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Philippine Values I: The Manileño's Mainsprings*

JAIME BULATAO

THE concept of "value" is one of those which, being very primitive and extremely fundamental to human life, are hard to define. Just as with the concept of "time" which (St. Augustine said) we also know but find difficult to analyze, so with the concept of value. For practical purposes, one can best take an operational description: a value is the object of a positive attitude. It is that good to which a man tends. It is the goal, the vision of which motivates him to action. It is the thing that people want.

Value finds expression in a value judgment, whether explicit or implicit. The value judgment differs from the ordinary judgment in that it adds something to it, an attitude, a movement of the whole person towards the thing's goodness. Thus a person with full scientific objectivity may look at a picture and say, "The man is plowing a field". But the statement itself has something added to it when the person says: "It is good that a man plows the field", or, on the other hand, "It is tiresome for a man to be plowing a field". In the latter two sentences the speaker has called up his experience with plowing, has expressed an attitude towards plowing which he has now added to the bare objective statement, "The man is plowing a field".

* This is the revised version of a paper read at the Fifth Annual Baguio Religious Acculturation Conference, held at Baguio City, December 26-29, 1961.

Values are all-pervasive in human life. They color every human act and are reflected in every product of the human soul. Values are expressed especially in literature. Thus, when Sappho sings,

All things thou bringest, Hesper, that the bright dawn did part—
Sheep and goat to the fold, and the child to the mother's heart...

the poet's attitude towards evening and homecoming is obvious. There is a pricing and a valuing of evening and homecoming. The object, then, whatever it may be, of this positive attitude is the "value".

Values, when seen by a philosopher, may be somewhat fixed, objective things, belonging to a "juridical order", a part of natural law. Such values may be unchanging, clearly set up in a strict hierarchical order, the same for every human being. But the psychologist is not interested in this purely objective setup. He starts empirically with the fact that psychological values, being based in great part upon a particular man's particular set of experiences, are quite *subjective*. One culture will value one thing more than another will. One man will place a positive value on plowing the land, another will not. Culture change is, perhaps primarily, the result of a change in values and itself is the cause of further changes in values in the culture.

The object, then, of the present investigation is to make a study of the Filipino's (or, more properly, of the Manileño's) values. What are those things towards which he entertains strong positive attitudes? What does he consider "good"? What are the mainsprings of his life and actions? An understanding of these values is an aid towards understanding the Filipino himself.

METHODS IN THE STUDY OF VALUES

There are various ways of studying a culture's values. One is the accurate observation of behavior followed by the categorization of that behavior under different values. Such a method is perhaps most proper to anthropologists.

Psychologists prefer to use the mental productions of members of a culture. Thus Allport, for instance, used the method of "forced-choice", asking the subject which of several choices he preferred.¹ The difficulty with such an approach is that it limits choices to previous categories set by the experimenter. Moreover, the instrument developed by Allport is probably too culturally impregnated with American concepts and hence difficult to use with a Filipino group.

Another approach follows the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) technique devised by Murray.² The technique itself, originally meant for personality diagnosis, is very simple. Several pictures are presented one by one to a subject who is asked to make up a story about each one. He is told to say what led up to the picture, what is happening and what is going to happen. One of the cards is blank and on this card the subject is asked to imagine any picture he likes and then to tell a story about it. In the original test by Murray there were 30 cards and the stories told to these were analyzed according to Murray's own system of "presses" and "needs", presses being the story-teller's way of structuring his world and needs being the drives by which he responds to the demands of this world as he sees it. It is this technique which has been adapted to suit the purposes of the present value study.

Instead of Murray's original American cards a set of sixty-two pictures were picked from local fiction magazines. These were copied and reproduced, minus the colors, by means of a Verifax machine. A blank card was added, making sixty-three cards in all. The pictures themselves were such as to leave to the subject telling the story as much of the structuring of the situation as possible; likewise the choice of values was left to the subject. For instance, one of the pictures was of a young girl playing a guitar. From this pic-

¹ G. W. Allport, P. E. Vernon and G. Lindsey. *MANUAL OF DIRECTIONS FOR STUDY OF VALUES*. Revised edition. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1951.

² H. A. Murray *et al.* *EXPLORATIONS IN PERSONALITY*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1938.

ture a very large variety of themes was possible and actually drawn out, for instance, that the girl had been expelled from home and was just soothing her feelings; or she was waiting for her husband after she had brought him food in the fields; or she was a blind girl suffering in patience, etc. The other pictures were similarly unstructured, having been chosen to allow as large a variety of theme stories as possible to be told to each one.

The subjects telling the stories were 50 men and 40 women ranging in age from 18 to 35. They were mostly workers in four Manila factories or were job applicants. Each subject would tell at least eleven stories. Nine hundred such stories formed the basis of this study.

METHOD OF ANALYSIS

Almost every story which rises above the level of mere description contains, explicitly or implicitly, some judgment about some situations or elements in the environment. Hardly ever does a person tell a story to a picture with such complete objectivity as not to betray what he considers "good" in life. An example of an explicit statement of a value is the following story by a 28-year-old man.³

This is a mother and a son. They are praying that they will stay together.

In this case, the story-teller has "projected" himself into the story. The desires of the characters are his desires, and their values are reflections of his own. The value theme of the story may be summarized thus: "It is good for mother and son to stay together". The underlying value may be called "close mother-son relations".

Sometimes there is a denial of value, a turning away from it, as in the following story by an 18-year-old girl.

She's reading the book because she has nothing to do. She doesn't seem very interested in the book. She becomes very bored. I don't know what she'll do next.

³ Each "story" was taken down in shorthand. All are reproduced here *exactly* as given.

The story itself does not say what the positive value is to which the person turns, except perhaps what may be generally described as "something interesting". The value theme may be summarized: "There is no good in a girl's reading a book". The positive value to which the person is tending, that which she considers "good" in her life, can only be described vaguely as "something interesting", although more likely such a girl does not have very strong values in her life and will be more of a "floater".

In some stories, the values of the story-teller do not emerge explicitly. In these cases, recourse is had to certain rules and presumptions of projective theory. Murray maintains, and 20 years of experience with his TAT have confirmed his ideas, that when a person tells a story to a picture he identifies with at least one of the characters and "projects" upon this character his own needs and presses.⁴ If, then, one can analyze this "hero's" actions, his aims and goals, one can arrive at the story-teller's own values.

How does one pick out the "hero" in a story? The following rule is stated by Bellak:⁵

The main hero of the story is the one who is most spoken of, whose feelings and subjective notions are most discussed, and, in general, the figure with whom the narrator seems to identify himself. In case of doubt, the figure resembling the patient most closely in age, sex, and other characteristics should be considered the main hero.

Identifying, thus, the hero of the story, his action can be studied in its course and its outcome. The question may be asked: In the course of the hero's action, what is the goal he is aiming at? What does he want to accomplish by his actions? What does he consider "good"? Analysis of the action thus brings out the hero's values.

The following story is told by a 24-year-old woman, a nurse:

⁴ Murray, *op. cit.* pp. 530-545.

⁵ L. Bellak. *THE THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST AND THE CHILDREN'S APPERCEPTION TEST IN CLINICAL USE*. New York: Greene & Stratton, 1954. p. 52.

I thought I will just tell a story. That's hard. As if there is a picture here, how could I start my story... A picture of a mother and a child. That's the title. The... the child is lying on a bed (fans)... looks, ah, pale and emaciated. She had been sick for several days. They are alone in that house, away from the neighboring houses. The mother have done all his... her best treating the sick child. Still there was no improvement, so she was forced, she was forced to call the physician, leaving the child alone. It did not take long to reach the doctor and they hurried back to the house. Upon their arrival they had heard the child, ah, saying, "Mother, mother", in a very weak voice. The mother rushed and embraced her daughter. She was crying in deep sorrow. When the doctor examined the child, he found out that there is no more remedy. No more. (Laughs.)

The mother is the "heroine" of the story. The action of the story consists of the mother's attempts to save the life of her child. What was it that the mother considered "good"? Obviously it was the child's life. This was her value and a reflection of the story-teller's values. Incidentally, this story-teller later volunteered for Operation Brotherhood in Laos, in order to help the children there.

