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AN ANALYSIS OF ROLE RELATIONSHIP IN
FILIPINO FAMILY INTERACTIONS

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By
Marcelita Garcia Haskins, A.B., M.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1979

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To My Parents

Marcela and Tomas Garcia
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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to the members of my family and the friends who sustained this effort by their concern and encouragement,

my deepest thanks!
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CHAPTER I

CULTURE, ROLE, AND COMMUNICATION: A REVIEW
OF CONCEPTS AND RESEARCH

The Problem

The concept role has generated significant research in social psychology, sociology, and cultural anthropology. It has yet to emerge as a major area of inquiry in communication. The present study explores the relationship between the communication process and role. Specifically, it is an investigation of family role images defined from the interaction of members of a particular culture. The research is motivated by a keen interest in cultural influences on person perception and communicative behavior—a fascination stimulated by travel and sustained by living for six years as a foreign student in the United States.

The study assumes that all communication is role-based; the content and form of a message are influenced by the role the communicator takes in a particular situation. Each person has a complex repertory of roles. The repertory may include, for example, the roles of daughter, mother, wife, friend, teacher, employer, and consumer.
The person's communicative behavior is governed by the rules attached to the role which dominates in specific contexts.

Roles are a system of shared understandings which enable individuals to establish reciprocal relationships and to interact with each other. They are part of a collective or public image. Boulding defined the public image as "the basic bond of any society, culture, subculture or organization . . . , an image the essential characteristics of which are shared by the individuals participating in the group."¹ Members of one culture who have lived and interacted with each other over a long period of time will tend to have common perceptions of space and time, share values, and hold similar expectations of each other in given roles. This achievement presupposes a communication process—oral and/or written, verbal and non-verbal—from individual to group, and from generation to generation within the group.

While the forms of communication follow cultural norms, they are not governed by explicit, fixed sets of social rules. The rules are implicit and allow for variations in the forms of communication depending on the situation. Gumperz and Hymes emphasized that communication is a process.

The speaker first takes in stimuli from the outside environment, evaluating and selecting from among them in the light of his own cultural background, personal history, and what he knows of his interlocutors. He then decides on the norms that apply to the situation at hand. The norms determine the speaker's selection from among the communicative options available for encoding his intent.

Communication, essentially, is the interaction between the external stimuli and the person's subjective knowledge—his image of self and others, his attitudes, values, and beliefs.

Mead analyzed two dimensions of the communication process: conversation of gestures and communication by means of language. The conversation of gestures is non-verbal communication. For example, a person may strike an attacker out of anger or he may run away in fear. Striking and running away are adaptive, unconscious responses. Mead differentiated between the unconscious (non-significant) and the conscious (significant) gesture:

A man may strike another before he means it; a man may jump and run away from a loud sound behind his back before he knows what he is doing. If he has the idea in his mind, then the gesture not only means this to the observer but it also means the idea which the individual has. When, now, that gesture means this idea behind it, then we have a significant symbol.

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4. Ibid., p. 45.
The vocal gesture, language, is the most complex system of significant symbols. A symbol may be defined as a stimulus, a sign which directs attention or behavior to a category of which it is not a member. A significant symbol is one which arouses the same meaning in the listener as it does in the speaker. To Mead, meaning was a social product, agreed upon, developed, and changed in the process of interaction. Language is the medium by which the individual internalizes the meanings and attitudes of the group.

Language is the major mode of communication and the means by which roles are "typified," i.e., transformed from single, isolated acts to categories of action. Berger and Luckmann asserted that the typification of roles is necessary to the institutionalization of conduct.

Institutions are embodied in individual experience by means of roles. The roles, objectified linguistically, are an essential ingredient of the objectively available world of society. By playing roles, the individual participates in a social world. By internalizing these roles, the same world becomes subjectively real to him.

On this basis, the "objectified stock of knowledge," the role image, is accessible to the researcher through the observation of communicative behavior, particularly the

5 Jack E. Douglas, Lecture at The Ohio State University, Spring, 1975.
6 Mead, Mind, Self and Society, pp. 75-82.
analysis of language used in the performance of a role and in speaking about people in specific roles. Supplementary to the linguistic analysis is the description of non-verbal behavior which can confirm, add to, or, in some cases, negate the verbal cues.

What role images does the Filipino's interaction reveal of individual family members and of the family as a whole? The present study aims to make explicit the implicit rules governing the communication of family roles in the Philippine culture. The focus of the research is on the communicative dimensions of role enactment.

The family was chosen as the unit of observation on the assumption that it is the basic and most important group in society. It remains central in Philippine life. Tightly knit and strong, the family's concern and influence are felt far beyond the confines of the home. Close ties are maintained with relatives by blood and marriage. It is not unusual, for instance, for a newly married couple to move in with the man's or the woman's parents. Because of extended kinship, children enjoy the care and affection of relatives outside the immediate family and are subject to the authority of older kin. Within the nuclear family, authority is structured among the children by birth regardless of sex. Younger children are expected to obey and show respect toward their older brothers and sisters.
Studies of the Filipino family invariably call attention to the equality of the sexes. Stoodley traced the equal status of male and female to a long pre-Spanish history of egalitarianism. During the three centuries of Spanish rule, the family developed some patriarchal characteristics. Stoodley observed that "the strong male preference of institutional Catholicism, although exerted for 300 years, has had only localized effect on Filipinos." The husband appears to be superior to the wife because the latter frequently defers to him. However, there is evidence that the wife is just as influential in the home as her husband. The Filipino woman normally holds the purse strings in the family. Perhaps this is the most telling evidence of the extent of her responsibility and the strength of her influence.

Kinship in the Philippine family is not confined to blood relatives or those acquired by marriage. In addition, Guthrie and Jacobs explained, the Filipino gains relatives through various ceremonies. Typical of the ceremonies are baptisms and weddings. Sponsors of these events are regarded as second parents who will look after the

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welfare of the child who is baptized or the couple who is wed. The latter, in turn, owe the sponsors loyalty, respect, and the readiness to help them when the need arises.

The family pattern in the Philippines is the prototype of interpersonal behavior. Spelling out the rules which guide family role behavior and interaction is a fundamental step in the description and analysis of interpersonal communication in the Philippine setting.

**Concepts**

**Role**

A role consists of patterns of behavior characteristic of an individual functioning in a given position in a particular situation. Role performance requires a reciprocal relationship, i.e., a role is performed in relation to another role as husband to wife, mother to child, or teacher to student. Role enactment is bound to rules or expectancies which the participants share implicitly.

**Role Image**

Role image refers to the expectations which an individual or group holds of persons occupying a particular position in a group or society.

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10 Ibid., p. 194.
Message

A message is a unit of behavior--verbal or non-verbal--or an aspect of the physical and social environment which an individual selects, perceives, and interprets.

Communication

Communication is the interaction between the messages from the external environment (including, primarily, messages from others) and the individual's personal orientation including his knowledge of social norms, his attitudes, beliefs, and values.

Social Interaction

Social interaction is the exchange of verbal and non-verbal messages between individuals which produce effects on the participants. It is analyzable in terms of frequency, initiative, content, power structure, and reciprocity.\(^{11}\)

Situation

Situation refers to the context of interaction as particularized by participants in time, place, and purpose.

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Culture

The present study treats culture as it is defined by Goodenough:

A society's culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members, and to do so in any role that they accept for any one of themselves. . . . It is the forms of things that people have in mind, their models for perceiving, relating, and otherwise interpreting them.\textsuperscript{12}

Related Studies

Studies in Role and Symbolic Behavior

In the field of communication, role has been studied almost entirely in the context of group dynamics. The focus has been on task roles, leadership roles, and membership roles. There is a dearth of research in the more basic concept of social role as it relates to the selection, organization, transmission, reception, and interpretation messages. In the past 20 years the \textit{Quarterly Journal of Speech} has published only one article on social role.\textsuperscript{13}

The report is compared below to a study published in


Acta Sociologica. The two studies summarized here both deal with linguistic data but their emphases are different. Philipsen used speech as the unit of analysis. Blakar worked with the lexicon of the language. The former was interested in the cultural value given to the oral form of communication. The latter was concerned with lexical meaning.

Philipsen studied the value of speaking in male role enactment in "Teamsterville," a neighborhood of blue collar, low income whites in Chicago. The data were collected through participant-observation and interviews. The author took field notes and recorded verbal interaction on tape.

Focusing on speech behavior, Philipsen observed three kinds of situations marking the male role enactment: situations where men were expected to talk a lot, occasions in which minimal talk is appropriate, and cases where men are expected to assert their maleness through means other than speech. A maximum use of speech is appropriate with peers (friends, neighbors, other people of the same age, sex, ethnicity, and occupational status). A minimum use of speech is expected when dealing with those lower and higher in status than the male (wife, child, boss, outsider to the neighborhood). When a male has to deal with a person superior to him in rank, he uses an intermediary to negotiate and speak on his behalf. In situations where
the male dominance or power is threatened, speaking is not an acceptable response. A man must assert his maleness through other means, such as physical attack. Frequently, a man resorts to physical attack when a woman relative or a girlfriend, or the man himself, is insulted by an outsider to his group. When the offender is a peer, a verbal put-down is an appropriate reaction.

Philipsen's study of the function of speaking in male role enactment in "Teamsterville" is relevant to the present study because it showed how communication strategies can be used to characterize role expectations in a particular culture. His concerns were with the occasion and frequency of speech and to whom it is addressed. The present study extends these concerns to other significant aspects of communication, such as the content, the manner, and the rules for interaction.

Less directly related to the present study is Blakar's analysis of sex roles as represented, reflected, and conserved in the Norwegian language. The author's methodological approach was four-part: 1) a standard Norwegian dictionary was consulted for the meanings and synonyms of the words "mann" (man) and "kvinne" (woman); 2) "mann" and "kvinne" were set up as stimulus words in a

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word association test; 3) the semantic differential was used to explore the connotative meanings of the two words; and 4) sentence completion and sentence sorting tasks were given to a sample group.

