, and many of both sexes consider themselves to be devout if they go to confession and take Communion once a year, during Holy Week. The severe shortage of clergy engaged in pastoral work has sharply restricted the ability of the church to provide Filipinos with religious instruction and has curtailed its capacity to carry on basic parish services. A prominent outward manifestation of what might be called Catholic religious feeling occurs in connection with major public fiestas honoring patron saints or celebrating important holy days, although the fiesta is predominantly secular in character.

The Catholic Church in the Philippines is divided into nine ecclesiastical provinces, or metropolitan sees. Data supplied by church sources indicate that as of 1972 there were 28 subordinate dioceses, 12 prelaties nullius, and 4 vicariates apostolic; parishes numbered 1,712. The highest ranking prelates in the islands have been Rufino J. Cardinal Santos (died in September 1973), Archbishop of Manila, and Julio Cardinal Rosales, Archbishop of Cebu. Other members of the hierarchy in 1972 included 9 archbishops and 54 bishops, most of whom were native born. The total number of priests stood at 4,429, of whom 2,115 were diocesan clergy and 2,314 were members of religious orders. Women religious numbered 6,542. The largest order for men in the country has been the Society of Jesus (Jesuits), and for women, the Sisters of St. Paul de Chartres. Male religious, who include both priests and brothers, are occupied mainly in teaching and in administering mission parishes; most are foreign born. In contrast, many of the religious orders for women active in the islands were founded there and are composed mainly of Filipinos. Most nuns are engaged in teaching or in welfare work. The Catholic Church operates the largest system of private schools in the country, numbering close to 1,700 in 1972. They include the two oldest institutions of higher learning: the universities of Santo Tomas in Manila and San Carlos in Cebu, founded in 1611 and 1595, respectively. As of 1972 the church also operated a total of 358 charitable institutions, including hospitals, leprosariums, dispensaries, orphanages, and homes for the aged.

Since Philippine independence the church has become increasingly visible in the political field, and encouraged by the resolutions of the Second Vatican Council is engaging in limited involvement in the field



FIGURE 21. Spanish-style Catholic churches (C)

of social justice. Before the imposition of martial law, activist priests spoke openly against the Marcos administration, demanding radical alterations in the political and economic structure of Philippine society. Social action initiatives have been particularly notable among foreign-based orders, such as the Jesuits and Maryknoll, which have been involved in a number of programs to benefit the underprivileged. These include credit unions, marketing and industrial cooperatives, and adult education classes.

The Philippine hierarchy is generally conservative, and many of its members who express approval of the Vatican Council's resolutions in principle have attempted to block efforts to implement them. This is particularly true of the higher clergy in the Manila area, including Cardinal Santos, whose ideological opposition to communism has led him to oppose many social action projects as communistic. Although unified action to bring about national reforms has been opposed by the Manila hierarchy, certain institutions in the capital area have been of considerable help to clerical reformers in the provinces. Outstanding among these is the Ateneo de Manila University, which provides training programs, workshops, and seminars for Jesuit activists. Another is the Asian Social Institute. Headed by a Belgian missionary priest, the institute has developed into a center for the study of methods to alter the social structure of the Philippines.

The social action movement within the church has been weakened to some extent by nationalistic-inspired antagonism toward the foreign-born priests who lead it. Some of the Filipino clergy reportedly resent the efforts of non-Filipino priests to improve the quality of life among their parishioners, regarding it as "foreign interference." This attitude is also found

among certain government officials, including President Marcos himself. Although Marcos claims that his objectives are the same as those of the reformists, he has long been suspicious of their work among the peasants and the urban poor, and one of his first acts under martial law was to arrest a number of Filipino clergy engaged in social action programs and to deport several foreign priests, charging them with "subversive activities." Most of the Catholic reformists have in fact been outspoken critics of the Marcos administration, but few have close ties with leftwing extremists.

2. Protestantism

At the time of the 1960 census, 5.2% of the Philippine population claimed adherence to the Aglipayan movement. Aglipayan is the popular name given to the Philippine Independent Church (PIC), deriving from the name of one of its founders, Gregorio Aglipay, who was an ordained Catholic priest. The movement was part of the nationalistic revolt against Spain at the end of the 19th century. Father Aglipay was appointed military vicar-general of the revolutionary forces and in this capacity claimed the power to replace the Spanish clergy with Filipino clergy. The Vatican showed its displeasure by excommunicating him in April 1899. For 2 years Father Aglipay attempted a reconciliation with Rome without success and finally took the schismatic action of founding a new church in 1902.

Within a few years the Aglipayan movement had spread so rapidly that it seriously rivaled the Catholic Church. In many instances priests led their entire congregations into the new denomination while continuing to use Catholic Church buildings.

However, in 1906 the Philippine Supreme Court ruled that all such property must be returned, and Aglipayans were faced with the task of building physical plants for themselves, a major setback to the movement. Moreover, many who had defected to Aglipayanism had done so in the belief that it was authentically Catholic, and when it became evident that this was not so they simply drifted back to Catholicism. As a result, the PIC entered on a period of decline, augmented by poorly trained clergy, inadequate financial resources, and few constructive programs for any age group. In an effort to revitalize their church, Aglipayans concluded a concordat with U.S. Episcopalians in 1961 which provides for full intercommunion between the two denominations. As a result the Episcopal Church has made available limited financial, educational, and program assistance.

The PIC organization is modeled in large part on that of the Roman Catholic Church. At its head is a Supreme Bishop, a position held by Father Aglipay from 1902 to 1940. Below him are other bishops, each in charge of a diocese comprising groups of parishes under the care of priests or "apostles." Most aspects of Roman Catholic ritual are retained in the church, but the doctrine has been modified, and national heroes have been added to the roster of saints, thus equating patriotism with religion. Aglipayan priests are free to marry, and most do. Church membership comes largely from lower income groups, and few candidates for the priesthood have had the benefit of advanced education. Traditionally, most novices were ordained after minimal training in the forms of church ritual. The agreement with the U.S. Episcopal Church made St. Andrew's Episcopal Seminary in Manila available to PIC novices, a move which was expected to lead to the development of a better trained clergy.

The *Iglesia ni Kristo* is an indigenous religious group whose doctrine is based on a highly literal interpretation of the Bible. Established in 1914 by Felix Manalo, it accounted for only 1% of the population in the 1960 census but reportedly had a membership in excess of 1 million by the end of 1972. It is led by a Supreme Minister, a post filled by Manalo until his death in 1963 and then passed on to his son. The church is organized into districts supervised by salaried evangelists. Districts are divided into parishes, each under the direction of a *guru*, and the parishes in turn comprise small groups of cells, usually headed by a deacon or deaconess. Highly emotional *Iglesia ni Kristo* services are conducted in resplendent surroundings and are augmented from time to time by fundamentalist revival meetings. The

church's influence is strongest in the Manila area, but it has now reached other parts of Luzon and some of the southern islands.

Manalo believed that most of the social injustices experienced by the lower classes in the Philippines were brought about by the Catholic Church, resulting in a highly anti-Catholic bias within the group. Church members are taught that the Christian religion disappeared from the earth with the rise of Roman Catholicism but reappeared in 1914 with the coming of Manalo. Although any form of divinity is rejected, Christ is still considered a mediator between God and man, with the means of salvation available through membership in *Iglesia ni Kristo*. Members are strictly governed by the "Norm of Discipline," requiring, among other things, biweekly church attendance, payment of a weekly tax determined by church leaders, and marriage within the group. In return for unquestioning loyalty, *Iglesia ni Kristo* offers material benefits to its largely lower class following. For example, it has moved into the area of employment, and in this it has been unusually successful since its members are forbidden to join a union, request a raise, or question dismissal. The church also conducts literacy campaigns and provides various types of assistance to its members.