However, besides the action of the story, the outcome also has to be taken into consideration. In a story where, for instance, the heroes are peasant farmers who cruelly kill their oppressive masters but in the end are punished, it is not enough to say that freedom from oppression is the story-teller's value. The outcome shows an opposite value also at work, namely, that of peace and order, a revulsion from violence even when justified. Such a story to be fully analyzed should be tallied under both values. One has to make the jump, as it were, from the mind of the peasant farmers, whose aim was rebellion and liberation, to the mind of the story-teller himself, who at the end disidentifies himself from the heroes and in whom two values are competing, rebellion and preservation of the established order. In the interplay of the two values, the second one seems to have won out but not to have wholly extinguished the other.

The problem of simultaneous values also appears in the story, quoted above, of the mother seeking to save her child's life. The mother's aim is to save her child. The story-teller

also has this value, but the outcome of the story also seems to show, though much less certainly, that the story-teller has learned from experience another value, that of the scientific, medical approach to health problems. To analyze this story properly, one has to classify it under the two values, one of the "hero" in the story, the other of the story-teller, who passes judgment upon the character she had created.

CLASSIFICATION OF VALUES

Once the story has been analyzed, the problem of classification then arises. This problem is similar to that of classifying social motives, a problem which as yet has only unsatisfactory solutions in psychology. The number of categories to be used remains dependent on individual insight and inclinations. Murray used 28 categories for needs.⁶ Maslow divided needs into physiological, safety, belongingness, esteem, and self-actualization.⁷ Allport divided values into the theoretical, economic, aesthetic, social, political and religious.⁸ There still remains a need for some kind of qualitative factor analysis to group the values, starting out from the data rather than from *a priori* categories.

In the absence of such a qualitative statistical tool the next best method was to leave classification to clinical insight. To obtain some sort of objectivity, fourteen psychology graduate students, all of whom had administered their own sets of Filipino pictures to Filipino (Manila) subjects, consulted, first in small groups of two or three, then all together in one larger discussion group, and compared their findings. As a result of these sessions, four main headings emerged. These were taken as the four main values of the cultural sample. Under these four values were then listed the themes, the cultural norms, which had reoccurred at least once in every twenty stories. There was an undoubted overlap between the values thus obtained as well as a hierarchical subordina-

⁶ Murray, *op. cit.*

⁷ A. H. Maslow. *MOTIVATION AND PERSONALITY*. New York: Harper, 1954.

⁸ Allport, *op. cit.*

tion of means to ends, but such overlap was tolerated for the sake of cultural meaningfulness, just as Thurstone allowed his factors to be rotated and to take oblique positions (i.e. to be correlated with each other) in order to obtain psychological meaningfulness. The four values are herewith described with the more common themes appended to them and with examples taken from the stories to illustrate the themes.

VALUES RESULTING FROM THE STUDY

VALUE A. This value may be defined as "Emotional closeness and security in a family".

The family is seen as having a double function. Firstly, it provides an outlet for the need of a person to get out of himself and come into contact with another person in a free and unguarded emotional exchange. Secondly, it provides understanding, acceptance, a place where, no matter how far or how wrongly one has wandered, he can always return. As one of the subjects of the study put it, in beautifully cadenced language: "We always want to come back home. No matter where we are, we always dream of that place where we come from." The family is seen as a defense against a potentially hostile world, as insurance against hunger and old age, as a place where one can be oneself without having to worry too much about maintaining "smooth interpersonal relations" with outsiders.

Value A occupies by far the largest area in the total field of values. The family is seen as an end in itself, without need of subordinating it to other values. The most common themes reechoing this value are as follows:

A1. The interest of the individual must be sacrificed for the good of the family.

a) Parents must strive, even at great cost to themselves, to give their children an education.

There was once a family who had a very happy life. All the children were working and were all married and also happily married. The parents were not rich but sacrifices made it possible for all children to be educated. The children were very grateful and have never

forgotten their sacrifices. So every Sunday after Mass they go to their parents' home and have a family reunion. (Blank Card, F.)

Early in the morning, the farmer went to the field to continue plowing his field. This man is living with his wife in the barrio. They have one son studying in the city. This is the reason why the father is doing his best to raise the field alone without helper, just to let his only son finish his studies. This farmer begin plowing the field at the rises of the sun till noon time, then he take rest waiting for his wife to bring her a food. (Card 37, M.)

This picture shows a young man who is on his way to school with the hope that someday he will finish his studies and become useful to his parents as well as to his country. In the background, you can see his parents working hard in the fields so that after having a fruitful harvest, they would have barely enough money to finance the education of their son which is one of their most important duties. (Card 5, M.)

b) Older children must make sacrifices for young children.

The kid sister wants so much a new dress for school as her classmates had ridiculed her the day before and now she is crying her heart out to her mother. Mother explained the situation to big brother who although needing money too to buy a pair of leather shoes grudgingly parted with a few pesos. He could not very well refuse his mother even if he feels his shoes are more important than kid sister's dress. The dress was bought and big brother went that Saturday to his girl friend—in his old pair of rubber shoes. (Card 16, M.)

Incidentally it is of cultural interest to note the appeal to an authority figure, who steps in and uses her authority gently to enforce the principle of individual subordination to the group.

c) Even marriage must at times be put off to help the family.

Contented with life, she passes her time singing for the farmers who may be planting rice nearby. She has no immediate plan in the future and seems to be thinking or saying to herself how industrious the young man who happens to be courting her. She thinks she'll answer him next Christmas and not now for she has to help in the family. (Card 7, F.)

d) Mothers, especially, sacrifice themselves for the family.

Late in the night, the man comes home and finds his poor wife has fallen asleep while finishing some dresses for her customers.

His salary is not enough to support the big family; so his wife tries to help by sewing dresses. She forces herself awake to finish some dresses due the next day but the flesh is weak and she dozes off unwillingly. The husband gently wakes his wife with a kiss and invites her to go to bed already. She willingly takes the invitation and calls the day off. (Card 30, F.)

A2. Parents should be very strict in watching over, protecting, and curbing their children, who might otherwise meet with disaster.

The stories under this heading are very numerous. There seems to be a very strong fear of blind forces in the environment and in the children themselves, which makes a strict adherence to the family's rules imperative as a defense.

a) Physical harm may befall the child.

Early in the morning, beside the gate of her house, poor Mrs. Martha Reyes can be seen standing there—shocked, eyes big as that of an owl staring at something beyond of which the neighbor says there is nothing to be looked and stared at, really actually. Mrs. Reyes, if one could only know, is suffering from the loss of her only child. Since she is new in the place where she is living now, her new neighbors naturally never knows her sad life. Actually since Mrs. Reyes had an only child and the latter was still taken from her by God, so she becomes almost crazy, standing near the gate and imagining always her child that met an accident. (Card 40, F.)

b) If left by themselves, moral harm will befall the children, especially the girls.

The time is past midnight. The couple are anxiously waiting for their teen-aged daughter who has gone out with some friends to a party—a merienda-cena—who was supposed to be home at 9:00 p.m. The father is angry at the mother because he did not want to give his daughter the permission to go, for the company was not good, the place too far and so on. But the mother, who was the easily-giving-in type, helped her daughter and she was able to go to the party. But now both of them are alarmed. The mother crying and imagining all sorts of things. The father scolding both his wife and inwardly himself for spoiling their daughter. (Card 20, M.)

A loving son, coming home to spend his vacation with her aged mother. Now he is helping her with her work of taking off the corn from the peelings. She is trying to give a sort of loving lecture to her son. Congratulating him on his achievement and warning him

to take care for he might have had companions who might lead him astray in the big city. (Card 24,M.)

c) There is a fear that when children leave the house, they may meet an accident. One subject gave the following story to the Blank Card, showing a personal preoccupation.