In the dictionary, there were more synonyms given to "kvinne" than to "mann." Many of the synonyms were negative and derogatory. The word association test showed that "mann" was primarily associated with "work" and "career" and "kvinne" with words like "sex," and "mother." The results of the semantic differential test were presented as raw data with a prefatory statement that "mann" and "kvinne" were significantly different in dimensions. The findings of the sentence completion and sentence sorting tasks supported the conclusion that the language perpetrates the inferior valuation of women and the higher status of men.

Blakar employed three tests in the study. However, there is no description in the report of the subjects—no mention of the sample size or from where the sample was drawn. Most of the findings were presented as bits and pieces of raw data without any summary or organized conclusions. Besides these weaknesses, I suspect that the report suffers from a problem of translation from Norwegian to English. In spite of its problems, Blakar's study is an interesting suggestion of the relationship between language and social reality.
Philippine Studies

There is a paucity of systematic studies on family roles in the Philippine setting. Some research on Philippine values, child rearing practices, and family structure, however, is relevant to the present study. It should be emphasized at this point that the findings of each study are pertinent to a specific group of Filipinos and do not necessarily reflect the norm in the culture as a whole. Although Filipinos have a common mixture of Malay, Spanish, Chinese, and American influences in their background, they show regional differences in beliefs and practices.

Stoodley's report on "Some Aspects of Tagalog Family Structure" followed a traditional anthropological approach. Data were derived from observations of social organizations and informal relations in a Tagalog barrio, from analyses of panel discussions with six Tagalog students, and from focused interviews. The researcher outlined the hierarchy in the Filipino family (reflected in kinship terminology), detailed the rights and duties of family members, illustrated the allocation of authority in the Tagalog family, and gave insight into the elaborate network of relationships between the family and other kin, and between the family and the community. Stoodley's conceptualization

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of the Tagalog family structure suggested a framework with which the present study could organize its observations.

Guthrie and Jacobs examined child rearing and personality development in the Philippines. The data were gathered from interviews with 279 mothers of first grade children from the Tagalog provinces of Rizal, Cavite, Laguna, Batangas, and Bulacan. The researchers adopted an interpersonal point of view which focused on the role of learning in social situations in the formation of personality. They isolated six interpersonal skills which a Filipino child must learn at specific stages in his development:

1) Recognize subtle cues which reveal the unspoken feelings of others.
2) Cope with angry feelings without striking out at others.
3) Give and receive help; pool his well-being with that of his nuclear and extended family.
4) Ignore activities of others which, although visible, are said to be none of his business.
5) Tease and be teased without losing self-control.
6) Recognize his obligations to others for favors received.\textsuperscript{16}

Guthrie's and Jacobs' research is important to the present study because it set down goals which were heretofore implicit in child rearing and growing up in the Filipino family. The goals suggest implicit rules which guide a Filipino son's or daughter's interaction with other family

\textsuperscript{16}Guthrie and Jacobs, \textit{Child Rearing and Personality Development in the Philippines}, p. 203.
members. One of the tasks of the present study was to spell out the rules which emerge in interaction and exemplify how they are realized communicatively.

Bulatao studied the Manileno's values, using an adaptation of Murray's Thematic Apperception Test. With 62 pictures selected from local fiction magazines, the researcher and his associates elicited stories from 50 men and 40 women ranging in age from 18 to 35, most of whom were workers in factories in Manila. Four main values emerged from the analysis: a) emotional closeness and security in a family; b) respect and obedience toward authority, within limits; c) economic and social betterment; and d) patience, suffering, and endurance.

The findings regarding emotional closeness and security in a family are especially pertinent to the present study. First of all, they confirmed the primacy of familial bonds in the Philippine culture. Secondly, they helped corroborate and explain the findings of the present research.

Bulatao concluded: Value A (emotional closeness and security in a family) 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.
A2. Parents should be very strict in watching over, protecting, and curbing their children who might otherwise meet with disaster.

A3. Women are highly valued for their qualities as mothers and housekeepers.

A4. Tender relationships are highly prized.  

Lynch investigated the meaning and importance of social acceptance in the Philippines, drawing his data from a review of pertinent literature, from conversations with Filipinos and others who had observed the Philippine character, and from the analysis of "insight-stimulating" cases or examples from his experiences and that of others. He defined social acceptance from the Filipino's point of view: a Filipino feels socially accepted when he is taken by others for what he is or what he believes he is, when he is treated according to his status, and when he is not rejected or improperly criticized. Lynch pinpointed two intermediate values which assist in the attainment of acceptance: smoothness of interpersonal relations and sensitivity to personal affront. His analysis is relevant to the present study because it specified "communicative strategies" which promote "smooth interpersonal relations."

Examples are:

1) yielding to the will of the leader or the majority to make the group decision unanimous,

2) using euphemisms or stating an unpleasant truth, opinion or request as pleasantly as possible,
3) using go-betweens, i.e., the embarrassing request, complaint, or decision is often communicated through a middleman to avoid the shame of a face-to-face encounter.

The theme of social acceptance is demonstrated in family interaction in the present study.

**Perspectives on Role**

Several different perspectives on role can be found in social science literature. Anthropological analyses focus on role as an aspect of cultural patterns. Sociological studies emphasize the significance of role in interaction and in group processes, while psychological research is primarily concerned with role as a function of individual perception and behavior. In developing a communication approach to role, the present study draws from key concepts in anthropology, social psychology, and sociolinguistics.

Linton's perspective on role is significant to the present study because of its emphasis on the relationship between culture and role; the latter derives from the former and is inextricably bound to it. Role is "the sum total of the culture patterns associated with a particular status. It thus includes the attitudes, values and behavior ascribed by the society to any and all persons

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occupying this status." This definition of role must be further examined in the light of Linton's concept of real culture and ideal culture. Real culture consists of actual behavior. As such, role enactment may vary within certain limits. While Linton allowed for variation in real patterns, he assumed societal agreement with regard to ideal patterns.

These are abstractions which have been developed by members of society themselves. They represent consensus of opinion on the part of society's members as to how people should behave in particular situations.

Linton's assumption of role consensus has been questioned by some scholars. For instance, Gross, Mason and McEachern asserted:

... The idea of consensus on the evaluative standards for the incumbents of a position is clearly subject to empirical examination. Whether or not there is consensus on the behavior expected of position incumbents, or how much consensus there is, are evidently empirical questions, since 'consensus' describes an empirical condition of agreement among a number of people.

The present study did not specifically investigate consensus with regard to role expectations. However, the study

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20 Ibid., pp. 45-52.
yielded some data pertinent to it. The implications of
the data will be discussed in Chapter IV.

Mead did not write of role, per se, but of the process
of role taking. "Taking the role of the other" is an
empathic response necessary to the development of the self.
The process is already evident early in childhood. A child
plays with imaginary companions or takes various roles.

Mead illustrated the process:

Children get together to 'play Indian.' This
means that the child has a certain set of
stimuli which call out in itself the responses
that they would call out in others, and which
answer to an Indian. In the play period the
child utilizes his own responses to these
stimuli which he makes use of in building a
self.22

A higher level of development is exemplified in an organ­
ized game where the child must be prepared to take the
role of all participants involved. In a ball game, for
instance, he must anticipate what the members of his team
and his opponents will do in order to carry out his own
play. To develop the self in its fullest sense, the indi­
vidual must learn to take the role of the "generalized
other." Mead defined the attitudes of the "generalized
other" as the attitudes of the whole community.

Only in so far as he takes the attitudes of
the organized social group to which he belongs
toward the organized, co-operative social
activity or set of such activities in which

22 Mead, Mind, Self and Society, p. 150.
that group is engaged, does he develop a complete self or possess the sort of complete self he has developed.\textsuperscript{23}

The process of role-taking is dependent upon the use of language or significant symbols. The significant symbol arouses in the individual the attitude which it arouses in others. Because it evokes common meanings in the self and the group, language enables the individual to take the role of another, to anticipate what he will do, and to engage in cooperative action.

Perhaps the closest perspective to a "communication approach" to role is Bernstein's conceptualization. Bernstein considered a social role as a "complex coding activity controlling both the creation and organization of specific meanings and conditions for their transmission and reception."\textsuperscript{24} He argued that the social relationship of interactants influences the context, the timing, and the manner of their speech. He explained: "the form of the social relation regulates the options the speakers take up at both syntactic and lexical levels."\textsuperscript{25} For example, a nuclear scientist talking to his colleagues will use the jargon of the profession. Were he to speak to a sixth

\textsuperscript{23} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{24} Basil Bernstein, "A Sociolinguistics Approach to Socialization with Some References to Educability," in Gumperz and Hymes, Directions in Sociolinguistics, p. 474.
\textsuperscript{25} Ibid., p. 473.
grade science class, his syntax and vocabulary would be relatively simple. Assuming that a social role can be defined by the speech forms it regulates, role analysis would involve the examination of verbal exchange taking into consideration 1) the speaker's choice of topic, 2) the selection of linguistic variables (including, primarily, vocabulary and syntax), and 3) how these variables are adapted to the situation.

Like Bernstein, Ruesch referred to role as a code, but there the similarity ended. Ruesch stated: "Used in connection with communication, the term role refers to nothing but the code which is used to interpret the flow of messages." Code, here, is closer in sense to a cue or a signal including in what way a message to one's self and to others is to be interpreted. The code arouses behavioral expectancies ascribed to a given position in a social structure. Since an individual occupies many positions in society, the role expectations will vary depending on which position is most relevant to a particular context. The identification of each others' roles enables the participants in social interaction to evaluate messages from the role perspective most applicable to the situation.