The other Protestant churches are almost exclusively of U.S. origin. When the United States acquired control over the Philippine Islands in 1898, so many U.S. Protestant groups sent missionaries that the Philippine Federation of Christian Churches was organized in 1901 to assign each denomination a definite territory. There are now more than 20 U.S.-oriented Protestant denominations active in the country. Despite an approach tailored to appeal to Filipinos of all classes, as well as to tribespeople, Protestant groups have not been notably successful in winning converts. Although representing only 2.9% of the population in 1960, the traditional Protestant sects have made contributions to education and social welfare far out of proportion to their numbers.

Although attempts were made to achieve a unified Protestant community, the early history of Protestantism in the islands was marked by an unbroken number of offshoot movements as Filipinos sought to run their own churches independent of U.S. missionaries. The only major step toward unity occurred in 1929 when Presbyterians, United Brethren, Congregationalists, and Disciples of Christ combined to form the United Church of Christ in the Philippines. By 1967, this group was the largest denomination, reporting a total community of 356,000. Various Methodist groups had the next largest following, totaling about 269,000.

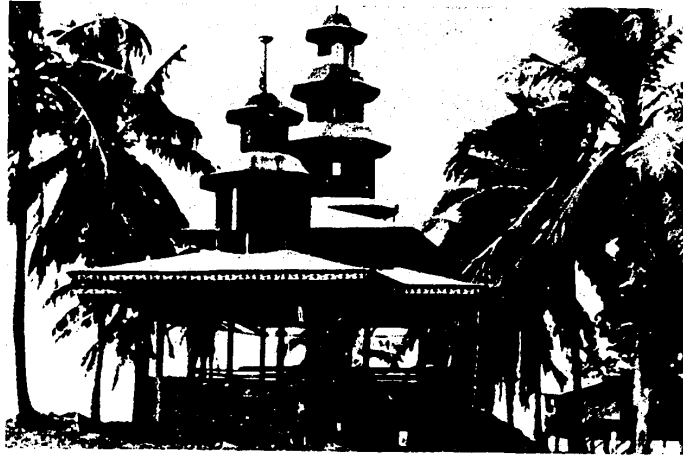
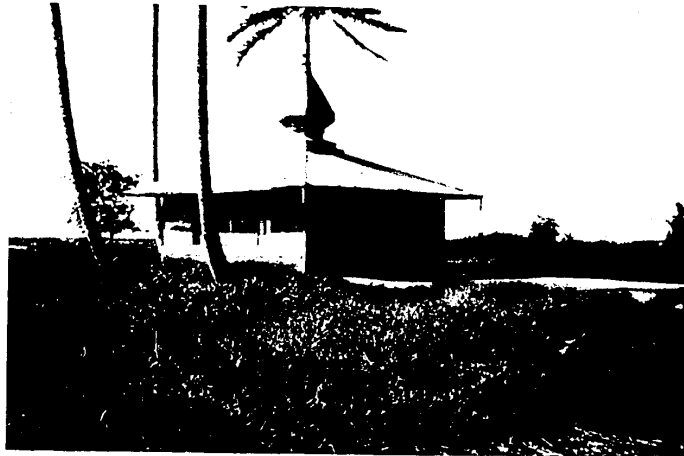


FIGURE 22. Rural mosques (C)



Seventh-day Adventists claimed a community of 234,000, and Baptist groups 175,000. Most of the clergy are Filipinos. Almost all of the churches belong to the National Council of Churches in the Philippines, which provides interdenominational cooperation in publishing, broadcasting, and welfare programs. In 1969, Protestant denominations operated or supported 70 educational institutions in the country, including Silliman University in Dumaguete, the Central Philippine University in Iloilo, Trinity College in Quezon City, the Philippine Christian College in Manila, and Brent School in Baguio. Practically all of the groups are engaged in welfare activities of one kind or another, e.g., operating hospitals or other medical facilities, directing community development programs, and conducting family planning clinics. Some missionary work is

carried on by Filipino Protestants in other Asian countries, including Indonesia, Thailand, Korea, Burma, and Malaysia.

3. Other religions

Despite differences in the degree of Islamization among them, the Muslim Filipinos have developed a deep emotional identification with their religion in the face of what they regard as a challenge to the Islamic way of life from the Christian majority. The Koran is the key to Islam in the Philippines as elsewhere, and mosques abound in rural as well as urban areas of the south (Figure 22). Tithing and the giving of alms are obligatory, and the fast of Ramadan is observed in varying degrees. On the other hand, most of the Muslims are essentially ignorant of the precepts of the

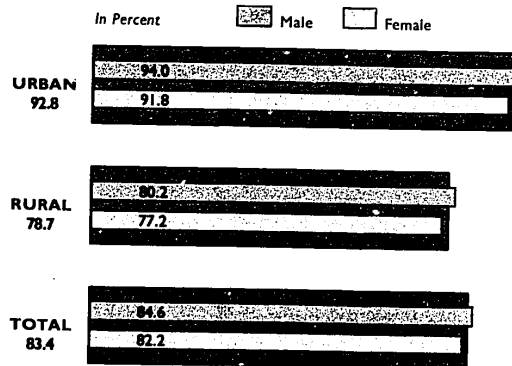


FIGURE 23. Literate population age 10 and over, by sex, 1970 (U/OU)

Literacy rates vary widely throughout the Philippines, affected by linguistic differences and by economic and social conditions. The highest level of literacy is found in Manila, where 96.4% of the population age 10 and over claimed to be literate in 1970. In contrast, only 41.7% of the inhabitants of Sulu Province age 10 and over claimed to be literate. Generally speaking, the provinces containing considerable numbers of Muslims or tribespeople have the lowest rates. Most of the provinces in Luzon with Tagalog-speaking populations have rates considerably higher than the national average, and provinces where Iloco, Bikol, Pampango, and Pangasinan are the predominant languages generally approximate or slightly exceed the national rate. Because of the substantial progress in educational development, the level of educational attainment has been fairly high, as indicated in a 1965 survey of the nation's work force (Figure 24).

Educational policy and planning are the responsibility of a Board of National Education which reports directly to the President. The formal educational system consists of both public and private institutions, operating under the jurisdiction of the Department of Education. Within the Department, the Bureau of Public Schools is directly responsible for the organization and administration of public education, and the Bureau of Private Schools has supervision of private education. Private schools exist at all levels of the educational system, owned and operated by various entities, including religious groups, corporations, and individuals. All private institutions are required to register with the government, and their standards and curriculums are subject to regulation, at least in theory. In practice,

they have considerable independence since the Department of Education does not have sufficient personnel to insure adequate inspection. While a number of the schools functioning under the auspices of religious groups are of superior quality, other private schools, particularly those run for profit, are of questionable value. The private sector of education includes Koranic schools operated by the Muslim Filipinos and schools run by the Chinese community which stress Chinese history and culture; both function largely outside the regular educational system.