Once on my way home, I had witness an accident in one of the national road of our city. I was so eager to see what happened to the passenger of the vehicles. So when our bus stopped, I went down to the spot of the accident. There were many persons around it that I had to force myself among them before I had seen the victims. At first I was looking ahead of me to the other victims. I see that horrors is still fresh in their mind. Suddenly a wind blew, I was shock and remained speechless for quite sometime for I didn't notice that under the newspaper which was in front of me that were blown off by the wind was a dead body of a young boy. I had to sit for a while in the sidewalk, for I feel dizzy. Everything, as I looked at the dead boy, was horrible. Blood were scattered almost around him. I can still remember how his brain were thrownd out from his head. His twisted arm and legs. It was so terrible that till now, everytime I passed an accident, I am already so afraid to look at it. (Card 16, M.)

It is interesting that this same subject, in his Sentence Completion Test, wrote the following:

When I was younger I felt guilty about leaving the house without the permission of my parents.

My fears sometimes force me to tell a lie to my parents.

There seems to be great anxiety about displeasing the authority figures.

d) Accordingly "the parents believe that while (a girl) is still young, she can still be taught by whipping or frightening her".

A young lady is frightened by something she had not seen before. This young lady comes from a family with a strict disciplinary training. Every time she commits a little mistake, that fearful thing—the hands and feet of the father—always comes her way. Now she is thinking on why these things happens to her so that she submits herself that she is always in a wrong. The family where this young lady comes from believes that if they are strict to their young daughter, it is for her own good, that all that they want will be followed strictly by their daughter in order to avoid unpleasant acts and

behavior that may arise later. Besides the parents believe that while she is still young, she can still be taught by whipping or frightening her so that in the future, she will not be misguided and will not do wrong acts that are not within the norms and standards of society. (Card 61, F.)

e) Somehow or other, even this bodily safety, over which there is so much concern, is linked to the drive for family security.

I have seen a careful worker showing his hands with complete ten fingers. Do you know that the ten best tools is this, showing his hands and ten fingers. There is no more on stock. From more than twenty years of working I have done so many things with this best tools that I have to take good care. Do you think the fellow who lose his arm or even a finger can do much than the one having complete one? In mind I see this fellow working carefully and continuously without any damage done on him as an employee and on the company as an employer. In the afternoon in going home what to see is his family cheerfully waiting for him for they expect that father of the family will come without any damage on his body parts. (Card 16, M.)

A3. *Women are highly valued for their qualities as mothers and housekeepers.* They are the ones primarily expected to keep the family close together.

a) Women are undemanding. They love one and only one.

It is harvest time and while the other girl was busy with their work, Laura plays the guitar alone in one of the shady nooks. She strums a sad tune and recollects her past. She had a lover whom she fell so hard. But this guy just played with her heart. He left her and being a typical Filipina, faithful and true, waits for the day when she'll come again. (Card 11, F.)

A common scene to see in any farm in the province. Lonely and waiting for the undetermined future, the woman keeps humming the guitar and sings beautiful songs while some of her co-farmers are planting rice. Unsophisticated and modest, this type of our women can be good mothers and housekeeper. Their needs are simple and few. They are not too demanding, yet they love one and only one, characteristic of our Maria Clara. (Card 11, M.)

"For richer or for poorer in sickness or in health..."—these are the thoughts that are going around Aling Martha's mind while tending to her sick husband. They've had a happy life together—a life full of joys, tears, disappointments and a few success. (Card 50, F.)

b) A marriage should be kept intact no matter what the husband might do. The women should forgive an unfaithful husband.

This picture speaks of a scene common to poor people living in shanties. Such places may be in the squatters' area. The old woman, probably the mother of the gentleman and of the child playing in the corner, seems to be demanding of the man his daily earnings. It seems that he has just arrived from work and his mother is eager to get his pay for the day. It is obvious that these three belong to a very poor family as evidenced by the patched rags that the child is wearing. (Card 16, F.)

The scene clearly suggests a domestic quarrel between a husband and his wife. The man could have lost his job or could be guilty of infidelity. In any way, this situation is a common scene in many a home and no matter how strong the storm is, things get to be smooth again. These two may fight and argue the whole night but loving each other as they do, they would soon talk their problems over and find their way to each other again. (Card 20, F.)

This seems to be a picture of infidelity caught in action. The woman in the shadows is the man's wife watching her husband leave his other woman's house. The other woman is obviously thrilled and happy but the husband is sad and probably possesses a guilty conscience in spite of his amorous adventures. A typical domestic quarrel will ensue upon the arrival of the husband and the wife home. After having talked their problems over, the couple may find a solution to their problems and everybody will be happy in the end. (Card 28, F.)

c) Away from the family, women are insecure, worry about their loss of chastity.

The scene is inside the passenger train. A woman finds herself in a precarious situation. She is the only one among the men who surround her. Worst of all the man right in front of her keeps on staring at her as if there is something in her which her seatmate see for the first time in his life. She feels as if her body is nude. She begins covering her bosom and stoops down to hide her feeling of fear. When the train stops at a station, the man goes down. She feels relieved and decides to go to sleep. (Card 7, M.)

Linda got bored in the province. She wanted to go to the city where everything seems glamorous. With some cash, she boarded a train going to Manila. While on the train, she noticed a man eyeing her. She got nervous. The man approached and offered her a job. She accepted. She found out to her regrets that she is to become a prostitute. (Card 7, M.)

A4. *Tender relationships, cariño, lambingan, are highly prized.* Often there is a sad, nostalgic note. Memories of close relationships are sweet.

a) A husband and wife are close to one another. The wife pleads for her son.

The wife is "making karinyo" for she wants something very badly from her husband, maybe it is for her growing children. Since usually sons are "mama's boys", the son maybe asked her to plead his cause to papa. The father on the other hand will try to agree just to please the wife maybe. (Card 13, M.)

b) Even in delirium (in his unconscious) a man thinks of his loved ones.

A sick man, having a delirium, pleading to see and speak with his loved one who is far away. But he cannot get up and go to her, so he just cries out and in his delirium tries to get her near him. (Card 26, M.)

c) A husband parts with pain from his wife. He leaves her with her parents.

This could be a picture that tells a story of love. A sad thing, however, happened so as the husband leaves the wife to the care of her parents. She cries so much of the thought that she will be alone for quite some time but of the happy assurance that one day he will come back again. (Card 9, M.)

d) A girl, jilted, has recourse to mother.

This could be another story of love but this time the girl is jilted. It is a nice thing to have a mother, though, to whom the girl can always find love and understanding.

e) Marriage to a simple Filipino is preferred to a foreign marriage. Reasons given in this story are: guitar, woman calling children to say the rosary, barefoot farmers, children anxiously awaiting their parents. The story is charming for its humor and its form.

Putting the pictures together, they all sum up the story of mankind, their success and failures and their strong struggle to survive. But I can tell my own story which could well apply to us Filipinos. It is also a story of love, a story about a young Filipina whose beauty became a problem to her. She had once too many suitors. She knew she was not getting any younger and she must choose. She first thought of the American, "If I marry Bob, I'll live in New

York and see the tallest building in the world. If I marry Pierre, the Frenchman, I'll live in Paris where the days are short and the nights are long. If I marry the English baron, I'll live in a many rooms 'barong-barong' and wake up by the sound of the Big Ben. And if I marry Pedro, I have to stay in this country." As she played with the thought of Pedro she could hear the strumming of a guitar and Aling Rosa calling her children to say the rosary. Nearby she could see the barefooted farmers of her town on their way home and their children anxiously waiting for them. From that moment she knew the man she always wanted to marry. And that was Pedro. This is, therefore, the story of a Filipina who committed a financial blunder for the sake of cherishing the things that are Filipino. Her simple act is an act of love for one's country, an act of patriotism. (Blank Card, M.)

VALUE B. This is the "authority" value. It may be defined as: "Approval by the authority figure and by society, authority's surrogate". It is a concern for what the important person is thinking about oneself and a tendency to shape one's behavior accordingly. There is a fear of stirring up conflict with "people who count", this fear in turn giving rise to a need for "smooth, interpersonal relations". One does not reveal one's real thoughts completely to strangers, foreigners, or powerful individuals, but only those aspects of one's thoughts which will be acceptable to them. Fundamentally, the fear is that of exposing one's ego to danger. Underlying this value is the anxiety of a "self-esteem based on group estimation". Attack upon this value, e.g., when an authority figure fails to recognize a person's merit or treats a person casually, is a wound to the *amor propio* and may result in violent retaliation.