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Theoretical Framework

The following propositions constitute the theoretical framework of this study:

**Proposition 1:** Social roles are imbedded in a culture.

Social roles emerge in group life. Expectations are developed and norms of behavior are set over years of interaction. Social roles are but one aspect of behavior upon which a group has reached some degree of consensus as to what is right and appropriate in varying occasions and circumstances.

**Proposition 2:** Social roles are created, enacted, and exchanged as significant symbols.

Language is the primary human symbolic system. Social roles are categories within that system. Language is not only a means of role enactment, but it is also the mechanism with which members of a culture communicate their roles to each other and "teach" role expectations to the younger generation.

**Proposition 3:** Role enactment and interaction follow cultural rules which are largely implicit.

How does one greet friends, family, strangers? What topics of conversation are acceptable among women alone,
among men alone, in mixed company? How does one deal with praise? How does one accept criticism? The answer to these questions will differ depending on the culture of the respondent. An individual learns to operate according to the rules which govern behavior in specific situations. These rules are agreed upon tacitly and followed implicitly. Once learned, the rules become evident to members of the culture only when they are violated.

**Proposition 4:** Communication is role-bound.

It is difficult to imagine any form of human communication that is not expressed (and interpreted) in the context of a social role. At the basic level, an individual always communicates in his or her role as a member of his or her sex, age, and social group, but will vary his or her communication according to the perceived situation. Depending on the situation, other social roles come into play and influence communication behavior.

**Summary**

The present study explores the relationship between the communication process and social role in a specific cultural milieu. It aims to make explicit the implicit rules governing role enactment and interaction in the Filipino family and to explain communication, role, and rule in the context of an analytic paradigm. The
phenomenological approach to data collection and analysis, and the development of the paradigm are presented in the following chapter.
CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY AND PROCEDURE

Much of cultural knowledge is implicit and taken for granted. A person is often too immersed in his culture to recognize and describe its varied aspects. An exposure to a different way of life is often necessary to make one conscious of the normally hidden expectancies and behavioral codes of his own people. As Linton put it, "Those who know no culture other than their own cannot know their own."\(^{27}\)

A study in the United States of Filipino families by a Filipino allows both the researcher and her subjects a view of their culture that is not possible were the study done in the Philippines. As immigrants or visitors in a foreign country, they are contending with a way of life rooted in sources and operating with perspectives very different from their own. In the process of adjusting to the strange environment, they become acutely aware of the Filipino way of believing, thinking, and behaving. This consciousness makes it easier to perceive what is now

\(^{27}\) Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality*, p. 125.
alien in themselves. They are articulate spokespersons of what is uniquely Filipino. The Filipino home in the United States is rich ground for observing Philippine behavior patterns which may or may not have been modified under American influences.

**Subjects**

Filipinos were chosen as the subjects of the study for a very practical reason—the researcher was born and raised in the Philippines and speaks Tagalog, the major language of the country. As such, she had the advantage of being a true participant in the activities she observed.

The participants in the informal exploratory conversations were married Filipino graduate students at the Ohio State University in Columbus, Ohio, and wives of Filipino doctors who live in Marion, Ohio.

The actual participant observation involved a family now residing in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The family has lived in the United States for three years. The parents, both physicians, are in their mid-thirties. There are three children in the family: a boy, age 7, and two girls, ages 6 and 3. The mother lived in Manila and the father in Cavite and, like the researcher, their first language was Tagalog.

No rigid sampling procedure was appropriate to the selection of subjects for the focused interviews. (Random
sampling was not feasible considering the topic of the planned interviews--family life--and its probing nature, and the limited number of Filipinos in the greater Columbus area where the research was primarily conducted.) The researcher used informal channels to lead her to subjects: a friend gave her the names and telephone numbers of several friends who were potential subjects; the latter, in turn, led her to other interviewees. Each time, the name of a common friend of acquaintance was used to facilitate introduction to a family and the request for an interview. The friendship network was critical in establishing rapport with the subjects and gaining their trust and confidence. Only two families were known to the researcher personally before the interviews were conducted, yet all the families welcomed her warmly and were open and candid during the interviews.

A total of 40 subjects participated in the focused interviews. Altogether, 17 families were involved in this phase of the research. Twenty parents participated: 11 mothers and 9 fathers. The ages of the parents and the number of years they have lived in the United States are broken down as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Range</th>
<th>Number of Years in U.S.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>Less than 1 year 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>1-5 years 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>5-10 years 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>11-15 years 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16-20 years 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21-25 years 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Of the 20 children in the sample, 12 were male and 8 were female. Their ages and the number of years they have lived in the United States are summarized below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Range</th>
<th>Number of Years in U.S.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7-11</td>
<td>1-5 years 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-16</td>
<td>6-10 years 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17-21</td>
<td>11-15 years 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first language of all the parents interviewed was Tagalog. The same was true of the 14 children in the sample. The remaining 6 were born in the United States and learned English as their first language.

The parents in the sample are well educated and, except for 4 women, have professional careers in varying fields including agriculture, accounting, engineering, and medicine. The 4 housewives in the sample gave up careers of their own to attend full time to home and family.

Evidently, the subjects are not typical of the Philippine population. The purpose, however, is not to generalize conclusions to the Filipino culture as a whole but to demonstrate the relationship between role and communication in a specific cultural milieu. Segments of the Filipino community in the United States provide an appropriate setting.

**Data Collection**

The present study took the phenomenological approach to data collection. The first fundamental commitment of the phenomenologist, according to Douglas, is to
investigate the phenomena of everyday life as it unfolds naturally. This means most simply that "the phenomena to be studied must be the phenomena as experienced in everyday life, not phenomena created (or strained through) experimental situations." 28

Two of the most effective approaches toward phenomenological understanding are participant observation and focused, open-ended interviewing. Anthropologists have long demonstrated the validity of participant observation over years of field work and "living experience" with their research subjects. Bruyn stated that "the beginning of the participant observer approach to research can be traced back through the many early anthropological field studies produced just before, and ever since, the turn of the century to Frederick Le Play (Les Ouvriers Europeens, 1955)." 29 The boundaries of participant observation have been redefined in recent years as the method gained utility in other social sciences. Bogdan and Taylor encapsulated its essence as "research characterized by a period of intense social interaction between the researcher

and the subjects, in the milieu of the latter. During this period, data are unobtrusively and systematically collected.\(^\text{30}\)

Used in conjunction with participant observation, the focused, open-ended interview can clarify perceptions and relationships that are difficult to infer from social interaction. Moreover, it can reveal premises and other subtleties about the subject's perspective that would otherwise remain tacit.

The present study looks at family roles through the eyes of the Filipinos and interprets role images from their point of view. Role expectancies were inferred from conversations and focused interviews about family roles and from observation of actual interaction in specific situations.

There were three phases in the data collection for the present study. The first phase consisted of informal, exploratory conversations with some married Filipino graduate students at the Ohio State University and with wives of Filipino doctors who work with the researcher's mother-in-law at a hospital in Marion, Ohio. This relationship facilitated her entry into the Filipino homes. Although some of the subjects knew that the researcher was conducting

\[^{30}\text{Robert Bogdan and Steven J. Taylor, Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1975), p. 5.}\]
a study about Filipinos, the visits were social, and, for the most part, centered on getting to know each other. Notes were kept on what transpired during the visits. The unstructured conversations helped generate some categories of role expectancies. The next step was to observe how the categories were manifested in role enactment or during interaction.

The second phase of data collection yielded a record of actual interactions that were critical to the study. The researcher visited a Filipino friend and her family in Philadelphia from January 3 to 10, 1979. Since she invited herself into their home, she had to explain to her friend that she needed to stay with a Philippine family for a period of time to help her in the study she was doing of Filipino families. The researcher has a special relationship with the people she visited. She has been a very good friend of the mother for years, and she is the godmother of the eldest child, Dino. The family immigrated to the United States in 1975. Since the researcher has not seen them in six years (having left the Philippines in 1973), her visit was most welcome. Because of her close relationship with the family, she blended into their lifestyle and her presence caused minimal disruption in their daily routine. The weeklong visit enabled her to observe the natural situations in everyday life which determine
role relationships. She made a daily record of interaction and other details of family life which she observed. A day's notes were usually written the following morning when no one else was left in the house but the researcher and her friend's three-year old daughter. Taking notes seemed to be the most appropriate method of recording, in this case, because it was unobtrusive. It did not call attention in any way to the process of investigation and contributed toward preserving the naturalness of the activity.

The third phase of data collection involved focused interviews with Filipinos in the greater Columbus area. The subjects for the parent interviews were limited to those whose first language was Tagalog or who come from the Tagalog provinces in the Philippines—Batangas, Bulacan, Cavite, Laguna, Nueva Ecija, Rizal—and two cities, Manila and Quezon. The limitation was imposed primarily to allow the researcher to interview the subjects in the native language they share. It was assumed that deeply held values and beliefs, and other elements unique to the Philippine culture were best expressed in the subjects' first language. Indeed, some ideas and perceptions defy translation to a foreign tongue.

For the most part, only one parent per family was interviewed. In cases where both mother and father were involved, the interviews were conducted separately. The
parents were interviewed in Tagalog or, in some instances, in a combination of English and Tagalog—a common idiolect among Filipinos. The following lead questions were asked:

1. Is it hard to raise children in the United States?

2. What are the advantages and disadvantages of raising children in the United States? If you had your way, where would you raise your children? Why?

3. Do your children have any problems here that you did not have when you were growing up in the Philippines?

4. What Filipino practices do you want your children to retain?

5. What do you think is the role of the father in the Filipino family?

6. What do you think is the role of the mother in the Filipino family?

Getting the parents to discuss how to raise children in the United States was an effective way to get at their role expectancies as Filipino mothers and fathers and how these expectancies were modified—heightened or diminished—by their adaptation to the American culture. The interviews were focused on the parent-child relationship because of the concern, in the study, with how role images are communicated from one generation to the next and preserved through the family unit. The object of the questions, ultimately, was to lead each interviewee to a description
of situations or interactions in everyday life illustrating role relationships. Several times, the researcher gave examples from her own background to clarify to the interviewees the kinds of details she was after. In doing so, she made the disclosure mutual and facilitated the sharing of more information.