The Philippine educational system is modeled on the U.S. pattern, with modifications to suit local needs and conditions. Basically it consists of an elementary segment comprising 4 years of primary school and 2 years of intermediate school; a 4-year high school segment; and higher education provided in a variety of junior colleges, colleges, and universities. Preprimary schooling is not highly developed and for the most part is carried on by private institutions. Elementary education is essentially a function of the public sector, but only about 40% of all secondary schools and less than 10% of all institutions of higher learning were being operated by the government in the late 1960's.

Theoretically, all public education is supported by tax funds, but many public secondary schools must rely on tuition and other fees for their funding. Private educational institutions at all levels depend on student fees and contributions from various sources. The

FIGURE 24. Employed persons, by highest year of schooling completed, 1965 (U/OU) (Percent)

NUMBER OF YEARS COMPLETED	AGRICULTURAL SECTOR	NONAGRICULTURAL SECTOR
None	19.8	8.1
1	4.2	1.5
2	7.5	4.2
3	10.3	6.1
4	18.4	9.9
5	10.4	8.3
6	20.2	20.8
7	2.4	4.3
8	2.0	4.5
9	1.4	2.8
10	2.5	11.7
11	0.2	1.6
12	0.4	3.5
13	0.1	1.5
14	0.2	9.3
15 or more	Isnig	1.9
Total	100.0	100.0

national government expends sizable sums on education; the proportion of the annual budget ranged from 26% to 32% during the 1960's. Some financing is also supplied by provincial and city governments. Despite these outlays, the funding is insufficient to provide good schools throughout the islands. There is a chronic shortage of classroom space, made more acute by the pressure of ever-increasing enrollment, and the quality of facilities is frequently poor, varying by region and province. Although most rural barrios have a school, many are limited to the first four grades. In addition to the serious deficiency in classroom space, the school system is plagued by shortages of educational materials and equipment. Government efforts to alleviate the situation are being supplemented by foreign aid, furnished by the U.S. Government and private U.S. groups. Educational assistance has also been received from specialized agencies of the U.N.

Legislation enacted in 1957 requires that free education be made compulsory for children aged 7 to 12. In an effort to meet this requirement under pressure of a rapidly growing population, the government has concentrated its efforts on developing the elementary sector of the educational system, with priority given to school construction in the rural areas. By the 1968/69 school year, elementary schools numbered 37,842, representing an increase of more than 8,000 over the figure for 1958/59. Corresponding enrollment figures for the 2 years were 7,054,000 and 3,970,000, respectively (Figure 25). Of the 7 million children enrolled in elementary schools in 1968/69, 94.9% were attending public schools and 5.1% were in private institutions. The provinces of central Luzon have had the highest proportion of elementary school-age children enrolled, averaging over 90%. In some of the southern provinces populated by Muslims the average has been less than 70%. Observers believe that the growing size of the school-age population and the lack of financial resources to provide sufficient school facilities will continue to prevent the government from reaching the goal of universal elementary education. The inability to increase the proportion of school-age children attending school is further complicated by the fact that a large number of pupils drop out before completing the elementary course.

In 1968/69 there were 3,054 secondary schools in the Philippines, in contrast to 1,657 in 1958/59. The majority of secondary institutions are general high schools; less than 10% are in the vocational-technical category. Enrollment at the secondary level totaled 1,504,000 in 1968/69. Ten years earlier the figure stood at 625,000, considerably less than half the

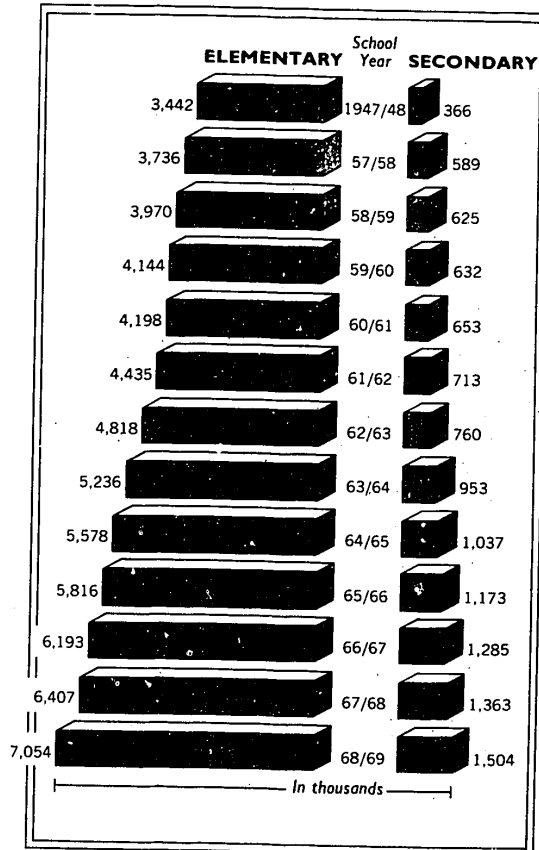


FIGURE 25. Enrollment, elementary and secondary schools (U/O)

1968/69 total. Private schools accounted for 67.1% of all secondary enrollment in the latter school year. Data released in 1970 by a Presidential Commission to Survey Philippine Education indicated that there were 224 vocational-technical schools operating at the secondary level in 1969/70, with a total enrollment of 102,070 students. Trade-technical institutions absorbed more than half of this enrollment; agricultural schools accommodated about one-third, and fishery schools accounted for most of the remainder.

Despite the massive expansion in educational facilities, development has not been uniform throughout the islands and rural children are still at a considerable disadvantage in terms of educational opportunity. On the positive side, a striking characteristic of Philippine education is the equal

opportunity accorded to females. In 1967/68, the last school year for which a sex distribution is available, girls accounted for about 48% of the total enrollment in elementary schools and 49% in secondary schools.

The standard elementary school curriculum, extending through the primary and intermediate sectors, includes language, arithmetic, social studies, art, physical education, health instruction, science, work education (manual training for boys and home economics for girls), and character education. The amount of time and the treatment accorded each subject varies by grade. Private elementary schools are required by law to follow certain prescribed minimum essentials of the standard curriculum. They are free to teach other subjects, however, and to use different methods of instruction. Denominational schools invariably include instruction in religion. Only students who have completed elementary school are eligible for entrance to high school. General high schools provide a common curriculum for all students in the first 2 years and two separate courses in the final 2 years, one preparatory for entrance to higher education and the other with a vocational bias for those who intend to work after graduation. (The separate vocational-technical institutions train students for specialized occupations, usually in programs which extend over a 4-year period.) Basic subjects studied in the general high schools include language, social studies, mathematics, general science, hygiene, physical education, and character education. Courses in the practical arts are offered for those who do not choose the academically oriented college preparatory course. In both elementary and secondary institutions, the school year begins in the first week of July and ends in mid-April. Most schools, both public and private, follow a 5-day school week.

At both the elementary and secondary levels of the Philippine educational system there is a strong emphasis on language study. The national language, Tagalog (officially called Pilipino), is a required unit of study from Grade I through high school. The major native language of the area in which a school is located can be used for instruction purposes in Grades I and II, while English, like Tagalog, is a required subject in those grades. After Grade II, English is used as the medium of instruction. These linguistic requirements impose a heavy burden on most Philippine schoolchildren. Those in Tagalog-speaking areas have an advantage, however, being required to learn only one new language in Grades I and II. The most serious handicap is placed on children whose mother tongue is one of the minor native languages. These pupils are introduced to three new languages—

the major vernacular of the area, English, and Tagalog—in their first 2 years of school. Philippine educators agree that the multiplicity of languages studied in school imposes undue hardship on children in non-Tagalog-speaking areas and has contributed to one of the principal shortcomings of Philippine education: too much reliance upon memorization and repetition and too little stress on developing inquiry.