There is some overlap between this value and Value A2, since parental approval could be classified either as a "family" value or as an "authority" value. However, there is a difference, more in emphasis perhaps than in essence, between the two. Value A2 emphasizes the "closeness and security" aspect, Value B the "authority" aspect. It is quite possible that the typical attitude towards parental figures in Philippine culture is somewhat ambivalent, being a desire to be close to the parents and at the same time a need to treat parents "diplomatically".

B1. In order that the family may remain close and secure, someone must exert firm authority.

Authority is looked upon as an indispensable means for maintaining Value A. Under A1, there has already been quoted the example of the mother stepping between elder brother and younger sister. Other examples show an even stronger authoritarian trend.

a) A daughter is strictly disciplined so that she can finish a career, so that she can earn money, so that she can help bring up her children. The hierarchy of means and ends is noteworthy.

The girl is having a very strict father and is kept indoor most of the time. The father has all the reasons to be strict and be a disciplinarian because he wants his daughter to finish a career and be a success in the future and not just stay home and sit there only. In the future, she could earn her own living and, if married, help in the upbringing of her children. (Card 62, F.)

b) A grandmother wishes to keep the children together by keeping the property together.

"I sent for you, Dodong, because we've important matters to discuss today. About that 16-hectare land in Maalsom. I want you to negotiate the purchase of that piece. We haven't the exact cash right now. What you do is this. Look for a buyer for that useless piece of swamp in Milaor and that far-off piece in San Vicente. We'll eliminate not only unproductive soil but wasteful long trips visiting as well. The wise thing is to gather all of them near the home base for expediency, see? When I die you'll take over as administrator of the entire area. It will be vast, I tell you. It won't be divided ever. For the future you'll all benefit from the fruits of the land, all seven sisters and brothers equally, almost in share but never to quarrel over what should be disposed or retained. That can never happen. Take a lesson from the Marquezes. What are they now? Paupers, pitiful hand-to-mouth beggars. Why? Because the original founders made the fatal mistake of giving each child a piece to manage as each wish. Of course the sad consequence was never predicted by the old overprotective, over-confident fool of a parent, Donya Sisang. Never foreseen, poor soul." The grandmother dies. Young grandson carries on as instructed. (Card 59, F.)

c) Children may marry only with the consent of the parents; even when they elope, there must be a reconciliation

with the parents. Without such a reconciliation, there is a great fear that the marriage will not be a success.

This picture shows two lovers in a very romantic secret pose. I will call the girl Isidra and the boy Tony. Isidra and Tony are shown secretly looking in the direction of the other room where you could see a boy and a man talking. The man, Nicolas, is probably the brother of Isidra and maybe Tony and Isidra are up to something. Maybe they are planning on their future or maybe planning to elope while her brother talks to his kid brother, Bosyo, on some other matters. Their plans will probably materialize and the couple will probably have a happy married life if ever sanctioned by both their parents. (Card 13, M.)

The son has just made a shocking confession—he is marrying the girl his parents disapprove of. The girl is not good enough for him because she is a hostess in a nightclub. However, the young man is much too in love with her; hence he tells them of his decision. The old couple has no other alternative but to give in to their son's wishes. The two got married and all strive to adjust themselves to the difficult situation of trying to lead a harmonious life. (Card 29, F.)

d) Nevertheless there is an undercurrent of sympathy for young people who marry against their parents' will. The parents are expected to tolerate their children's choices, and to forgive them if they elope.

It is very difficult to gather what the picture suggests. The old man on the telephone seems to be in his pajamas and he is probably sitting on his bed. This can be digested from the nearby lampshade which commonly is situated on bedsides. The two figures in the background may suggest the old man's daughter and her fiance. The two could have just eloped and have given the old man a ring as to their whereabouts. The couple are asking his forgiveness and, being a father, he would naturally pardon them. (Card 17, F.)

e) Especially among educated children, there is a tendency to marry even against their parents' wishes.

This is a story of a young couple, who got married against the will of their parents. They both face life with strong determination to undergo all the troubles that may come in their way. Both are employed in the same company. Having graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Science in Chemical Engineering, the man is fortunate enough to be given the top position in the company while the girl works in the laboratory. This young couple will be very successful in life, I'm sure, because both are possessed with the strong deter-

mination and character and they are held together with love. Love with a strong foundation of trust and confidence with one another. (Blank Card, F.)

B2. Authority figures must be respected and obeyed, though only within limits.

Cruelty is a valid reason for one to stop seeking the approval of the authority figure and to run away from him. The authority figure arouses a strong ambivalent attitude in people, which may become conscious only under special circumstances.

a) A person must heed parental advice.

This is a picture of father and son wherein the father is teaching the son because of the misgivings or mistakes done by the son to other people. The son listens carefully what father was saying to him. By so doing the son learned a moral lesson from his father's wisdom (mistakes?). Well maybe he's involved in a fistfight with other teenagers of his age. (Card 34, M.)

This shows a picture of a mother and son discussing strongly about welfare of son. Both mother and son discussing about the future daughter-in-law. The qualities the mother would like in a daughter-in-law and wherein the son intently listens to his mother. What will happen? Maybe the son has a girl friend with the qualities that he had mentioned. (Card 59, M.)

The father giving advice to his son who committed mistake that is against his will and give bad impression to their family. The boy doesn't understand the advice of his father and he take it in wrong way. But if he only think it over, it is for his own good for parents doesn't brought or lead their son nor daughter to the wrong way of life. The father telling his son about his life when he is also a boy like him, the problems he encounters and his experience in fighting for his own life. (Card 34, M.)

There was a father who had an only son. He was a very prominent doctor and therefore wanted his son to be a doctor. He used to talk to his son, telling him that he would be very happy if he would become a doctor. The son being a very good son followed his father's wish and he became also a very prominent doctor. (Card 34, F.)

There was a beautiful girl in the country who could play the guitar very well. Her parents tried to convince her to go to the city and develop her talent. At first, she did not like to leave the

country because she grew up there and loved the country very much. However, her parents were able to convince her. After some time of study, she become a country-wide known guitarist and was considered a virtuoso. (Card 11, F.)

b) Even in the absence of the masters, it is the thought of them that makes their subjects behave.

The masters are away and only the two maids are left to lord it over the big house. One thinks that they should live it up. The other says that no, we must keep the house and ourselves in order, because our masters are away, we must show that we are worthy of the trust they have given us now. The second maid wins the first to this course of action. (Card 62, M.)

c) Mothers influence the marriage choices of their daughters. Hence, it is good also to court the mother.

This couple is engaged in taking the husks off of ears of corns. This is a common rural scene. The picture, however, may go farther than a simple rural situation. The old lady may have a daughter who the young man is after. He helps the lady in her household chores so that he may get nearer to the heart of the mother. In so doing, it would be easy for him to court the daughter as mothers influence much the decisions of their daughters. (Card 24, F.)

d) It is for a person to keep quiet when scolded, and to think things out for himself.

There's nothing I can really think of about these two creatures. Maybe they're advising or counselling a child of theirs who has a problem. The father appears to be going about it very calmly while the mother looks real mad. Perhaps the child did something or decided on something against her wishes, or not according to the way she wanted. The child will just keep quiet after the lecture, go to her room, think things out for herself and the parents will go to their own quarters, the father calm, the mother still mad. (Card 34, F.)

e) Parental cruelty gives the child the right to run away.

There was once a beautiful girl who had no mother. She was an orphan and had a cruel father. He used to beat her often without cause. A time came when she had a suitor. He was a very good prospect and therefore after some thinking, she ran away with the man and they had a very happy life. (Card 61, F.)

Past... the daughter were caught by the father, may be going with a man. At present, he has been punished, whipped. And in the future, she will do the same and get married. (Card 61, M.)