In most cases, the use of Tagalog as the language of the interview put the subjects at ease and paved the way toward a candid exchange. In the few instances where the subjects chose to respond in English, the researcher took the cue from them and conducted the interview in that language.

With the exception of three, all the interviews with parents and children were tape recorded. There was only one instance where the interviewee declined tape recording. However, she was perfectly comfortable with the researcher's note-taking as they conversed. In two instances, the recordings were not usable because of inferior tape quality.

The researcher interviewed all 20 parents first. Their responses helped structure the questions to the children. Ten communicative situations were drawn from the interview with parents. The children were asked to respond to questions based on these situations. The questions were as follows.
1. When you do not agree with your parents on something, how do you express disagreement?

2. Do you have to ask permission from both parents when you want to go out? Whom do you ask first? If one says "yes" and the other says "no," how is the conflict resolved?

3. What kinds of decisions are you left to make on your own? If decisions are to be made in consultation with parents or brother/s and sister/s, how is it done?

4. When your parents are upset about something you did and you realize it's your fault, how do you "make up" with them? When you are upset with them about something and it is clear that they've been unreasonable, do they "make up" with you? How?

5. Do you ask your parents for advice? Will you give me an example of a situation where you did so recently?

6. When your brothers or sisters fight, do you take sides openly?

7. Will you give me an example of how your parents express criticism? How do you and your brothers and sisters express criticism toward each other?

8. Will you give me an example of how your parents express praise? How do you and your brothers and sisters express praise to each other?

9. Do your brothers/sisters give you "orders"? Do you give "orders" to your brothers and sisters? How?
10. When you want your parents to get you something, how do you ask for it?

11. What things have you noticed that are different between the way we Filipinos relate to each other in the home and the way your American friends relate to their parents and to their brothers and sisters?

There were variations in the questions depending on the ages of the children and their responsiveness. The younger children were also asked the following questions:

1. Do you help your parents at home? How? How do your brothers and/or sisters help at home? Are you expected to do the same things at home as your friends are in their homes?

2. How do you and your brothers and sisters help each other? Do you know if your friends do the same?

3. Do your parents punish you? For what reasons? How? Do they punish your brothers and sisters the same way? Are your friends punished the same way by their parents?

4. What activities do your parents encourage you to do outside school? What activities are discouraged?

5. Have you been to the Philippines? (or, Did you grow up in the Philippines?) If yes, are there things your cousins and friends in the Philippines do that are different from what you are used to? Or, do you do things the same way?
Ten of the children were interviewed in English because they hardly understood and spoke Tagalog. Tagalog was used for the other 10 interviews combined with a bit of English. The code switching was natural and characteristic of the way many Filipinos speak.

Developing the Analytical Scheme

The researcher approached data analysis with a paradigm drawn from the theoretical background of the study. The paradigm had three components:

**Situation:** The context of interaction particularized by participants in time, place, and purpose.

**Role:** The patterns of behavior characteristic of individuals who perceive themselves functioning in a given position in a particular situation.

**Rule:** A pattern of behavior or norm of conduct characteristic of interaction between roles by members of a culture. A rule is often implicit knowledge and can be inferred only from interaction.

With this scheme in mind, first, the researcher reviewed the notes taken during the participant observation in Philadelphia. The primary goal was to sort out the different situations recorded such as daughter disobeying father, siblings bickering with each other, mother pacifying young child. The next step was to describe the actual interaction. The verbal exchange in each situation was
reconstructed from the notes. Non-verbal cues, such as, vocal tone, facial expression, and gestures, were also indicated. The resulting sets of dialogue in the original Tagalog were translated into English. Then, a brief narrative description of each situation was written followed by the researcher's analysis of the role relationship, the communicative strategies, and their cultural context. Finally, a rule was drawn reflecting the relationship between communication and role in the situation.

To summarize, there were five levels of analysis:
1. Dialogue in Tagalog
2. Dialogue translated into English
3. Brief narrative description of situation and interaction
4. Observer's analysis of interaction
5. Rule drawn from interaction

A modified version of the procedure outlined above was applied to the interviews. The researcher listened to the recordings, noting particular significant points, namely: 1) What were the situations as described by the subjects? 2) What did the interviewee say or do as he/she described it in each situation? 3) What was the reaction of the other person/s involved in the situation/s as reported by the subject? 4) What comments did the interviewee make regarding the situation and/or its participants; particularly, what categories did he/she apply?
and 5) What comments did the interviewee make which reveal his/her perception of family roles and rules and the cultural differences, in those respects, between Filipinos and Americans?

The researcher began her analysis early in the interview process mainly to evaluate her interviewing technique and to check whether her line of questioning was getting at the data she needed, particularly the examples of situations and interactions in everyday life which illustrated role behavior and relationships. The first two or three interviews indicated that the questions were basically relevant and provocative, but further probing was necessary, especially with regard to concrete illustrations of how family members related to each other in specific situations.

The rest of the analysis was done after all the interviews were completed. The researcher re-examined the interview notes to determine which situations seemed typical portrayals of role relationships in the Filipino family. Fortunately, the interviewees described many similar situations. For instance, respect for elders was a theme which invariably came up in the conversations with the parents and with some of the children. The researcher extracted situations from several interviews to illustrate that and other common themes. The original Tagalog expressions were used where they were critical to the validity of data analysis, followed by the English translation. As in the
participant observation data, each situation was analyzed in the nature of the role interaction and a rule was formulated reflecting the attributed relationship of the situational variables.

The next step was a review of the analyzed data to derive from them the answer to the following questions:

1. What interaction patterns reveal specific roles?
2. What interactions reveal attributed role relationships?
3. In what ways do role relationships seem to structure interaction?
4. In what forms and patterns do cultural role relationships appear in interaction?
5. What rules or patterns of interaction seem to emerge as valid descriptions of interaction?

The questions led to the re-examination of the original paradigm with which the data were analyzed. The construct situation needed to be more clearly defined and operationalized in more distinct and specific terms. Moreover, there were three concepts that were not reflected in the simple situation-role-rule model: interaction, cultural role relationship, and cultural value. First, interaction was subsumed under situation instead of being treated as a separate construct. Second, in emphasizing individual roles, the relationship between roles was somewhat neglected in the paradigm. Third, there appeared to be a higher order
of cultural knowledge above and beyond rules which was identified as values. These were evident in the interviews in statements of what was proper or improper or what people should strive for and what they should avoid.

The researcher reworked the analytical scheme to reflect the data more completely. Answers to questions on the relationships between communication, role, and culture can be drawn from the revised paradigm, as illustrated on the next page.

Observational Definitions

Actor

An actor is a person enacting a role.

Action

An action is the basic meaningful unit of behavior. It is observed as a series of verbal or non-verbal cues signifying an actor's intent to other actors.

Interaction

An interaction is the exchange of verbal and non-verbal messages between two or more persons enacting certain roles. It is observed as a sequence of communicative behavior between the participants for which they can assign an intent or a purpose.
CULTURAL VALUE

RULE

SITUATION

RR

A - ACTOR
R_s - ROLE ASSIGNED TO SELF
R_o - ROLE ASSIGNED TO OTHER
R - ROLE RELATIONSHIP

→ - ACTION

- INTERACTION

- CO-ORIENTATION
Co-orientation

Co-orientation is a shared awareness between participants in a given situation including their acknowledgment of each other's presence, the tacit agreement to communicate and the initial perception of the participants of the rules governing the interaction. Co-orientation occurs in the minds of the participants and is not directly observable. Its nature can only be inferred from the interaction.

Situation

The situation is the physical and social context of the interaction, particularized by the participants in time, place, and purpose.

Role

Role is the characteristic pattern of communication of an actor in a given position in a social relationship and in a situation. It can be described in terms of the sequence of action, how the action is performed, when it is performed, and to whom it is directed.

Role Assigned to Self

The role assigned to self is observed as the name or category the actor gives to the role he is enacting in a given situation. It can be inferred from 1) verbal cues, i.e., what the actor says and how he says it, and
2) non-verbal cues, e.g., manner of dress, vocal tone, volume and rate of speech, bodily movement.

**Role Assigned to the Other**

The role assigned to the other can be observed in the form of address or reference directed by an actor toward the person with whom he is interacting. Also, it can be inferred from the content and the manner of the person's actions toward the other.

**Role Relationship**

Role relationship is the location by the participants of two or more interacting roles in complementary or hierarchical positions in a specific social structure. The congruency of the participants' perceptions determine largely the success or breakdown of the interaction. Role relationship can be inferred from the following signs: 1) who initiates the interaction, 2) the frequency of the contribution of each participant, 3) the nature of the contribution, 4) the manner of the contribution, and 5) who ends the interaction.

**Rule**

A rule is an observed regularity in the manner in which two or more role occupants interact in a given situation. It is formulated in terms of who behaves in what manner toward whom under what circumstances and with what intent.
**Cultural Value**

A cultural value is an ideal shared by most members of a culture. It guides action in and judgment with regard to certain situations. Many values are implicit in a culture and may be inferred only from the natives' statements of what is desirable, what is expected, or what he or she wished would have happened under certain circumstances.

**Data Analysis**

Guided by the revised analytical paradigm, the researcher analyzed the data, again, in the following sequence:

1. The descriptions of the situations drawn from participant observation and interviews were reviewed.
2. The interaction in each situation was analyzed in terms of:
   a. the perceived goal or intent, if any
   b. the reciprocal role assignments
   c. the role relationship
   d. the sequence of action of each participant which seemed to validate the role he/she appeared to have enacted
   e. the dominant cultural value which seemed most applicable to it in the participant's view
3. A rule was drawn which described the apparent phenomenal basis for the interaction.
4. The results of the observation and the interviews were presented according to the analytical paradigm.