The language difficulty is also one of the factors contributing to a high dropout rate in elementary school, a problem that is most serious at Grade I and Grade IV. In the late 1960's it was estimated that more than 10% of all children who entered school did not proceed from Grade I to Grade II, and that less than half of those who enrolled in Grade I continued through primary and intermediate school to complete Grade VI. The lack of intermediate classes in many rural areas combines with the language problem and other factors to produce high attrition at the end of the fourth year of primary school.

In contrast to the situation in most other Asian countries, the Philippines has had the benefit of a sufficient number of teachers at all levels of the educational system for several years. In fact, an oversupply of teachers exists in the elementary sector. In 1968/69, there were 222,854 elementary teachers and 52,511 secondary teachers, resulting in a ratio of 31:1 at the elementary level and 28:1 at the secondary level. Female teachers predominate at both levels. In general, the public schools are staffed with dedicated personnel who have consistently shown a desire to develop effective programs of instruction. Moreover, teachers on the whole are satisfactorily trained, with one important exception: they tend to lack proficiency in English. Training is provided in 4-year degree courses offered by eight state-supported regional normal schools or colleges and by the Philippine Normal College in Manila, and in both undergraduate and graduate programs at the University of the Philippines, also in Manila. The regional institutions and the Philippine Normal College have specialized in training elementary teachers; the University of the Philippines trains teachers for secondary schools. Many private institutions of higher education also offer teaching programs. Teachers in the public schools are civil service employees and are required to qualify in special civil service examinations and to serve satisfactorily for a 6-month probationary period before they can be appointed to a permanent teaching assignment. Permanent teachers cannot be dismissed from service without cause and without due public hearing conducted in accordance with civil service rules and regulations. There is an ongoing effort to

increase the competency of teachers, reflected in a variety of inservice programs for continuing education.

Primary responsibility for adult education rests with the Bureau of Public Schools, although much of the effort in this field has been on a voluntary basis because of the perennial shortage of government funding. The stated goals of the program are to eradicate illiteracy, raise the cultural level of the mass of the people, and increase their economic efficiency and productive capacity. In 1969/70, 68,809 persons were enrolled in literacy classes, most of which were conducted in rural barrios. In addition to developing functional literacy, these classes attempt to supply some knowledge of arithmetic as well as training in health and sanitation practices and in citizenship. Continuing education classes for adults are also provided in many areas, aided by the services and facilities of neighborhood groups such as barrio councils, civic clubs, and religious organizations. Like the literacy classes, they offer training in health and sanitary measures and stress the duties and responsibilities of citizenship; they also promote an interest in community development. A total of 133,260 persons were enrolled in the continuing education program in 1969/70. In addition to the literacy and continuing education classes, adult vocational training is available in a number of vocational-technical secondary schools. In rural areas this type of training takes the form of instruction in various agricultural techniques.

For most Filipinos, higher education is regarded primarily as a badge of social distinction, and parents urge their children to pursue training in those fields—such as law, teaching, and commerce—which by tradition have carried the most prestige. The result has been an excess of lawyers, teachers, bankers, and accountants, many of whom find no opportunity to practice their profession. On the other hand, Philippine higher education has neglected training in agriculture, public health, science, technology, and social welfare, to the serious detriment of the country's economic and social development. The prestige accruing to the holder of a college degree has generated tremendous pressure for increasing opportunities for higher education, resulting in so great a demand for college or university training that a large number of private postsecondary institutions have been established since World War II. By 1970, the number of institutions of higher education had reached a total of 628; of this total, 545 were privately operated. Total enrollment in higher education was about 790,000, a figure estimated to represent 20% of

all Philippine youth of college age. Approximately 90% of the enrollment was absorbed by the private institutions, and almost one-half of the total was concentrated in Manila, divided among 33 colleges and universities. The state-supported institutions maintain reasonably reputable standards for admission and graduation, but a large number of those in private hands are operated solely for profit, inevitably at the expense of quality. Many accept students regardless of qualification and provide at best haphazard education which emphasizes rote learning and the formality of passing examinations.

Foremost among the public institutions is the largely autonomous University of the Philippines in Manila, which offers undergraduate and graduate programs in a variety of disciplines. As of 1967/68, the other degree-granting public institutions of higher learning consisted of five state universities, including two on Mindanao Island; the nine normal schools and colleges previously mentioned; eight other specialized colleges; and three institutes of technology. Although state-supported, all function with some measure of autonomy. In addition, numerous postsecondary vocational-technical schools operate under the supervision of the Department of Education, offering courses of varying length. Private institutions of higher education range from schools providing short courses in vocational specialties through junior colleges and colleges to universities. Among the best operated and most prominent institutions in the private sector are Silliman University, sponsored by the United Church of Christ in the Philippines, the Philippines Women's University, and the Jesuit-run Ateneo de Manila University. Teaching staff in public and private institutions of higher education totaled 28,542 in the 1968/69 academic year; many of those enumerated were less than full-time faculty members, however.

Students normally enter higher education after graduation from secondary school. While the public institutions and some of the prestigious private universities require students to pass an entrance examination, most of the private institutions admit all holders of a high school diploma. Generally speaking, academic programs involve 4 years of coursework for a bachelor's degree, 1 to 2 more years for a master's degree, and 3 additional years for a doctorate. A minimum of 5 years of study is undertaken for an undergraduate degree in agriculture, engineering, and pharmacy. Both law and medicine require completion of a 4-year bachelor of arts curriculum followed by 4 years of professional study. Professional degree holders must pass government examinations before they may practice.

The wide range of programs offered in Philippine institutions of higher education attracts a large number of foreign students, mainly from Southeast Asian countries. According to a recent government estimate, more than 16,000 students from other countries are studying in the Philippines. Similarly, many Filipino students go abroad for higher education, the United States drawing the largest single number. In 1970/71, almost 3,000 Philippine nationals were attending U.S. educational institutions.

In 1971, Philippine colleges and universities graduated a total of approximately 100,000 students, and the number has been rising annually. The proliferation of graduates, resulting in a critical oversupply of persons who cannot be absorbed into the labor force, is creating a crisis in Philippine education. Leading educators agree that one of the main factors in the situation is that the schools are turning out the "wrong" type of graduate, equipped (often poorly) with a professional specialty which is not needed in the country's developing economy. It has been suggested that institutions of higher learning phase out some of their academic courses and place greater stress on technical education in fields where there is a manpower shortage.

Beginning in the 1960's, a heightened interest in political affairs developed among Philippine college and university students and was reflected by a rising level of activism. Student organizations are numerous and their ideologies range along a wide spectrum. From the beginning, the movement has suffered from competition between factions and a lack of recognized leaders. In this situation Maoist elements have exercised an influence out of all proportion to their numbers. Maoist groups take their direction from the *Kabataang Makabayan* (Patriotic Youth), the principal student front of the underground pro-Maoist Philippine Communist Party Marxist/Leninist (PKK-ML). The *Kabataang Makabayan* is the most energetic and hardworking student group, and because of its activist program and its flamboyant antiestablishment line it has had a spontaneous appeal on the campuses. Until 1970, student demonstrations had been sporadic and moderate, centering mainly on complaints related to high tuition rates, the "commercialism" of education, poor instruction, and an alleged lack of academic freedom. In 1970, however, large scale and sometimes violent disturbances erupted, directed against the Marcos administration. At the time, the demonstrations seemed to portend the beginning of a long period of destructive confrontations which could seriously affect the stability of the government. This did not occur.