The lady was whip by her father as punishment of her being disobedient to him. This girl have been going steady for a long time now to man whom his father hated very much. The relation of this girl to the man was secret, until the time the father come to know about their relation. The father called his daughter to the room and punished her by whipping with *latigo*. But the father is not right in doing this because the girl cannot prevent her feeling to the man she love. And more is that this girl has also the freedom to choice the man for her own and to be her husband someday. (Card 61, M.)

f) Authority figures are feared and served with awe, but sometimes are not really loved. When they lose their authority, the real feelings of others towards them become manifest.

The once rich Don Quintin and his two proud sons parade through the town carrying their suitcases. Before, they had been feared and served with awe because of their riches and power. Now they are nothing but an ordinary person and the laughing stock of the town. From their palatial home they descended to a "barong-barong" because their properties have been sold for public auction. Pretense and hypocrisy caused their downfall. "He who exalts himself shall be humbled, and he who humbles himself shall be exalted" kept ringing to the ears of the younger son, Ben. He heard this from the pulpit last Sunday. As he walked in the midst of jeers and whisperings, with his father and elder brother, Tony, to their new poor man's house, Ben resolved to humble himself in order to be exalted. The three separated for the sake of economy. Ben remained in the town, took the jeers he deserved as a man and worked as the town *caminero*. Years went on and the town people became fond of Ben and they learned to love him. Not long later, he became rich with a heart of flesh for his fellowmen and the poor. (Card 36, M.)

B3. *One looks to authority figures for help in obtaining a job and other benefits.*

a) It is good to establish good relations with a tycoon or a manager.

"He promised to come right after the graduation dance, as we were going to have a family reunion, and now he has forgotten me!" sobbed Marietta in her room. Really, it was a pity seeing her, especially on her seventh month of pregnancy. She and Arturo were classmates, fell in love and married rather untimely; thus, they had to stay with her parents. Her mother, woman as she was, sensed something was troubling her daughter, came into the room and tried her best to comfort Marietta and kept on saying—"Arturo will come back before midnight and with good news, baby." The hours passed,

and Marietta listlessly turned in her bed, waiting, waiting for her husband. After what seemed ages, Marietta woke up with a start, seeing Arturo standing beside her bed, kissing her hands, and told her—"Darling, I'm really sorry I missed our family reunion, but, sweetheart, I have a job! You know, right after the graduation exercises, I met Papa's friend, Don Jose, the industrial tycoon who told me that he had seen my school records and was impressed and lost no time in hiring me forthwith as a technical engineer of his firm; thus, the reason why I was delayed in coming home at once." Marietta was relieved and hugging her husband, thanked God for such grace they received so early in their married life. (Card 41, M.)

Romeo, trembling with wrath, pushed away his sweetheart, Rosana, with violence, saying—"You lied to me, you promised not to see your old boy-friend, my boss! What were you doing there in his office?" Rosana tried her best to explain her visit but Romeo, angry and jealous as he was, told her in no uncertain terms to leave his room and called his sister to drive Rosana away. Months of anguish and suspicion ate into Romeo's soul, until he laid bedridden in the hospital. Then, just like that, his boss and Rosana came to visit him. His boss with paternal benevolence sat beside Romeo and said—"Romeo, you indeed have a saint of a sweetheart; you see, you have been promoted to office manager and you must thank God for Rosana's undying devotion and faith in you. She fought hard for your promotion before the Board of Directors and came often to me for advice on what to do. While we were sweethearts before, all that is water under the bridge, for I am going to be your best man at your wedding. So, get well and be the happiest man by marrying Rosana with an office managership as a gift to both of you!" (Card 41, M.)

b) Benefits come by way of patronage and gift.

Domingo had labored under the illusion of becoming somebody rich, beyond the horizon of Meycatmon's rice paddies. A job in Manila will do the trick. Why not? He went to the city well known for its unemployment problem. Selling his priceless carabao, plow and nipa house he sallied forth, sure of his vision of a comfortable time in the big city. All he needed was the patronage, the support of his *ninong*, a congressman of his province, to land him a job. Having no qualifications he banked solely on his godfather's (by marriage) graces. End of the story: he returned to the province, to his little patch of rice field. Thanks to the generosity of his former landlord, he is given another chance to live on the fruits of the soil. By lending him a carabao, his best friend, he came to realize in the end of his long journey searching for a place in the sun. (Card 37, F.)

This spinster is visited by her favorite nephew. She entertains him by telling stories about her past life when everything was still

rosy. The nephew listens patiently although he's bored hearing the same story over and over again. This is so because he visited his aunt to ask for some more pocket money which he knows she will give. Finally he asks and the spinster, being broke at the moment, disappoints him. He immediately leaves his lonely aunt who lives in a past filled with painful memories. (Card 49, M.)

In the last story above, the ambivalent attitude towards the authority figure is implied. A person loves authority's gift but not necessarily the person of the one having authority.

B4. Tradition must be followed.

The form of authority, especially that of age, so dominates the individual that he refuses to let go of the group's accepted norms. The individual must not rise above the group. If he does, social pressure will try to pull him down to the level of everyone else. Furthermore, he must never sever his ties to the old home town.

This value comes in conflict with Value C, as will be seen later.

a) A man's children till the same land as their grandfathers did.

Ito na. Maybe the man inherit the land from his old man and at present is working for it. And in the future he will let his children continue the work for a living. (Card 37, M.)

b) One works for success in the city so as to be able to return to the old town. Also noteworthy in the following story is the relation of son to mother: "God gave her a son, so that he can help her in the future."

Doña Luz Vda. de Castro was one of the richest lady in the land. She had a beautiful mansion on top of a hill which looked down upon a small town in the south. Many years ago, she came to this town as a young bride of Don Juan de Castro. They had a son after five years of marriage and they loved the boy dearly. When the boy, Jose, was five, his father died in war leaving the young widow and son alone. But they were very well off so they didn't have a worry in the world. After many years of happiness, Doña Luz' lawyers told her that her bank account is getting less and less and something had to be done to save the situation. Doña Luz didn't know how to break the news to Jose. Jose was used to high standard

living, she just didn't know how to break the news to him. But Jose knew about the situation already, because as a lawyer they always seem to know everything and he knew that his mother was afraid to tell him. So one evening while Doña Luz was embroidering, Jose sat beside her on the sofa, and told her that he knew the situation and not to worry since that was why God gave her a son so that he can help her in the future. He was offered a good job in a firm in Manila and they can live in Manila and rent the mansion while they were in Manila. And so they went to the city and Jose was making so good that he knew in a few years they can go back home forever. (Card 59, F')

This is the story of a man who left his hometown when he was still a young man. Ambitious and proud, he set off for the big city to make his fortune. He leaves behind his parents and relatives—and completely forgets them for years. He becomes a success. He is rich—makes a fortune through hard work. He has married in the big city—raised a family of two boys and lived a very busy life. However, he is not happy. He feels something missing in his life. Now as he is walking on the muddy street of his hometown, on the way to his old folks' nipa hut, he begins to feel something he never felt before—a certain warmth he never experienced in his long years of working to be successful in the business world in the big city. With each step he knows this is where he belongs. "The tree has to go back to its roots in order to sustain its life," he mused. (Card 36, M.)

c) One must be on guard against strangers and innovators, who may bring harm to the family's traditional way of life. One must please them (i.e., must be careful about smooth interpersonal relations).

Foreign strangers came to a small town. Maybe they are the new medical staff of the barrio. All the children are anxious to know them. Curious to know how they speak, how they act, what are their ways of living. On the other hand their parents and the elders are trying to have a good impression for the fear that these men might do more than good to their loved ones. (Card 36, M.)

d) The authority figure must be followed even when insisting on old-fashioned ideas. An ambivalence within this story-teller is implied.

I see the picture of my father in this blank card as he scolded me during my childhood days. You see, my father is very old-fashioned in his ideas, but since he is my father, I must follow whatever he commands me to do and I think his ideas are the right one. (Blank Card, M.)

B5. *One must be careful about what the neighbors are thinking regarding oneself.*

a) The first story dramatizes a man's suppressed anxiety about what people are saying.