**Summary**

In keeping with the phenomenological perspective of the present study, data were gathered through participant observation and focused, open-ended interviewing. Five levels of analysis were applied to the data: 1) recording of the interaction in the subjects' language; 2) translation of the interaction into English; 3) description of the situation and interaction in narrative form; 4) analysis of the interaction; and 5) abstraction of a rule from the interaction. An analytical paradigm was developed reflecting the significant aspects of the data. The major components of the paradigm are role, interaction, rule, and cultural value. The following chapter contains the findings of the study.
CHAPTER III

RESULTS: ANALYSIS OF FILIPINO FAMILY
ROLE INTERACTIONS

This chapter presents the results of the study analyzed according to the paradigm described in Chapter II. The data were arranged in two parts: actions and interactions. Each item contains: 1) a description of the communicative sequence, 2) an analysis of the role relationship, 3) an interpretation of the cultural relevance of the interaction, and 4) a rule which seemed to govern the interaction. As mentioned, most of the data were recorded in Tagalog. Although the interactions were described in English, some of the Tagalog expressions were included in the presentation in places where they were critical to conveying ideas peculiar to the culture. The native expressions were loosely translated into English.

Two symbols are used to designate the sources of the data:

0 - participant observation
I - interview
Actions

Actions are basic meaningful units of behavior. They are the communicative sequences performed by a single actor during an interaction. They can be recognized as a series of utterances and/or non-verbal cues such as gestures, facial expressions, and bodily movement which signify the actor's intent to other actors. Fifteen categories of actions were drawn from the data of the present study. They are presented below according to the rules which seemed to govern the communicative sequences.

**Action 1a.** Mrs. L. has a two-year old daughter who came with her to the United States six months ago. Although the girl has picked up a lot of English since then, she still uses the "proper" Tagalog words to address her parents. So, instead of answering "yes" to a question from her mother, she would say, "Opo, Mommy." Or, instead of saying "no" she would reply, "Hindi po, Mommy." (I)

**Action 1b.** Mrs. B. lamented the fact that her children do not seem to show as much respect for her and her husband as Filipino children should. She realized that part of the problem is the children speak English, not Tagalog.
There are specific forms of address in Tagalog for parents and older people which are absent in English. (I)

Analysis

Among Filipinos, it is considered appropriate to speak with deference to parents, elders, and other people whose status one perceives to be superior to one's own. This value is so deeply rooted that it is manifested in the language, Tagalog. The words "ho" or "po" are forms of address denoting respect and deference to the addressee's age or position.

Rule 1. Children must address their parents and older relatives with the deferent terms "ho" or "po".

Action. Mr. V. has four sons, ages 10 to 3, all born and raised in the United States. He observed that the boys call each other by their first names. This is different from the practice among the Tagalog population in his home province in the Philippines (Nueva Ecija) of using deferential forms of address for older siblings. (I)

Analysis

There are special privileges attendant to seniority in the Filipino family. Among Tagalogs, younger siblings
show deference to older ones by using forms of address specific to the "rank" of the sibling in the family hierarchy. The most widely used forms are "kuya" for the eldest brother and "ate" for the eldest sister. Thus, if the eldest sister's given name is Maria, she will be called "Ate Maria" by her younger brothers and sisters. The more traditional families, particularly in the rural areas, have preserved the use of other forms of address for siblings: "diko" for the second eldest brother, "ditse" for the second eldest sister; "sanko" for the third eldest brother, and "sanse" for the third eldest sister.

Rule 2. Younger siblings should address their older brothers and sisters deferentially.

Action 3a. T., age 21, confided that she does not talk back to her mother. "... Hindi na lang ako nagsasalita ... Hindi ko na lang sinasagot kasi iiyak lang yon ... kasi naiisip niya tumatanda na, lumalaki na." (I just keep quiet ... I don't talk back because it will just make her cry thinking that I don't respect her anymore now that I'm older and grown.) (I)

Action 3b. T., age 12, is the youngest child in a large family. She has lived in the United States for three years. She told the
researcher: "I can't talk back to Mom or Dad 'cause I'd probably get into big trouble, so I never try." (I)

Action 3c. M., age 12, has been in the United States for only a year. She has changed somewhat during the period. For instance, when she disagrees with her parents, she explains to them her point and tells them why she thinks they are wrong. Back in the Philippines, when she disagreed with her aunt (her surrogate parent when her parents were away), she did not voice her objection. "... Iiyak na lang." (I just cry.) (I)

Action 3d. In the six months that Mrs. L. and her two-year old daughter have been in the United States, Mrs. L. has noticed a particular change in her daughter's behavior. The girl has learned to answer her back and to openly refuse what she is told to do. For instance, when the child is told to come home (from the neighbor's or from playing outdoors), she would say, "Ayaw ko!" (I don't want to.) Sometimes, she would add, "Mommy dummy!"

"Saan mo napulot yan?" (From whom did you pick that up?)
"Masama yan! Magagalit si Mommy at si Daddy."
(That's bad! Mommy and Daddy will get angry with you.)

**Action 3e.** J. has lived 10 of his 13 years in the United States. His description of talking back to his parents is: "You're really screaming at them." When he talks back to his parents, he gets "bawled out" or he is given a "lecture."

**Analysis**

One of the most dominant values in the Filipino family is respect for parents and other elders. One way of showing respect is by not talking back or not contradicting one's parent even though one has strong objection to what the parent thinks or what the parent wants the son or daughter to do. In cases 3c and 3d, the children have learned to be more assertive, a change which the parents attribute to being exposed to American ways. Case 3d illustrates how the undesirable action is curbed in a very young child and how the value pertinent to it is communicated by the parent: answering back is bad. "Mommy and Daddy will get angry with you."

When a child disagrees with a parent, frequently, he/she would simply keep quiet to avoid getting "bawled out" or being given a "lecture." Sometimes, the child would
cry. Another way in which some children respond to the situation is shown in Action 4a and 4b.

**Rule 3. Children must not talk back to their parents.**

**Action 4a.** During occasions when her parents would lay down the law and she felt that they were unreasonable, T., age 21, would not talk back, usually. She would express her protest non-verbally, for example, by slamming the door. That would provoke further scolding from her parents.

(I)

**Action 4b.** J., age 10, is annoyed, sometimes, by the restrictions his parents place on him. When asked what he told them in protest, he replied: "Wala, basta parang nagdadabog, ganoon." (Nothing, I just sort of make some noise.) Then he demonstrated how he would plump himself into a chair making sure his little body made as much noise as it could.

(I)

**Analysis**

As illustrated in the previous sequence, it is not proper for children to talk back to their parents. One common form of feedback or outlet is non-verbal and is best expressed by the Tagalog word "nagdadabog."
Roughly translated, it means "making noise to express annoyance or protest." Some forms of behavior which fall under the category are slamming the door, stamping one's foot, putting away objects (toys, books, dishes, silver) with the maximum of clatter, and stamping off. Some parents would ignore the outburst. Others would see it a challenge to their authority and would scold or punish the child.

Rule 4. Children can express protest or annoyance over parental decision or action non-verbally in a manner described in Tagalog as "nagdadabog."

Action 5a. A., age 13, is the youngest child in the family. His parents and older brothers tell him or ask him to do a variety of errands and tasks. "It's an order, but they make it sound like a request. Like, my father, when he wants me to cook something for him, he says, "A ..., if you have time, would you cook rice?" But he wants it right now, so I have to do it right then and there." (I)

Action 5b. Mr. C. has six children. He observed that when the older children would ask the younger ones to do something, the latter would obey most of the time. He has advised the older children to make their orders seem more like requests. On
the other hand, he has told the younger children not to complain when older children ask them to do something: "... Huwag magreklamo na masama ang mukha at masama ang salita." (Don't complain with a long face or a harsh word.) They should do what they were asked to do or refuse in a nice way. (I)

Analysis
A child in the Filipino family is obliged to obey his or her parents and older brothers and sisters. Among the children, authority is distributed by age, regardless of sex. While a younger child should defer to parents and older siblings, the latter, in turn, should show him/her consideration by couching their orders in the form of requests. It is implicit, however, that the child is expected to do what he/she is asked to do even though it sounds as if he/she has an option not to.

Rule 5. A request made to a child by a parent or an older sibling should be regarded as an order.

Action 6a. L., age 13, reported that when she and her younger brothers fight, her Dad can stop the quarrel more quickly than her Mom: "It's usually easier when my Dad tells us. . . . He's got more of an authority, like, I guess. . . . I
guess we're more afraid of him than we are of Mom." (I)

Action 6b. M., age 12, said that it is her Dad, frequently, who tells her two younger brothers to clean their rooms: "Si Mommy ... basta sisigaw kaagad. Magagalit kaagad. Si Daddy, mas firm. Si Daddy ang magpapaano." (Mommy shouts right away. She gets angry too quickly. Daddy is more firm. That's why he gets the boys to do things.) (I)

Analysis

The father is the major authority figure and, frequently, the disciplinarian in the Filipino home. Because the mother usually defers to him in decision-making and consults him in most matters concerning the home and the children, the latter learn early in life that father's word carries a lot of weight. Many times, he does not even have to spank or scold to stop mischief or curb improper behavior. A firm order will suffice.

Rule 6. Paternal authority is usually expressed in a firm order to the children to do their assigned task or to stop misbehaving.
Action. Mr. and Mrs. B. have two boys ages 13 and 11. Sometimes, when Mr. B. would scold the boys Mrs. B. would come between to defend her sons. This has been a source of conflict between her husband and herself. Her husband would say, "How can I discipline the children when you are always coming between us?" (I)

Analysis

In the case above, the role of the father as authority figure to his children is undermined by the mother's interference in his disciplinary action. The mother is expected to support his action regardless of her own feelings. In so doing, she would reinforce his power in the family.