Deflated by vigorous police action and a strong backlash from the general population, the activists lost their momentum and in 1971 and 1972 were able to mount only a few mass protests or rallies, usually with sparse attendance. Nevertheless, after the imposition of martial law in September 1972, Marcos temporarily closed all high schools, colleges, and universities, announcing that this was being done to enable authorities to purge them of suspected Communist subversives.

G. Artistic and cultural expression (U/OU)

Artistic expression reflects a varied cultural heritage. From the fusion of Asian, Spanish, and U.S. artistic forms, distinctive Philippine modes of expression have begun to emerge. Literature, painting, and architecture have shown the most vigorous growth, while drama, folk dancing, and wood carving have retained many indigenous or Spanish-Catholic characteristics. During the pre-Spanish era artistic development was hindered by the decentralized political system, the lack of court patronage, and the absence of large cities where artisans could work together and exchange the skills of their crafts. Under Spanish rule, artistic and cultural expression other than folk art was confined largely to the small upper class. During the U.S. era and since independence, however, the arts have been more open to talented persons regardless of class origin.

In general, artists, writers, and intellectuals enjoy a degree of prestige in modern Philippine society at least comparable with that of their U.S. counterparts. Among urban residents there has been enthusiastic audience response to concerts, ballets, and art exhibits, coupled with discriminating criticism of literary and artistic works. Most artists and writers tend to be dissatisfied with the imitative aspects of modern cultural expression and are actively seeking to create typical national styles.

1. Literature and drama

Existing Philippine literature began with the great epic poems of the pre-Spanish era that were memorized by elders of the community and passed along verbally from one generation to the next. This type of folklore, which include: versions of the ancient Indic myths dealing with cosmology and the creation of man, originally reached the islands through the migrations of Malay-speaking peoples and through the teachings of a few Hindu scholars who lived among the animist population of the lowlands. The tribespeople and the Muslims have retained much of

this folk literature which, in the case of Muslims, has been strongly influenced by Islamic culture. Poetic "jousts" are still a popular pastime among rural Filipinos, while skill at poetic recitation remains an avenue to status among several Muslim peoples.

After the Spanish conquest, Christian concepts began to appear in the epics and other ancient literary forms. Printing was introduced along with a body of literature based on Spanish models. Most publications were of a religious nature, consisting of vernacular translations of the life of Christ and books used for religious instruction in the schools, although some Spanish fables and legends, often in poetic form, were also published. In 1838 the first prominent Filipino Tagalog writer, Francisco Baltazar, chose the Spanish poetic form for his epic romance, *Florante at Laura*, espousing freedom from Spain, a work long regarded as the best example of Philippine political satire. Baltazar was followed during the late 19th century by a number of versatile authors, usually writing in Spanish, who critically examined their heritage and aspirations in essays, poems, and novels that became part of the movement for independence and social change. The most influential writer of the period was Jose Rizal, hero and martyr of the struggle for independence. His famous novel *Noli Me Tangere* (The Social Cancer) contained sharp criticism, not only of clerical and civil abuses under Spanish rule, but also of the ignorance and apathy of his countrymen.

During U.S. administration, English, Tagalog, and other vernaculars replaced Spanish as literary languages. In the first quarter of the 20th century, novels in the vernaculars were especially popular, often being published serially in periodicals. By the 1930's, the novel had been eclipsed as the favorite literary form by the English-language short story, produced mainly by Philippine writers from university circles. Fiction as well as nonfiction continued to emphasize patriotic and historical themes and also to reflect the romantic emotionalism and feelings of frustration expressed by earlier writers. Literature of social protest concerning the poverty of the lower classes also appeared.

Since independence some Philippine novels and short stories have attracted the attention of literary critics in the United States and the U.K., including the works of Nick Joaquin, N.V.M. Gonzalez, and Edilberto Tiempo. Many current Filipino writers have been educated in the United States, and well-known U.S. and British writers like William Faulkner, Ernest Hemingway, and Graham Greene and magazines like *Harper's* and the *Atlantic Monthly* have influenced

the content, form, and style of Filipino works. During the first decade of independence the social protest element in Philippine writing declined, despite the growth of leftist sentiment among intellectuals and youth. In fact, a U.S. critic surveying Philippine literature late in the 1950's described it as "characterized by failure to come to grips with reality." Some social criticism, however, has apparently continued. In 1971, for example, the Soviet Union published a Russian-language version of the novel *The Pretenders*, originally published in 1962, which exposes corruption among the elite. Its author, Francisco Sionil Jose, is a journalist and editor whose short stories have been published in both Asian and Western countries.

Drama has remained Spanish in form and content to a greater extent than other vehicles of literary expression. The miracle plays introduced by the Spaniards are still performed at fiestas. A more popular dramatic form is the *moro-moro* play, a folk romance set against a background of struggle between Christian and Muslim Filipinos, with the former always victorious. The *moro-moro* is still staged at fiestas despite efforts to discourage its performance as offensive to the Muslim community. Another type of drama, the *zarzuela*, is a popular folk opera often used to present political satire or social criticism. The popularity of the *moro-moro* and the *zarzuela* has waned with the growth of the motion picture industry, but both are still broadcast over the radio. Development of the legitimate theater has been impeded by competition from motion pictures, staging difficulties, lack of scripts in the vernacular, and small financial returns for playwrights. In consequence, most productions have been foreign imports. However, the lavish Cultural Center of the Philippines, opened in late 1969, contains a large modern theater which is expected to stimulate the production of serious drama. In 1970, several contemporary plays with social protest themes were presented and met with favorable reactions.

2. Music and dance

A diverse heritage has given the Philippine people a rare feeling for music and dance. Pre-Western music—generally pentatonic and played by such simple instruments as wooden guitars, flutes, and brass gongs—is still performed by the Muslims and animist tribespeople. For most of the population, however, the introduction of Western musical instruments, diatonic scales, and more developed musical concepts created new opportunities for expression. The "combo," playing both Western and indigenous music, has

become a favorite on the islands, and Philippine dance bands are prevalent throughout the cities of the Far East. Musical skill is a respected talent, most persons being able to play an instrument of some sort; the guitar (including the electric guitar), violin, and banjo are all popular (Figure 26).

Music is an integral part of many customs. The long Christmas season is marked by choral singing of hymns and carols, accompanied by tambourines, castanets, and triangles. The brass band concert is an important part of many fiestas, which feature contests between local and visiting bands. Young men playing guitars serenade young women, not only as a part of courtship, but also for entertainment. The *kundiman*, a Spanish type of love song often featured in the *zarzuela*, is still popular and is often played as an encore at classical concerts in Manila. Modern U.S. and Latin American popular music, however, made familiar through radio broadcasts and motion pictures, overshadows all other music in popularity. Philippine composers generally emulate the latest U.S. or Latin American styles, including rock music. Interest in classical music is confined largely to upper class Filipinos in Manila, who patronize the Manila Symphony Orchestra, several smaller symphonic groups, and a choral society.

Rural residents still enjoy numerous pre-Hispanic folk dances (Figure 27), some of which pantomime the rice work-cycle. Among the Muslims and tribal peoples, dancing of purely indigenous or Indic origin is a major feature of rituals and entertainment, especially in northern Luzon, Mindanao, and Sulu. Some Filipino Muslim dances, in particular, have retained classical Indian gestures, such as the clasped hand held upward.