The townfolk heard that a new family was moving in. So, they all gather around near the place to see who or what this new family looks like. The man leading the group appears cool, and sure of himself, walking erect and dignified. The two look like fish out of water. The one on the left side though, tries to look calm and dignified (a lesser fish) but overdoes it. The man on the right looks relaxed and easy to get along with. When they get to the house the man on the right will feel at home right away and go about things as if they were ordinary everyday occurrences; while those two "real cool" people will be the ones peeping through half-closed windows and see how people reacted or try to hear what they're saying about them. (Card 36, F.)

In a small barrio like Oring it's nine out of ten that your life is being discussed like news from page one especially so if you are a local girl just returned from a long stay in the big city like Manila. In the case of Jacobe this is true. Jacobe left Oring to get employed in the city as a housemaid. After four years she does the 'return of the native' act only to be subjected to a whispering campaign. One of the local girls had started the rumor that she had stayed away so long—four years is a long time—to hide her sin, giving birth to a product of an illicit affair with her employer's son. In time this damaging story reached the girl's ear and she decided sorrowfully to leave her birth-place for good, going back to the city to resume her life as a house-hold help. Her parents and relatives who care refuse to believe, of course, and remained firm in their faith in Jacobe's word that it's not true. (Card 62, M.)

It is interesting that the last story is immediately followed on the Blank Card by the same man with a story showing a desire to get away from it all, as if the pressure of society is too much for him and he has to throw off the burden of living with men.

After a while it becomes tedious to continue living in the city. One gets lost in the waves of jostling, bustling humanity in a sea of material concern. One must of necessity to the soul get away and repair to some island, to some Bali Hai, where one can find himself again alone in the middle of God's vast garden untouched by civilization. A place between earth and sky, east of the sun, west of the moon, with only the sea murmuring in his ears or laughing on his bare toes,

the soft, white sands spraying over brown feet making them browner, very evenly browner. Nearby stands one's perpetual friend, the mountain, giving that individual a towering feeling that right here in the middle of nowhere he is with friends. (Blank Card, M.)

b) Parents teach their family to behave so that they will be appreciated and respected by the community, and also for morality's sake.

This is a married couple who will soon rear their own children. They are thinking of their responsibility as parents, on how they can go on life smoothly with all the whims and trials they have to sacrifice. They believe likewise that on their efforts to teach and guide their own family pleasantly so that they will be appreciated and respected by the community. They also think of the moral ways of living. (Card 34, F.)

The first two Values (A, the family; B, authority) seem to be taken as ends in themselves. They are not considered as means to any other end. The following two values, however, are in large part means for the attainment of the first two. Nevertheless, they are not mere means, but seem to have some independent value in themselves. They are sought after to some extent for their own sake and thus merit to be classified separately.

VALUE C may be simply labeled "Economic and social betterment". It appears most often as a desire to raise the standard of living of one's family, or of one's hometown, often as repayment for one's debt of gratitude to parents and relatives. Usually it is mere sufficiency or else economic security that one is after. More rarely, the value is expressed as a desire for individual success, to make good in one's career. Sometimes one wants to do well in order to repay the parents' sacrifices; at other times there is no mention of the family.

C1. Everyone should strive to obtain economic sufficiency for the family.

a) The farmer works for the future of his children.

This is a hardworking farmer. The main source of his income comes from his farm. He's an industrious farmer, keeping in mind the future of his children. He lives in a farm. He is happy and contented with the piece of the land he tills and cultivates. He

believes that the farmers are the backbone of the nation. So he loves the dignity of labor. He continues his work the year round through from harrowing the field to planting and harvesting. What he is doing now, he knows will be for the success and happiness of his children later. (Card 37, F.)

b) In the daydreams of a wife (the story-teller) a man's business success is associated with a happy home.

Disgusted with life, he finds solitude bring him where he wants and likes to be. He pictures himself as the boss of a big company directing the whole sales force and sitting in an air-conditioned room. He sees his wife cheerfully rearing up his children and enjoying her job as housewife immensely. Oh, if only he was somebody—but the trouble is, I did not try hard when I was young. He sees how futile it is to daydream and makes a firm resolution to do everything better and make the most of what he now has. (Card 27, F.)

c) Even the wife is expected to do her bit to help family finances, usually at great sacrifice on her part.

Late in the night, the man comes home and finds his poor wife has fallen asleep while finishing some dresses for her customers. His salary is not enough to support the big family, so his wife tries to help by sewing dresses. She forces herself awake to finish some dresses due the next day but the flesh is weak and she dozes off unwillingly. The husband gently wakes his wife with a kiss and invites her to go to bed already. She willingly takes the invitation and calls the day off. (Card 30, F.)

"What have we to eat this day?" the meager father might have said to his wife. The unfortunate mother maybe was unable to speak because she was incapable of earning a living. (Card 25, F.)

She started crying the very moment he stepped into the room. Why would he be gallivanting around while she slaves over her sewing machine days and nights too for that little extra money for the expected child. Doesn't he love her? Doesn't he pity her? Of course he does, he had answered. And a few more endearing words soothed her to calmness. But the very next day he again was gallivanting while she slaved over the sewing machine. (Card 30, M.)

d) Sometimes it is necessary even for children to steal in order to keep the family alive. There is a sense of social injustice and the stealing itself is condoned.

Every human being have to live. Some have their earning honestly and some does it in the other way. Take for instance Pedro he is

now working as a messenger in an unsteady office. But after a month of working he was laid off. The poor fellow was very much troubled. Where will he get the money now that his little baby is sick? He has no more relatives. His neighbor won't give anything because of his long credit. Now something came into his mind. He is going to steal so that there will be something to feed his children and his sick baby. So that the poor fellow stole something and he get caught. Now, nobody will work for his family because he is in jail. (Blank Card, M.)

A policeman is running after a boy who snatch the bag of a wealthy matron. She is frantic because her bag contains one thousand pesos and so attention of the crowd was attracted. The policeman caught the boy and the matron was so thankful to him. The boy was brought to Boys' Town for reformation. The matron thought of helping the boy when she found out that the boy needed money for his sick mother. She dropped the case and instead help the boy. The boy in turn promised not to do such things again. (Blank Card, F.)

C2. One must study and work hard to improve one's economic situation.

This theme may be an artifact of the particular sample group used in this study, since most of the group were Manila factory workers or clerical workers. Nevertheless, this theme occurs frequently enough to be set off on its own. There is no mention made of the family, but success is more for its own sake and for the aggrandizement of the self that it brings. The desire appears in both men and women.

This boy is trying to envision his future. After finishing his course in Business now, he is going to put up a business of his own and be an executive. Through diligence and hard work, he finishes his career. He works in an office starting as a mere clerk and rise from the ranks, he is made an assistant by his manager and when his manager retires he takes over his job. Now he is a promising executive. His dream comes true. (Card 23, F.)

Pepe had little love for those lazy carabaos and that stubborn piece of land. And to his mother and to his father Pepe was a black sheep. But he had told them over and over, I will never be a slave of the land or of the seasons. I will live a life that will give me mastery of the circumstances. That is how a man should be, how he should live. It is not good for him and his soul to be a powerless victim of circumstances. That is why Pepe walks four kilometers to school, in the heat of the sun, in the drenching lashing of rain. (Card 4, M.)

After 20 years of struggle with life, a poor boy becomes rich through his own efforts. His parents were poor. They could not afford to give him a comfortable home, good food and nice clothing. But even though how poor they are, they possess and exercise fear of the Lord, justice and virtues of honesty, obedience, etc. He worked during the mornings and studied high school at night. He finished college taking night school. He had to skimp and save to be able to live decently even though poorly. This was his ladder of success. Step by step he gained knowledge, experience and skill that placed him up and up the ladder of the company he is now working for. He may one day built a company all his own. So it is the effort and patience that makes us. (Blank Card, F.)

Juan is very ambitious. Having been brought up poor, he just finished sixth grade. But he is ambitious, nevertheless. While he plows his field he keeps thinking about how he could increase the yield of his land. So while his crop was growing he asked the help of the government to teach him how to increase his yield. Not satisfied with government advice, he experimented on a small plot. His efforts made him a self-made farmer. He was cited as farmer of the year. (Card 37, F.)