Rule 7. When the father is disciplining a child, the mother should express support of his action or be silent when she does not agree with it.

Action. When the researcher visited her friend in Philadelphia, she was usually left at home during the day with her friend's three-year old daughter. Nearly every morning that her mother left the house that week, the child would cry furiously and beg her mother to stay or to take her along. The mother dealt with the situation a little differently each morning. The first
couple of days, she would cajole the child into stopping. Later, she scolded her for having a tantrum and the next day she spanked the child. One morning, when the child had a fever, the mother offered her a "bribe" to stop her from crying: "I'll bring you some candy this afternoon if you stop crying."

**Analysis**

The presence of an "outsider" was a key element in the situation just described. The mother did not want to scold or spank the child in the presence of the guest so she tried to cajole her into stopping. As the days went by and the guest became a more familiar figure, the usual way of disciplining the child began to surface. The mother was no longer embarrassed to spank the child or to talk to her more sternly.

**Rule 8.** To stop a child from crying, a mother spanks or scolds the child or threatens to spank him/her, offers the child a bribe, or cajoles the child into stopping. The last option is usually used when there is an "outsider" present. (0)

**Action 9a.** When her children want to get something, say a new toy, Mrs. L. would refer them to their father: "Sige, sabihin mo sa Daddy mo."
Pagpumayag ang Daddy mo de bibilin natin."
(All right, tell your Daddy about it. If he says "yes," we'll buy it.) The same process is followed when the kids ask permission to go out: "Eh sabihin mo sa Daddy mo. Pagpumayag ang Daddy mo de lumakad ka na." (Well, tell your father first. If it's O.K. with him, then you can go.) (I)

Action 9b. "When you want permission to go out," the researcher asked M., 14, "Whom do you ask first?" "It depends on who's there," she replied. Then she added, "... The one who really makes the decision is my Dad." (I)

Action 9c. Mr. B. said that his children would ask permission from their mother first, usually. The mother would refer the children to him and he has the final word. (I)

Analysis

The situations above illustrate the role relationship of the mother and the father in decision-making, specifically with regard to the children. The mother acts as a sounding board, but it is the father who makes the final decision. In 10a, when the mother referred the children to the father for permission, she was reinforcing the
value that the father is the "boss" in the family and the decision-maker.

Rule 9. The mother usually defers to the father in decision-making.

Action 10a. S., age 20, has resided in the United States for seven years. She's in college and lives at home with her parents. At 20, she is not allowed to go on dates alone. Her sister has to chaperon her. In contrast, her brother could date with hardly any restrictions. (I)

Action 10b. T., 21, is also required to have a chaperon by her parents when she goes out. "Kaya kami nagaaway kasi gusto ko lalabas pero pag lalabas kailangan kasama ang kapatid ko." (I have disagreements with my mother because I want to go out on dates, but if I go out, I have to be accompanied by my sister or my brother.) When T. points out that her brother can go out anytime and come home anytime, the mother replies: "Lalaki siya kaya makakalabas siya." (He's a man, so he can go out when he wants.) (I)

Analysis

The two cases above illustrate the Filipino practice of requiring chaperons for daughters who go out on dates.
The age of the daughter does not seem to have any bearing on whether she needs a chaperon or not. Evidently, the practice is founded on the belief that when a third person is present, the dating couple would not be exposed to any temptation that would "besmirch the woman's good reputation." A daughter runs the risk of being "dishonored." A son does not. So, the latter is given more freedom to go out when, where, and with whom he pleases.

**Rule 10. Daughters should be chaperoned when dating.**

**Action 11a.** Mr. V. described to the researcher the usual reaction of his 8-year old son and 7-year old daughter when he or his wife fail to get either something which he or she asked for:

"Pag may pinabibili at hindi mo naibili. nagdaram-dam, nagtatampo." (When they ask us to buy them something and we don't get it, they sulk and mope.) (I)

**Action 11b.** Mrs. R.'s 8-year old son, R., was born in the United States. Although he was born of Filipino parents, his behavior patterns are largely American. For example, unlike the children in the case above, R. likes to get things for himself, all on his own. His mother said that he recently used $12.00 from his savings to buy
himself 3 toys and to get his two sisters a toy each. (I)

Analysis

When asked how their children have been changed by their American experience, most of the Filipino parents interviewed invariably pointed out that their children have become more independent and self-reliant. Their independence and self-reliance were manifested frequently in efforts to find little jobs outside the home to earn money with which they could buy things on their own. R., in the situation described in 11b, is typical of those children. It appears that traditional Filipino children, as in the situation recounted in 11a, develop self-reliance later in life, are more dependent on their parents, and in a sense, are children longer. Their parents are the 'great providers," giving their children material needs and education as far as they can afford them.

Rule 11. A child can show independence by doing or getting things for himself/herself without the parent's help.

Action 12a. T., age 21, revealed that she frequently teases her mother about her big hips. When she wants to criticize or point out an undesirable thing about a person, she usually jokes about it: "Biruan lang . . . Totoo, pero
hindi magagalit sa iyo." (We joke about it. What is said is true but the person who is criticized will not get angry.) (I)

Action 12b. E., 21, told the researcher that he often expresses his criticisms in a joking manner. For example: "Kaganda naman ng damit mo!" (How beautiful your dress is!) His vocal tone and his smile made it obvious that he was teasing. (I)

Analysis

Pleasing other people and keeping relationships harmonious are primary goals in Filipino social interaction. One must not hurt another person's ego. When asked to express an opinion, at times one would tell a white lie rather than offend. In the two cases above, the actors were able to criticize without the risk of offending the object of the criticism by joking. The joke is an excellent means of expressing criticism because of the ambivalence of the message: it might be true, but then, again, the joker may just want to get a laugh. The joke softens the blow to the person being criticized.

Rule 12. Criticism may be expressed in the form of a joke to neutralize its sting.
**Action.** When Mr. and Mrs. L. were in the Philippines, they lived with their three children in the home of Mrs. L.'s parents. The two both worked. Their young children were cared for primarily by Mrs. L.'s two older sisters, both single. Although the transition to a more independent life for the family in the United States was not easy, Mr. L. prefers living here because "Walang magsasabi sa iyo kung ano ang gagawin mo." (Nobody tells you what to do.) (I)

**Analysis**

As illustrated in the case above, it is quite common in the Philippines for married children to continue living with their parents. This means that the hierarchical system in the family is more involved with married children surrendering some of their prerogatives in decision-making to the older members of the family. The relationship of a married child to his parents is not of an equal, if he or she continues to live with the latter. He or she retains the subordinate position of a child.

**Rule 13.** Younger members of an extended family should listen to and, when feasible, follow the advice of older members of the extended family.
Action. Mr. V. has lived in the United States for 2 years. He has three children ages 8 and 7 years, and 3 months. When they were back home in the Philippines, the family lived with his parents. His father, in particular, would get upset when his grandchildren were spanked. Frequently, the children sought protection with their grandfather: "Nagausumbong ang bata sa Lolo. Yaayusin naman, aawatin ako at sasabihin, 'Bakit mo hinahataw yan?" (The child would tell his grandfather that I spanked him. His grandfather would put his arms around the kid and comfort him. He would stop me from punishing the child further and would ask, "Why are you spanking the child?") There was little Mr. V. could do to change the situation apart from telling his father that he was spoiling the child. (I)

Analysis

In the case above where a married man lived with his family in the home of his parents, the latter retained authority and influence over many aspects of his life. That included a say in the way he disciplined his children. The grandfather was, in fact, the head of the family, and the son had to defer to him even on a matter which concerned his own child.
Rule 14. In the extended family, grandparents may intervene on behalf of their grandchildren when the latter are punished by their parents.

Action. Mrs. C. has lived in the United States for 25 years. She recounted that as a young wife in the Philippines, she and her husband lived with his parents. When she argued with her husband, her mother-in-law would always take her side. She follows this rule now that her eldest son is married. She would give her daughter-in-law special treatment in her home and support her when she had an argument with her son.

Analysis

Mrs. C. explained to the researcher why her mother-in-law gave her preferential treatment and why she does the same now for her daughter-in-law. The kind of treatment she received was the special treatment Filipinos accord to guests. At the time, she was the only daughter-in-law in the family, an "outsider" in a way. So, her mother-in-law tried to be as hospitable and as attentive to her as she could to make her feel at home.

Rule 15. A parent-in-law should express support for his or her child-in-law in a family confrontation.
Interactions

Interaction is the exchange of verbal and non-verbal messages between participants in a given situation to achieve a certain goal. While an action is attributed to a single actor, an interaction involves the "performance" of two or more actors. In effect, an interaction is composed of actions connected by a common purpose. The following ten interactions demonstrate some of the communicative rules in the Filipino family setting.

Interaction. C., age 3, apparently picked a fight with her older sister L., age 6. They bickered with each other while watching TV. The fight intensified to a point where the younger girl hit the older one. The father, who was watching TV with the girls, reprimanded his younger daughter. (0)

Analysis

The roles in focus here are older sibling and younger sibling. It is common for siblings to fight, quarrel, or bicker with each other occasionally. This situation shows that a "verbal battle" is tolerable up to a point. When the bickering escalates to boisterous fight or to something physical, then the authority and the prerogative of the older sibling is invoked by himself/herself or by an adult referee.
Rule 16. A younger sibling who raises his or her voice or hand to an older sibling, unduly, should be reprimanded or punished by a parent or a responsible adult.