Common dances of Spanish or Mexican derivation include the hat dance, the *fandango*, and the *jota* (Figure 28). The *rigadon de honor*, a stylized minuet originating in 17th century Provence, is a favorite dance for formal social occasions. Western ballroom dancing is almost as common as it is in the United States, and the dances are similar, including Latin American importations. Among youth, modern dance steps accompanied by rock music are popular (Figure 29).

Since World War II, a number of professional folk dance companies have been formed, notably the *Bayanithan* of the Philippine Women's University, the *Barangay* of the Philippine Normal College, and the Far Eastern University Dance Troupe. Inspired by both indigenous and Spanish folk dances, these companies have developed a varied choreography complemented by rich costuming and staging.

European ballet has been popular in Manila among the well-to-do since the late 1920's. Shortly after its founding in 1939, the Ballet Moderne incorporated native folk dances into its classical repertoire, and interest in the ballet began to spread to a wider audience. By 1967, another group, *Folklorico Filipinesca*, led by Leonor Orosa, was performing weekly in Manila and had toured Europe and the United States four times.

3. Architecture and the fine arts

Architecture also reflects the islands' varied cultural heritage. The Muslim mosques follow conventional Islamic design, although those in small villages are usually crudely constructed of wood and corrugated metal. The Spaniards built massive stone churches with designs borrowed from 16th century Europe, many resembling those erected throughout Latin America during the same period. The inclusion of the plaza in town planning was also a Spanish concept, while the homes of prominent families constructed around the plaza were inspired by the Antillean architecture of the Spanish West Indies, with lower stories of stone and massive stairways leading to upper stories of wood. During the U.S. era, concrete government structures in Manila and Quezon were patterned after those in Washington, D.C., and schoolhouses were built of brick in the square three-to-four story style of the U.S. Middle West, with tropical adaptations.

Contemporary architecture is one of the most venturesome in Asia, reflecting the blend of modern European and U.S. influences. With the opportunity for new ideas afforded by the destruction of so many cities during World War II, Filipino architects have experimented with concrete, glass, steel, and various native woods. Modern architecture is confined to the cities and suburbs, however.

During the greater part of the Spanish era, both painting and sculpture were mainly religious in nature. The first widely recognized Filipino painters, Juan Luna and Felix Hidalgo, were influenced by the classic-romantic styles of 19th century Western art and favored European subject matter in the manner of Delacroix over that of their native country. Early in the 20th century, however, two realist artists, Fabian de la Rosa and Fernando Amorsola, began painting peasants in scenes of rural life. Amorsola, probably the best known living Filipino artist, is also noted for his portraits and nudes. Strongly influenced by Velasquez, he paints in vivid colors tempered by gray. His social vision, however, is limited by the desire not "to paint anything . . . ugly or painful."



FIGURE 26. Young girl playing the *bandurria*. Her typical dress includes a scarf-like *panuelo* of embroidered pineapple-leaf fiber. (U/OU)

FIGURE 27. A professional dancer of the *Banyanihan* troupe performing the *tinikling*, a rural folk dance. It is usually danced by a couple, who move in and out of bamboo poles which are rhythmically clapped together. The dance depicts a bird running between blades of grass and over tree branches. (U/OU)





FIGURE 28. Dancers performing the *jota*, a lively yet decorous dance with traces of Spanish movement and rhythm. The girl wears a 19th century style of dress and the young man a *barong tagalog*, the national shirt still worn by men. (U/OU)

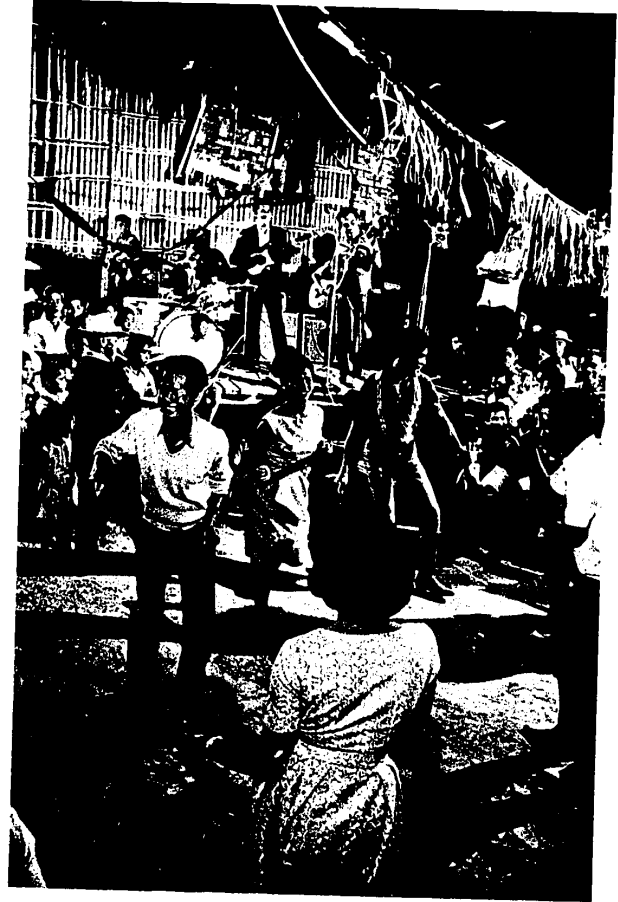


FIGURE 29. Rural Philippine youth in Tarlac Province competing in a dance contest as part of Christmas festivities. Teenagers are quick to pick up the latest U.S. dance steps. (U/OU)

Contemporary painters are as vigorous as any in Asia. The emergence since independence of several experimental schools has been facilitated by the paucity of an earlier tradition, although a modern school was introduced by Victorio Edades as early as 1928. Leading modern painters include Hernando Ocampo, Arturo Luz, Jose T. Joya, and Juvenal Sanso, who enjoys a firm reputation in Europe and the United States. Their works are largely abstractions. In 1970 a number of more youthful artists exhibited at the Cultural Center of the Philippines, their paintings marked by brash experimentation, concern with social protest, and theatricality.

There is increasing interest in sculpture, although its development has lagged far behind that of painting. The works of Guillermo Tolentino, the leading sculptor on the islands, range from small, gem-like figures to his imposing monument to Andres Bonifacio, a revered hero of the independence

movement, which is considered the country's best example of civic sculpture. Among the most active modern sculptors are Edward Castrillo and Solomon Saprid, who won a national award in 1970.

Woodcarving has a longer tradition than sculpture in stone or metal. Spanish priests originally encouraged the carving of religious figures to adorn the churches, and sacred images are still produced by a thriving industry located in Paete, Laguna Province. The "Holy Child of Cebu" is one of the oldest wooden statues produced during the Spanish period. The tribespeople of northern Luzon continue to carve grotesque human and animal figures, and images of spirit gods are found in most tribal villages.

H. Public information (C)

By Southeast Asian standards, the public information media of the Philippines are well

developed. With the exception of radio, however, the media are largely concentrated in the metropolitan Manila area, the center of the country's communications industries. Despite a high level of literacy, the distribution of printed matter is limited by the difficulty of interisland transportation. Consequently, radio, which penetrates to the most remote areas of the archipelago, remains the most important mass medium for all classes of the population. Rural villagers, however, still depend on word of mouth as a basic channel of information, exchanging news, rumors, and gossip at the local general store and other gathering places. In addition, the village schoolteacher, parish priest, and other educated barrio leaders are usually regarded as reliable sources of news on national affairs, and their opinions are received with respect.