This woman grew up musically inclined. She belongs to a poor family. She always wanted a guitar of her own. But she can't. So she always borrowed one from an old man in town. She learned to play well. Harvest time and she'd rather play the guitar than join the reapers. She'll just sit under the tree and play, play, play. She gets to be good and people begin talking about her. She gets into the stage and soon she's one of a group of *gitaristas*. (Card 11, M.)

The girl is the daughter of an animal trainer. She is fascinated with taming animals. She asks her father to teach her how. She is being taught by her father how to properly hold the bullwhip, how to flick its tip at lightning speed in order to produce the crack. He taught her all the tricks. It was hard work but the girl is determined to be a lady trainer. She gets to be one. (Card 62, M.)

The bespectacled man owns a small subdivision. He is growing old so he talks to his timid son about the handling of the estate. He tells him to be aggressive and meet people. He talks to him about the art of salestalk and how to convince people about buying even unproductive land. But the son hates duping people. He doesn't care. He just continued writing poems and starves in later life. His brothers who are more enterprising get the land from him and lived happily ever after. (Card 34, M.)

The last story clearly states the superiority of the value of enterprise over poetry and the more retiring virtues. It also goes against the value of family closeness by approving

the actions of the brothers in cutting off their part-brother. The difference of these values from the big Value A and B leads one to suspect that the Value C2 is the product of culture change and something peculiar to the Manila area.

C3. *Social recognition is a major aim in one's going to school and going to work.* Apparently, the family in its great desire to rise socially finds two avenues it can follow, a school education and business success.

a) A boy meeting an authority figure (an American), and apparently wanting recognition, is moved to study.

Tonio does not want to study. He prefers to play in the field where everything is free as a bird. One day an American approached him and asked for some information. Naturally, he could not understand what that man wanted. He found out that had he studied, he would have known what the man was talking about. He decided to study. And that morning with determination on his face, he went to school. (Card 4, M.)

b) A diploma is a means to prestige.

There is a beam of happiness in his eyes as he stands from the rows of seats to receive his diploma. Just a few years ago he was just a simple lad in the slum. He used to roam around the gutter. He was a nobody to his friends. In spite of all these he has the ambition or rather he had the ambition. He strived hard. He burned the midnight oil and now here he is allowed to receive the fruit of his hard toil. (Blank Card, M.)

c) Success, in the story-teller's mind, is associated with recognition by important people.

And now congratulations to the new Chairman of the Board. Mr. Delfin has had a long climb before he reached the top. All the failures and trials along the trail did not discourage him from pursuing his goal. And now he has won the high esteem and confidence of his fellow officers. (Card 44, F.)

VALUE D. This may be defined as "Patience, suffering, endurance". It appears in stories when the frustrating force, whether poverty, injustice, sickness, or anything else, is conceived as too powerful to be overcome. It is this value which has become fused with the religious value, since it seems that God is called upon when other means fail. It is associated with women more than with men.

Sometimes this value appears with a certain magical quality about it as if one were to render oneself worthy of divine blessing simply by being patient and long-suffering. It is a theme much exploited by writers for local magazines and movies and is the main fare of the popular radio series, *Kahapon Lamang*. It is the popularity of this theme, especially the catharsis it gives to the story-teller or to the movie-goer, that leads one to classify suffering as a value in spite of its overtones.

D1. *A person must suffer before gaining happiness.*

a) A girl, remaining faithful even though misunderstood by her love, suffers in silence and finally wins him.

Romeo, trembling with wrath, pushed away his sweetheart, Rosana, with violence, saying — "You lied to me, you promised not to see your old boyfriend—my boss! What were you doing there in his office?" Rosana tried her best to explain her visit but Romeo, angry and jealous as he was, told her in no uncertain terms to leave his room and called his sister to drive Rosana away. Months of anguish and suspicion ate into Romeo's soul, until he laid bedridden in the hospital. Then, just like that, his boss and Rosana came to visit him. His boss with paternal benevolence sat beside Romeo and said — "Romeo, you indeed have a saint of a sweetheart; you see, you have been promoted to office manager and you must thank God for Rosana's undying devotion and faith in you. She fought hard for your promotion before the Board of Directors and came often to see me for advice on what to do. While we were sweethearts before, all that is water under the bridge, for I am going to be your best man at your wedding. So, get well and be the happiest man by marrying Rosana with an office managership as a gift to both of you!" (Card 43, M.)

b) Prayers said amid distress are answered.

The mother woke with a start when she saw her baby growing listless and feverish. Uneducated as she was about child care and her husband so far up in their *kaingin*, she was at a loss on what to do. "Oh my God! what will I do? There must be a way to help my baby." This she said with a prayer in her lips. Wrapping the baby as comfortably as possible, she placed the baby tenderly in his *duyan*, and rushed down the house towards her husband's *kaingin*, all the while sobbing and praying for help. Like a miracle, her prayers were answered, when she met Aling Aurelia in the mountain trail going homeward after a whole night's vigil over a neighbor's sick child.

Sobbing and imploring, the mother recited everything that happened to her baby and Aling Aurelia, wise in the ways of child care, for wasn't she the village *comadrona* who brought into this world tens of children now grown and healthy, quieted the poor hysterical woman and together they returned to the mother's house. Aling Aurelia, after some medication and massaging of the baby's stomach, grinned and said — "My child, always remember: a child, just like you and me, must eat at regular hours or suffer indigestion." The mother, now happy, fell on her kness and prayed her thanksgiving to God and to Aling Aurelia for having helped her in her hour of stress. (Card 40, M.)

c) Success comes to the poor boy.

Miguel came from a poor family. He worked and study at the same time to be able to finish architecture. Having finished his studies he was employed immediately and became a success in his line. The picture shows Miguel recalling the past, his work, the hardship he encountered; the present, the accomplishment he made; and he is thinking of what the future will bring him. (Card 22, M.)

D2. *The woman is expected to suffer in patience.*

a) The woman endures her husband's grumblings.

The picture shows Mang Ambo and Aling Maria on the table. Mang Ambo is complaining because the food is not good while Aling Maria looks sad because her husband did not like the food but she could not tell him that the money he is giving her is not enough for a good lunch. She loves her husband very much, the reason why she just keeps quiet. They are old now and there is no reason why they should quarrel over trivial matters. (Card 25, M.)

b) The woman takes refuge in religion.

✓ Helen waited for two hours outside the church. It was her wedding day. The man did not come. Embarrassed almost to death in front of everybody, she went home. Her parents consoled her. Believing that the world is against her, she entered the convent to take refuge in the house of God. (Card 9, M.)

Evangeline always wondered what it would be like to see the beautiful flowers and the world outside. You see she cannot see any of this beautiful things for she was borned blind. But her being blind did not spoiled her sweet disposition. She went to school for blind children, learn to see things by just the feel of it. She learned how to dress, comb her hair, even read Braille. She was an intelligent child and she learned easily. But every night before she went to sleep she always prayed to God the same prayers, that God will let her see some

day. And as we know that God is great, he might answer the blind girl's prayers. (Blank Card, F.)

c) The woman takes refuge in music.

A beautiful woman in the garden at about 19 years old playing the guitar looked so sad. He recall her boy friend away from her, for he went abroad to study. She is thinking for the past few days when they were there together, happy and playing the guitar. (Card 11, M.)

d) Men must die and women must weep.

Mona was the prettiest girl in the barrio and she faced the altar with Badong, the strongest young man there. But Badong joined the army that went to Korea. And now Badong's mother tells her daughter-in-law that Badong was killed and died heroically. There are no heroes who stay alive, really. And dead heroes are dead. But someday Mona will tell the child in her body what kind of a man the father was. (Card 9, M.)