Interaction. After dinner, D. and his three children and the researcher watched TV. The "Donnie and Marie" show was on. Obviously teasing, D. referred to Donnie Osmond as L.'s favorite. L. was irked by her father's comment. To show her annoyance, she turned down the volume of the TV set so that no one could hear the program. Her father told her to turn it up. She was adamant. Her father, then, ordered her to do as he said. When L. did not budge, D. got up and spanked her. (O)

Analysis

Ostensibly, the situation demonstrates father-daughter interaction. Actually, there is another role involved. When D. teased L., he was being more of a "pal" than "Daddy." Evidently, L. did not perceive D. as "pal." She reacted as a petulant daughter, thereby forcing C. to act as father. By refusing to obey D., L. put his authority to a test. He affirmed his paternal authority by spanking L.

Rule 17. A child who disobeys a parent is punished.
Interaction. One time, when R. was a sophomore in high school, she asked her mother if she could go with a boy to the homecoming dance at his high school. "R. . . ., you know pretty well that you are not allowed to go to any activities of other schools," was the mother's reply. "But he says his mother will drive us," R. explained. Her mother countered: "I don't care if even his grandmother goes with him. You cannot go!" (I)

Analysis

Although the information was not given in the preceding interaction, the mother was, in fact, carrying out her husband's wishes when she refused her daughter permission to go to the dance. He had told her, years ago, that he did not want R. to date early. The mother explained, "If I said 'yes' and Daddy does not like it, that is not the way."

Rule 18. The mother is frequently the intermediary between father and children, relaying to the latter the restrictions concerning them which the father has discussed with her. She could also act as "spokesperson" for the children to the father.
Interaction. M., 14, wanted to go to the Sadie Hawkins Dance in her school. She explained to her father that it was the only occasion during the school year when a girl gets to invite a boy to dinner and to take him to the dance. The father’s response was, "Has the world gone crazy?"
"But, Dad, it's 1979!" the daughter exclaimed. Dad was adamant. M. could not go to the dance.
A few weeks later, after some discussion with his wife, the father softened his stand. M. could take a boy out to dinner and to the Sadie Hawkins party if she went with two or three other girls in her class and their dates. (I)

Analysis

Before speaking to her father about the Sadie Hawkins Dance, M. had already spoken to her Mom. She was referred to her father for permission. Although the father said "No" at first, it is important to note that he reconsidered and accommodated the request after discussing the situation with his wife, alone. The mother acted as intermediary between father and daughter, explaining to the former that they should not unduly emphasize the difference between
their daughter and her American classmates by keeping her away from the normal activities of her peer group here.

Rule 19. If the father denies a child permission to do something, the child may appeal his or her case by using the mother as intermediary.

Interaction. L. took the time Saturday afternoon to cook some puto, a kind of rice cake usually eaten by Filipinos as merienda (light afternoon meal). She purposely doubled the recipe so she could give some of the puto to her neighbor, W. A few days later, W. gave L. a dish of Philippine style lentils which she cooked for supper. (0)

Analysis

Filipinos have an extended family system. Besides looking after blood relatives, the family is expected to spread its protective wing over neighbors and friends. Sharing one's food is one of the most concrete ways of demonstrating affinity and friendship.

For instance, in the case above, W. is a very distant relative of L.'s. Although neither consulted the other about residing in Philadelphia, they had stumbled into each other's path and have grown closer during their stay in the United States. W. has a ready hand when L. needs
help and vice versa. The giving of food seems to be a way of saying "thank you" for the favors they do each other.

Rule 20. One gives food to neighbors to show appreciation; a gift of food is frequently reciprocated with a present of the same kind.

Interaction. L., her two daughters, and the researcher went to a small Filipino store near their home to buy some food stuff. While they were shopping, the owner of the store, R., good friend of L.'s, gave the girls some cookies and offered some hopia (Chinese moon cakes) to L. and the researcher. Neither of them was hungry at the time and did not care to have any food. Nevertheless, they ate some hopia when the owner persisted in offering them the food.

Analysis

Hospitality is supposed to be extended to friends and neighbors not only in one's home but also in one's place of business. The offer of food is one of the best ways of demonstrating hospitality and showing utang na loob (debt of gratitude) to someone who has been kind and helpful. In this case, although L. visited R. in the place where she conducted business, R. treated her as if she were visiting her home. In offering L. and her company
food, R. was showing her appreciation to L. for her friendship. A refusal to take the food was likely to be construed as insulting or belittling to the host.

**Rule 21.** A host must feed or, at least, offer to feed a guest. When offered food, the guest refuses the offer initially with some excuse like "I'm full," or "Don't go to any trouble." If the host persists in making the offer, the guest graciously accepts it whether or not he/she wants to eat. (0)

**Interaction.** One evening when the researcher was in Philadelphia, a neighbor's daughter came to "deliver" some food at her friend's, L.'s, home. The researcher could not hear the conversation, but L. told her later that it was the girl's mother's birthday and she was sending L. and her family some of the food she prepared specially for the occasion. The food she gave served as dinner for the family that evening. (0)

**Analysis**

Birthdays, wedding anniversaries, and other special occasions are usually reasons for big family gatherings in the Filipino home. Neighbors are invited. Breaking bread together is an affirmation of the group's close relationship
and solidarity. The elaborate fare served in many of these occasions is a way for the family to show that they are doing well or can afford to be lavish once in a while. Families who cannot, in fact, afford a "feast" have been known to go into debt to finance a celebration. If the celebrator does not give a party, he or she usually sends food to neighbors or relatives who live close by.

Rule 22. The giving of food is a way of including neighbors and friends in a family celebration.

**Interaction.** The snow had to be cleared off the sidewalk in front of L.'s apartment. Having no shovel at home, L. called up her neighbor, W., to borrow hers. She did not have a shovel, either. However, she called up another neighbor to borrow the shovel for L. The researcher offered to pick up the shovel. W. accompanied her to the man's place. While W. and the man, N., talked to each other, the researcher began to shovel the walk. Later, L. came out and promptly took over the job. When N. saw her shoveling, he walked over and offered his help and eventually finished the job for her. (0)
FILIPINOS, as mentioned earlier, regard neighbors as an extension of the family. However, like blood relatives, there are close ones and distant ones. The status of the relationship regulates expectancies. For example, one would be embarrassed to borrow a household item or a tool from a neighbor one is not close to. However, an intermediary, one who is both close to the lender and the borrower, could make the request.

Rule 23. Where help is needed from a neighbor one does not know too well, an intermediary who knows the person better may step in and make the request.

Interaction. The researcher did not want to be treated as a guest in L.'s home. She wanted to be one of the family. So, she thought she'd start her visit by doing the dishes right after the delicious Filipino meal L. prepared for her. L. wouldn't hear of this, however. She was embarrassed when the researcher persisted in doing the task and chided her for being "stubborn." (O)

Analysis

A guest in a Filipino home is usually given a "place of honor." He or she is served and pampered and over
indulged. While the guest should offer to help in some way with the household chores, he or she is not expected to do so. Usually the host would be a lot more comfortable if the guest did not help with housework. It is "dirty, menial work" which a good host is not supposed to inflict upon the guest.

Rule 24. A houseguest should offer to assist the host in household chores; if the host declines the offer, the guest should respect his/her wishes.

Interaction. One night, L. did not get home in time to prepare the evening meal. She talked to her husband, D., and the researcher on the phone to give them "instructions" on what to do about dinner. She told D. that perhaps they could heat some leftovers. Then, she gave the researcher directions on how to prepare a Filipino dish. Over D.'s objection, the researcher did most of the work in the kitchen and served the dinner.

Analysis

Here we find an exception to the rule that houseguests are not expected to help in housework. There are certain things a Filipino male is not expected to do at home. One of them is cooking. D. is typical in this
sense. He can cook when he has to but he normally does not. In this situation, he had two roles with different expectations: host and male head of household. So did the researcher: guest and adult female. In cases like this, the more basic of the roles predominate, i.e., adult male and female roles. The researcher did what was expected of her as an adult female. She cooked and served dinner.

Rule 25. A female houseguest takes over the duties of the lady of the house when she is unable to do them.

Summary

The data gathered for the present study revealed interaction within the nuclear family and with extended family members. The rules governing role enactment may be divided into rules of action and rules of interaction. Action refers to communicative sequences performed by a single actor. Interaction involves the communication of two or more participants, usually toward a specific goal. The significance of the findings of the present study is discussed in the next chapter.
CHAPTER IV

REVIEW AND INTERPRETATION

This chapter consists of a summary and interpretation of the findings, an evaluation of the strengths and limitations of the investigation, and a discussion of the implications for future research.

Interaction in the Filipino Family and Its Analytic Paradigm

The object of the present study was to explain in phenomenological perspective the relationship between social role and communication in a specific cultural milieu. The Filipino family in the United States was chosen as the subject of the study because the researcher is a Filipino and had the advantage of applying the native's competence and insight in a systematic investigation. The relationship between role and communication is complex and manifold. (Communication, for instance, is central in role learning or role transmission.) The present study focused on one aspect of the relationship—the functions of communication in role enactment. 
Two methods were used in the research to gain phenomenological understanding of the problem: participant-observation and the focused, open-ended interview. The former yielded a record of actual family interaction in its natural setting; the latter augmented the data with reported interactions and clarified perceptions and relationships that were difficult to infer from observed interaction. There were three phases in the data collection: 1) informal, exploratory conversations with some married Filipino graduate students at the Ohio State University and wives of Filipino physicians in Marion, Ohio; 2) participant-observation in the home of a Filipino family in Philadelphia; and 3) focused, open-ended interviews with 40 Filipino parents and children residing in the greater Columbus area in Ohio.

A model consisting of three constructs—situation, role, and rule—was drawn before the data were collected and was used in the initial analysis of the interactions. The model led to an examination of rules governing role enactment in specific situations. Five levels of analysis were applied to the participant-observation data: 1) the dialogue in each observed situation was reconstructed, in the original Tagalog, from notes; 2) the dialogue was translated into English; 3) the situation and interaction were described in narrative form; 4) the role relationship
which emerged from the interaction was analyzed; and
5) a rule was drawn from the interaction.