Before the imposition of martial law, the public information media were similar in many respects to those in the United States. Except for a number of government radio stations, all were privately owned and operated with a minimum of government regulation in accordance with the constitutional prohibition of any infringement "of freedom of speech, or of the press." Radio and television stations, however, had to be licensed and newspapers and periodicals registered. Motion pictures were censored but only for matter deemed immoral, indecent, or injurious to the prestige of the nation and its people.

The leading newspapers and the principal radio and television stations were owned by tri-media combines controlled by a few wealthy and influential families, primarily the Lopez, Roces, Elizalde, and Soriano families, all of whom had extensive business interests as well. In 1970, for example, the Lopez brothers owned 21 radio and 7 television stations, along with 1 important Manila newspaper, and headed the powerful "sugar bloc." Although few publishing concerns were money-making ventures, well-to-do families were content to absorb operating losses in return for the prestige and power accruing to ownership and for the opportunities to advance personal, political, or commercial ambitions.

With the imposition of martial law in September 1972, all newspapers and all private radio and television stations were closed, and prominent publishers, editors, and other media executives were detained in army camps on suspicion of subversion. The closure was complete; media offices were padlocked and soldiers were posted at their gates. The only radio broadcasts were those by government stations.

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The Marcos administration is now permitting some of the mass media to operate but under strict guidelines. In addition to prohibiting any criticism of the government or its officials or any deleterious editorial comment, the guidelines require that all media "guarantee space and time for information emanating from the government," that all editorial writers and radio and television commentators be cleared, and that licenses renewable for 6-month periods be required. The media are regulated by the newly established Department of Public Information, while licenses are issued by the Mass Media Council, a body chaired jointly by the secretaries of Defense and Public Information. Some media personnel have been released from detention, but others, including Eugenio Lopez, remain under confinement. Lopez, in fact, along with other prominent Liberal Party politicians, has been accused of giving financial support to groups plotting the assassination of President Marcos and his family. Reportedly, the President appears determined to break the media combines and not to permit the Lopez and Roces families to return in any major way to the communications field.

Prior to martial law, the Philippine press was one of the freest in the world, and its influence was pervasive among the educated, particularly in metropolitan Manila. Divergent and often conflicting views on most subjects were represented. In the press treatment of the President, for example, those for him ranged from the sympathetic to the submissive and those against him from the objective to the obsessive. Indeed, the English-language dailies especially were similar in many ways to their U.S. counterparts. They allocated substantial coverage to foreign affairs with emphasis on news from the United States and also carried a number of syndicated U.S. columnists and features, including many popular comic strips. Considerable space was devoted to society and sports news. In political orientation most newspapers were basically conservative. Reflecting the background of their publishers, they rarely attacked vested economic interests except in cases of corruption involving political opponents. Some avoided taking controversial stands on domestic political issues; some were ultranationalistic and anti-American, but few were pro-Communist.

In general, the quality of the press was considerably inferior to that of most U.S. journals. With a few exceptions, reporters were inclined to be casual in distinguishing between fact, rumor, and opinion. Although some newsmen showed great courage in exposing corruption and inefficiency in government, sometimes at the cost of their lives (many journalists

have been victims in bombing and shooting accidents), most editors abused freedom of the press to the point of libelous irresponsibility, publishing stories that violated even minimum standards of good taste. In addition, considerable attention was given to sensational crimes and scandals. Editors and reporters, moreover, were highly susceptible to political bribery.

On the eve of martial law, 18 daily newspapers were being published in Manila—10 in English, 4 in Chinese, 3 in Tagalog, and 1 in Spanish—and 4 were issued in the cities of Cebu and Iloilo. Total circulation was a little over 1 million, or about 33 copies per 1,000 inhabitants. The largest paper, the *Manila Times*, owned by the Roces family, accounted for 25% of total circulation; the next largest, the *Manila Chronicle*, owned by the Lopez family, for about 20%.

In the months since the declaration of martial law, the state of the daily press has been fluid, with new papers appearing intermittently or old ones resuming publication. As of early 1973, seven dailies were being published in Manila, five in English and two in Tagalog. Of the former, the *Daily Express*, the *Evening Express*, and the *Bulletin Today* (formerly the *Daily Bulletin*) have reappeared, and two new papers, the *Times Journal* and *Business Day*, have been established. The *Daily Express* and *Evening Express*, both founded in mid-1972 and owned and staffed by relatives and friends of President Marcos, have a combined circulation of about 40,000. Hans Menzi, a former aide to the President, publishes *Bulletin Today* (circulation unknown). The *Times Journal*, with an estimated circulation of 100,000, is also published by the President's relatives and friends. *Business Day* has a circulation of about 50,000; its publisher has not been reported, nor is information available on the two Tagalog-language papers. In addition, a few provincial dailies have surfaced again, including the *Cebu Freeman* of Cebu.

In the early 1970's an estimated 1,000 periodicals were being published, many circulating throughout the nation. A number were weekly newspapers distributed in the provincial cities. Of these, the most important was the popular *Philippine Free Press*, founded in 1908, which had a circulation of about 100,000 and a long history of exposing ineptitude and corruption in high office. The best known vernacular news weekly was the Tagalog-language *Liwayway*, published by Hans Menzi. A substantial number of weekly magazines containing news and fictional features were also published, including several issued by the major Manila dailies. Two important monthly periodicals were the *Orient Magazine*, dealing with

current affairs, and *Solidarity* containing articles of social and cultural interest and edited by the prominent writer Francisco Sionil Jose. Other periodicals included scholarly journals on literature and the social sciences, professional journals for doctors and engineers, Catholic and Protestant publications, sports and travel magazines, and hundreds of comic books, movie magazines, and *bomba* (pornographic) magazines sold from newsstands and hawked on sidewalks.

Little information is available on the impact of martial law on the periodical press. Late in November 1972 only seven weekly English-language magazines were known to be circulating in Manila: the *Current Events Digest* (circulation 360,000), *Panorama* (100,000), *Junior Citizen* (100,000), *World Current Events* (75,000), *Woman's Home Companion* (70,000), the conservative, business-oriented *Examiner* (circulation unknown), and the *Patriot*, a new magazine intended for the armed forces (circulation unknown). Vernacular weeklies included *Liwayway* (160,000), *Bisaya* (70,000), and *Bannaway* (50,000). Presumably, many nonpolitical periodicals have resumed publication.

During the first weeks of martial law the administration banned imports of many U.S. and other foreign publications, but by the end of 1972 U.S. publications were again entering the country without interference. Among the most popular were the *International Herald Tribune*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *Readers' Digest*. Before martial law, publications from Communist countries were frequently imported; the underground Communist organizations and their legal front groups circulated Communist propaganda; and radical leftist articles were published in some of Manila's daily papers and weekly journals. Since martial law, however, such materials no longer appear, and imported Communist publications have been confiscated or concealed. Even objective studies of communism have disappeared from libraries and bookstores, and courses on dialectical materialism and similar Marxist studies have been deleted from curriculums in higher education.

In late November 1972, according to U.S. press reports, President Marcos was planning to establish a new semiofficial press agency to collect and distribute both foreign and domestic news. Previously, the press had used the services of four separate local agencies, the largest of which had collected provincial news only. Foreign press agencies presumably still serving the Philippine papers include the Associated Press, United Press International, and to a lesser extent Reuters, *Agence France-Presse*, and Antara News

Agency. Reportedly, in December 1972, arrangements were being made to establish a TASS office in Manila. Both before and after the imposition of martial law, the Philippine media, including radio and television, have made extensive use of materials provided by the U.S. Information Service.