People of that town always wondered what became of that young lovely girl who lived in the house behind the high stone walls. Just about four years ago, the gates of the Old Torres house was always open. From the house they could hear young people laughing and singing. The young girl of the house was a lovely girl of eighteen and her name was Aurora. Her parents called her Aurora because she was born at dawn and was as beautiful as the dawn itself. She was tall and slim, had long black hair and was always smiling. She loved to play the guitar and she use to compose songs. And she was engaged to a handsome young man and they were very much in love. But then the day they were supposed to marry, the groom met an accident on the way to church. The bride fainted when she heard the news and was very sick for such a long time. When she started to get well she did not feel like seeing anybody and little by little people started to stop trying to see her and that's when they finally closed the gate. The people used to see the parents once in a while but never Aurora. But the people don't know that Aurora laid dead in the house for the past two years. She finally joined her lover in heaven. (Card 11, F.)

DEVIANT VALUES. There are values which crop up now and then among the stories, which nevertheless do not enter, without violence, into the four categories enumerated above. These values are similar to "singletons" and "duplexes" in factor analysis, variables which refuse to enter into a group factor. Since these values occur so rarely, it is not theoretically economical to create other categories for them. A couple of examples will suffice.

A person seriously philosophizes about life after death.

A man who is meditating sits down and pause for sometime, thinking of his past and of his future. He is uncertain whether he will be happy in the future. He knows too well where his life began. But his problem is whether he still lives longer and fears that he might not see his future being. So he thinks deeply that he believes life is but just a testing trial on earth. (Card 27, F.)

A man (who had been to Laos and experienced a culture different from his own) wants to help others but expresses doubts about goals, showing himself to be in a state of conscious *anomie*.

I know they hate me for they don't understand . . . I have a different world or a look at the world . . . I don't want to be in group with them, talking bad of others, praising the others and when they turn their back they curse them. How I wish that I could be a help to anybody, if I could only have the ways and means. People in less fortunate country like ours, especially in Asia, need very badly the aid of their fellowmen . . . but as at present the only thing I'm doing is to wish that someday have to help them, for even how much I like to help people, I have no means. There are lots of miserable things in this world and we have to face it but the trouble lies on how to face it . . . I wish people . . . (thinks) . . . people has only one mind, to help each other, to love and nothing else, so as anger and hate will be an unknown fact of life . . . but that is the world . . . and wish alone can't do anything, we must do something not by words but by deeds. There are ways I know that I could help some people, but in helping them, I'm only leading them to a more miserable life than at present. (Blank Card, M.)

A worker shows initiative and apparent pleasure in attempting to solve a technical problem.

A man doing some experiment on a radio and there are so many tubes on the table and he is looking at the plan on the radio. It seems that he has a problem on the wiring diagram. On the left side of the table, there is a tube tester. In front, there is a test board with lights for testing the continuity. He is looking at the diagram plan. It seems that he has a problem. He is holding his forehead. (Blank Card, M.)

The problem-solving value seems somewhat different from the hardwork value of C2 and appears very rarely in the stories. It may be another effect of the influx of the new science and technology.

In an attempt to obtain some measures of the frequency of recurrence of the four values in the stories, a tally was made of their presence in the blank cards of ninety subjects. The cards other than the blank cards could not be used in this tally because from their very nature some of them excluded the appearance of certain values. On the other hand, the blank card was open to all values, particularly to the one preoccupying the subject at the moment. Some cards yielded "deviant" values, i.e., values other than the four categories used. Some yielded no values at all. Some had to be tallied under two values. The results from the ninety blank cards were as follows:

TABLE 1. TALLY OF RECURRENCE OF VALUES
CONTAINED IN NINETY BLANK CARDS.

Value A	28
Value B	12
Value C	28
Value D	8
Deviant values	8
No values	13

It may be seen from the above table that Value A (the family value) and Value C (the socio-economic value) recurred most frequently. The frequency of C may be explained in part by the fact that many in the sample group were job applicants and at the moment of taking the test were preoccupied with landing a job and hence may have artificially swelled the frequency of C. The deviant values took the form of religious values, desire to help others, almsgiving, physical fitness, etc., which are hard to include in the four-value scheme.

DISCUSSION

The classification of values into the four above named—family, authority, economic sufficiency, and patience—has a great deal of the artificial about it, since these values merge

into one another and are subordinated to each other in all sorts of means-ends relationships. From the psychological, i.e., from the individual's viewpoint, one may suggest the unifying concept of an ego highly in need of security and protection. Possibly as a result of the tender and highly protected upbringing received by the child, the ego seeks to maintain a similar environment as it grows up. It values the tender, secure relationships of the family. It protects itself against the dangers of the harsh world outside the family by great carefulness, the care not to take unnecessary risks (traditionalism); the determination to be careful of what other people say (*hiya*), not to antagonize others or create potential enemies (smooth interpersonal relations), to seek the approval and protection of important people (authoritarianism). When the ego seeks socio-economic betterment, it does so with and within the family, for fear again of extending itself too far and thus exposing the self to danger. Hence it prefers to suffer a loss of its goods in patience, since suffering is preferable to insecurity. Only when the self is attacked, as when the authority figure withdraws its approval and the ego is hurt (*amor propio*), does there come the possibility of explosive retaliation.

Undoubtedly, the instrument used in a study of values will determine in part the choice of values or their emphases. It is by examining the confluence of various approaches that one gets a feeling of validation of one's own approach. For instance, Father Lynch,⁹ by analyzing various dialogues between Filipinos, came to the conclusion that social acceptance, supported particularly by smooth interpersonal relations (SIR), is the primary basic value or theme among lowland Filipinos. The present study with the TAT technique reflects a similar finding, and would explain the need for smooth interpersonal relationships under the "authority" value, the need for approval by society, the placating of potential enemies, the need to be careful of other people's *amor propio*, so

⁹ Frank Lynch. "Philippine Values II: Social Acceptance." Revised version of paper read at Fourth Annual Baguio Religious Acculturation Conference, 1960. See pp. 82-99, this issue.

that they will be careful of one's own. Likewise, Father Lynch's findings on the nuclear family as a major form of segmentation in Philippine culture is confirmed by the TAT finding of "emotional closeness and security in a family" as the major Filipino value.

Another interesting and carefully done piece of work is Abraham Felipe's study of the personality of the hero in popular short stories. (This study, unfortunately, was seen by the present writer only after this paper had been written, but the independence of approach may highlight the points of agreement all the more.) The findings of this study are thus summed up:

The results of the study show the world of the hero (consisting of the social figures around him and circumstances) is both hostile to his needs and beyond his control. Because of this, he shows towards it attitudes of passivity, resignation, conformity, and compliance. Faced with a world that is unmanageable and particularly hostile to his spontaneous impulses, the hero adjusts by inhibiting these impulses that endanger his security even when he has to suffer in so doing. He is not only able to tolerate suffering but also to be insensitive or unaware of it. The main value he shows is the need to control impulses that are evil; and while not all impulses he perceives to be evil, evil is represented to come from the self—due to thoughts, heredity or simply "nature". The hero's emotionality is impoverished; many of the feelings that the authors attributed to them are inappropriate to the situations to which they are exposed. Finally, the personality dynamics of the hero was compared with those of the authoritarian personality as described by Frenkel-Brunswik, and the hero shows a remarkable similarity to the authoritarian.¹⁰

There is agreement on the need for security from a hostile world, the preference of suffering to insecurity, the basic authoritarianism of the personality. If Felipe maintains that the main value is the need to control evil impulses, he also suggests that the need for such control is the fear of loss of security and of the approval of authority.

¹⁰ Abraham L. Felipe. "A Thematic Apperception Analysis of Popular Tagalog Short Stories." Unpublished M.A. thesis. Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1961. Introductory Abstract, unpagel.

It may be asked: Where does the religious value come in? Apart from the stories in which people take refuge in religion when in trouble, there is very little mention of a religious value formally as such. It may be speculated that the religious value fuses with the authority-and-tradition value and, as has already been mentioned, with the patience-suffering-and-endurance value. Since the latter is primarily feminine, its association with religion may explain in part the predominance of women in church. Likewise, the association of religion with authority and tradition could in part explain the ambivalence felt by males towards religion. For, as the stories show, authority itself demands to be treated diplomatically so that it arouses ambivalent feelings in the inferior, and inferior males will be more expressive of this ambivalence than females. The presence of strong clerical and anti-clerical forces in countries in which the values of authority and religion are fused together may be an expression on the social level of a phenomenon which is rooted in the individual's values.