The development of book publishing has lagged far behind that of newspapers and periodicals. In 1968, for example, only 335 new titles were issued, largely because the cost of production has been high, placing the price of books beyond the reach of the average Filipino. Literary talent has consequently been attracted to periodicals publishing essays, short stories, and serialized novels. The commercially significant demand for books is limited principally to textbooks and cheap pulp fiction by Filipino authors.

The publishing industry is concentrated in Manila where in 1970 there were only 23 major concerns. Most produce textbooks and other nonfiction, including medical and legal volumes, religious literature, and popular do-it-yourself books. The cheap paperback novels are usually issued by small publisher-booksellers rather than by the larger firms. Most imported books originate in the United States, although Japan, Hong Kong, and the United Kingdom enjoy a smaller but growing share of the market. The longstanding shortage of textbooks was aggravated in 1970 when the devaluation of the peso virtually priced U.S. books out of the market.

Compared with other educational and informational facilities, the library system is not well developed. Although public, school, and university libraries were initiated during the U.S. administration of the islands, their collections were largely destroyed during World War II. In 1971, 454 public libraries were distributed throughout the various administrative units. Many libraries, however, particularly those in municipalities (302) and villages (47), amounted to no more than reading rooms. The National Library in Manila, the nation's leading facility, contained 179,000 volumes in the mid-1960's and maintained extension collections in other libraries throughout the archipelago. The principal university libraries were located at the University of the Philippines (291,000 volumes), the University of Santo Tomas (182,000), Silliman University (182,000), and Far Eastern University (65,000).

Radio reaches a far greater audience than any other medium of public information, primarily because of the steadily increasing availability of transistors. During the 1950's and 1960's the government and CARE distributed thousands of these sets in the barrios, and rural residents who do not own receivers

have access to those located in general stores and community centers. In 1972 an estimated 6 million households contained receivers, including transistor sets.

Since World War II, when most broadcasting facilities were destroyed, radio has become a major industry, supporting an unusually large number of broadcasting stations. Excluding 61 stations operated by the *Voice of America*, 234 stations were functioning early in 1972, eight of which were FM stations. Of the 226 AM stations (includes about 126 rebroadcast or relay stations—as contrasted with only 22 in 1954—70 were located in metropolitan Manila, and the remainder were well distributed throughout the islands. Only 25 stations were government-operated, 13 by the official Philippines Broadcasting Service (PBS), used for domestic broadcasts, 4 by the *Voice of the Philippines*, transmitting overseas, and 8 by other government agencies and government-supported educational institutions. Six stations were operated by the American Forces Philippine Network (AFPN) for military personnel on the islands. Of the 195 privately owned stations, 144 were purely commercial ventures belonging primarily to the tri-media combines or to smaller chain corporations. Because of intense competition for advertising revenues, most of the small independent stations have been absorbed by the larger networks. Of the remaining privately owned stations, 32 were maintained by Protestant organizations, principally the interdenominational Far East Broadcasting Company (FEBC), which beams *Call of the Orient* to other Asian countries; 6 stations were operated by Catholic organizations, notably *Radio Veritas*; and 13 were conducted by two university networks. Of the eight FM stations, five were operated by tri-media combines, two by the PBS, and one by the AFPN.

Under martial law, the administration has permitted a substantial number of stations to resume broadcasting. In late November 1972, 126 stations were operating, including 18 in the greater Manila area, 14 in Davao, and 7 in Cebu. Private networks known to be broadcasting include the FEBC and *Radio Mindanao*, owned by the Soriano family. These two networks have been relaying daily a new 15-minute news commentary prepared by the broadcasting department of Information.

In bidding for audiences, broadcasters largely cater to popular tastes. The bulk of daily programming, which usually extends from 7 am. to midnight, consists of popular music, interspersed with news, household lectures, and serials. Indeed, soap operas occupy a major portion of the time. Government stations place

more emphasis on educational programs than commercial broadcasters. For the past decade, PBS and some private stations, particularly those operated by the university networks, have broadcast agricultural extension and community development courses, coordinating their programs through the Rural Broadcasters Council. Although English predominates in shortwave broadcasts beamed to the outside world, most domestic programs are transmitted in Tagalog or one of the other principal vernaculars.

The television audience is confined primarily to the middle and upper classes in certain urban areas, largely because of the high cost of imported receivers and the limited range of telecasting facilities. Late in 1972 an estimated 482,700 households owned television receivers.

The first television station was established in Manila in 1953. By early 1972 the number had increased to 16, seven of which were located in metropolitan Manila, three in Cebu, two in Bacolod, and one each in a number of smaller towns, as well as one at Clark Field. Eleven stations were operated by tri-media combines, two by the Republic Broadcasting System owned by an American, Robert Stewart, and one each by PBS, Feati University in Manila, and the AFPN. In late November 1972, however, as a result of martial law, only 11 commercial stations were operating—three in Manila, two in Cebu, two in Bacolod, and one each in four smaller localities. The AFPN station at Clark Field was also in operation. Among the commercial stations, the two owned by Robert Stewart, one in Manila and one in Cebu, had resumed telecasting.

Television programing resembles that in the United States except that far fewer live shows are produced. In fact, most features are imported from the United States, old motion pictures accounting for the greater part of viewing time. Prior to martial law, most news programs were of poor quality, except for those produced by the Roces-owned station in Manila which offered fairly sophisticated commentators. The Soriano-owned station in Manila provided educational programs in collaboration with the University of the Philippines. Color television was initiated by the Lopez combine in 1966. Today, as formerly, all programs are telecast in English or Tagalog.

Motion pictures are probably the most popular form of entertainment on the islands, with a total attendance in 1972 estimated at 400 million. There were approximately 980 commercial theaters, all located in urban areas. Village families frequently journey en masse to the theater in the nearest town as

a form of holiday outing. Various government agencies operate mobile film units which tour the rural areas, exhibiting documentary and educational films. Most commercial films are foreign imports, U.S. productions predominating over competition from Hong Kong, Japan, Taiwan, the United Kingdom, and Italy. Foreign imports, unless produced in English, are given subtitles in English or Tagalog, or both. There is also a thriving domestic film industry comprising about 44 companies in the mid-1960's. Domestic films, almost all produced in Tagalog, are popular with provincial audiences.

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Glossary (u/ou)

ABBREVIATION	ENGLISH
AAFLI.....	Asian-American Free Labor Institute
ALEC.....	Asian Labor Education Center
AFPN.....	American Forces Philippine Network
FEBC.....	Far East Broadcasting Company
FFF.....	Federation of Free Farmers
FFW.....	Federation of Free Workers
GSIS.....	Government Service Insurance System
ICFTU.....	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
MIM.....	Muslim Independence Movement
NAFLU.....	National Federation of Labor Unions
NATU.....	National Association of Trade Unions
NLPC.....	National League of Puericulture Centers
PACD.....	Presidential Arm for Community Development
PHILCONTU.....	Philippine Congress of Trade Unions
PIC.....	Philippine Independent Church
PBS.....	Philippine Broadcasting Service
SSS.....	Social Security System
TUCP.....	Trade Union Congress of the Philippines
WCL.....	World Confederation of Labor
WFTU.....	World Federation of Trade Unions