The procedure described was modified and applied to
the analysis of the interviews. The researcher listened
to the tape recordings of the interviews and noted signifi-
cant points including 1) the subject's description of the
situations, 2) the verbal exchange in each situation as
recounted by the interviewee, 3) the reaction of the other
person/s involved in the situation as reported by the
subject, 4) comments by the interviewee regarding each
situation and/or its participants, and 5) comments by the
interviewee which revealed his/her perception of family
roles and rules and the cultural differences, in those
respects, between Filipinos and Americans.

As the analysis progressed, it became evident that
the phenomenon being investigated included elements which
were not accounted for in the situation-role-rule model.
To present accurately the relationship of role to communi-
cation and culture, a more complex paradigm was developed
involving ten theoretical constructs: actor, role assigned
to self, role assigned to the other, role relationship,
co-orientation, action, interaction, situation, rule, and
cultural value. The relationship of these constructs can
be summarized as follows: an actor portrays a role in a
given situation based on his perception of his role in
relation to another actor or other actors. His actions
and the interaction between him and other participants are governed by rules which are largely implicit. The rules reflect values—a higher order of cultural knowledge which may be inferred from what the natives regard as proper or improper, desirable or undesirable.

The data were analyzed and presented according to the analytical paradigm. The findings of the study are summarized and interpreted below.

**Rules of Action and Interaction in the Filipino Family Setting**

Twenty-five rules of action and interaction were drawn from the data of the present study. The rules can be grouped into ten categories of symbolic behavior.

1. Showing respect for and obedience toward elders in the family:
   a. Children must address their parents and older relatives with the deferent terms "ho" or "po".
   b. Younger siblings should address their older brothers and sisters deferentially.
   c. Children must not talk back to their parents.

   A child who disagrees with a parent will not usually contradict the parent. A common response is silence or crying. Another outlet is expressed in the following rule.
d. Children express protest or annoyance over parental decision or action non-verbally in a manner described in Tagalog as "nagdadabog" (roughly translated as "making noise").

e. A request made to a child by a parent or an older sibling should be regarded as an order.

2. Making decisions:

The mother usually defers to the father in decision-making.

3. Disciplining children:

a. Paternal authority is usually expressed in a firm order to the children to do their assigned tasks or to stop misbehaving.

b. When the father is disciplining the child, the mother should express support of his action or be silent when she does not agree with it.

c. To stop a child from crying, a mother spanks or scolds the child or threatens to spank him/her, offers the child a bribe, or cajoles the child into stopping. The last option is usually used when there is an "outsider" present.

d. A younger sibling who raises his/her voice or hand to an older sibling, unduly, should be reprimanded or punished by a responsible adult.
e. A child who disobeys a parent is punished.

4. Criticizing:
   Criticism may be expressed in the form of a joke to neutralize its sting.

5. Mother acting as intermediary between father and children:
   a. The mother is frequently the intermediary between father and children, relaying to the latter the restrictions concerning them which the father has discussed with her. She may also act as "spokesperson" for the children to the father.
   b. If the father denies a child permission to do something, the child may appeal his/her case by using the mother as intermediary.

6. Child demonstrating independence:
   A child can show independence by doing or getting things for himself/herself without the parents' help.

7. Parents imposing more restrictions on daughters than sons:
   Daughters should be chaperoned when dating.

8. Members of the extended family intervening in the affairs of the nuclear family:
a. Younger members of an extended family should listen to and, when feasible, follow the advice of older members of the extended family.

b. Grandparents may intervene on behalf of their grandchildren when the latter are punished by their parents.

c. A parent-in-law should express support for his/her child-in-law in a family confrontation.

9. Interacting with neighbors:

a. One gives food to neighbors to show appreciation; a gift of food is frequently reciprocated with a present of the same kind.

b. A host must feed or, at least, offer to feed a guest. When offered food, the guest refuses the offer initially with some excuse. If the host persists in making the offer, the guest accepts it graciously whether or not he/she wants to eat.

c. The giving of food is a way of including neighbors and friends in a family celebration.

d. Where help is needed from a neighbor, one does not know well an intermediary who knows the person better may step in and make the request.

10. Interacting with houseguests:

a. A houseguest should offer to assist the host in household chores. If the host declines
the offer, the guest should respect his/her wishes.

b. A female houseguest takes over the duties of the lady of the house when she is unable to do them.

The present study focused on the family because it is central in Philippine life and is a key to understanding Filipino behavior patterns. What Philippine cultural patterns has the Filipino family in the United States retained? What image of the Filipino family emerged from their interaction?

The Filipino family is tightly knit. Authority is distributed hierarchically with the father as the highest authority figure. He makes the major decisions and is frequently looked upon as the disciplinarian in the family. While the mother also wields authority over the children, she is expected to play the secondary role of intermediary between them and their father.

Respect and obedience toward elders in the family are prime values recognized by both parents and children. However, forms of address denoting respect in the Tagalog language have fallen into disuse among families that now speak English. A more significant change is evident in the children's behavior. Having been brought up in the more open and egalitarian American society, many of the children find it difficult to obey unconditionally and
to keep silent when they have opinions contrary to their parents'. While parents feel that "talking back" is a sign of disrespect, they recognize that speaking one's mind and taking a stand are skills which the children have to learn to operate successfully in the American society.

Living in a foreign culture has subjected the Filipino family to two, sometimes opposing, influences. For instance, the Filipino value of protectiveness toward the children frequently conflicts with the American value of independence and self-reliance. Parents want to provide for their children's emotional and material needs and to keep them secure at home until they marry. The children, on the other hand, following the example of their American peers, learn early to be self-reliant, finding jobs to earn extra money, managing their social activities, and planning to move out of the home as soon as they are of age. While the show of independence makes the parents feel left out, they admit readily that it is a necessary adaptation to the American way of life.

The ambivalence and, at times, the lack of consensus, among the subjects of the present study were an advantage to the observer trying to determine and describe Philippine cultural patterns. The differences between the Philippine and American ways and the choices that had to be made between them made the subjects more conscious of the premises, the values, and the expectancies they were
operating with as a parent or a child. The Filipino patterns emerged more fully in comparison to the American.

Some of the findings of the present study support conclusions of earlier research on Filipino personality and values. Bulatao's study of "The Manileno's Mainsprings" revealed emotional closeness and security in the family as a primary value held by the Tagalog subjects. The value was expressed in many ways. For instance:

- Parents should be strict in watching over, protecting and curbing their children who might otherwise meet with disaster. . . .
- If left by themselves, moral harm will befall the children, especially the girls. 31

This value is consistent with the rationale parents gave, in the present study, for requiring chaperons to accompany their daughters when dating.

The second most dominant value which Bulatao uncovered was respect and obedience toward figures of authority. This is manifested, for example, in the statement, "a person must heed parental advice." Moreover, "it is for a person to keep quiet when scolded and to think things out for himself." 32 Two rules drawn from the present study support Bulatao's conclusion: 1) Younger members of a nuclear

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32 Ibid., pp. 104-105.
family should listen to and follow the advice of older members of the extended family, and 2) Children must not talk back to their parents.

In a study of social acceptance in the Philippines, Lynch emphasized the importance of smooth interpersonal relations. To achieve this, Filipinos employ a variety of communicative strategies including "using euphemisms and stating an unpleasant truth, opinion, or request as pleasantly as possible, and using go-between" to express an embarrassing request, complaint, or decision. The same strategies were used by family members in interactions reported in the present study. A criticism of a family member, for instance, was expressed as a joke to avoid offending the object of the criticism. Children often use their mothers to ask permission from their fathers or to appeal a decision that seems unfair to them. Orders couched as requests, should be heeded without a word of complaint or a frown to ensure the maintenance of smooth interpersonal relations.

Guthrie and Jacobs offer an explanation for the importance given to smooth interpersonal relations in the Philippine setting.

With many people living in a close physical and social relationship, the handling of

hostility is of crucial importance. A good deal of emphasis is placed on the ability to avoid potentially angry situations.34

The Filipino family is typically a large, extended unit. To function well, negative feelings must be curbed or must find acceptable outlets. Freed from the demands of the extended family system, the Filipino family in the United States still clings to the behavior patterns conditioned by it.

An Analytic Paradigm for the Relation of Role, Communication, and Culture

As indicated in Chapter I, the concept, social role, has yet to emerge as a major area of inquiry in communication. There are several studies of role in the context of group dynamics—membership and leadership roles, task roles—but there is a paucity of research on social roles and their relationship to interaction. The analytical paradigm developed in the present study provides an explanation for the relationship of social role to communication and culture.

The paradigm consists of ten analytical constructs: actor, role assigned to self, role assigned to the other, role relationship, co-orientation, action, interaction, situation, rule, and cultural value.

In keeping with the dramaturgical origin of the term "role," the role occupant in this paradigm is referred to as the "actor." First and foremost, the actor is a symbol-making, symbol-using being. Language is his primary means of role enactment and, prior to that, the medium by which he conceptualizes and internalizes his role in relation to others. Sarbin refers to the location and naming of reciprocal roles as role perception—"an intraorganismic response of the organism to stimulus objects and events." The silent naming and location of the position of the other precedes the location of the position of the self. Role perception may be inferred from the role enactment which follows. Also, it is observable in the form of address or reference applied to the other actor/s. The success of the interaction depends largely on the congruency of the role perceptions of participants in a given situation. For instance, in the context of the present study, interaction would break down if a child perceived himself as equal in authority to the parent and enacted his role on the basis of that perception. The parent is likely to react in anger or hostility and may punish the child. Role perceptions structure the role relationship whether hierarchical or egalitarian.

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In the analytical paradigm of this study, role perception occurs during the **co-orientation** process where the participants acknowledge each other's presence and tacitly agree on the role relationship and the related rules which will govern the interaction, according to the roles and attributes of the perceived situation. Co-orientation occurs prior to interaction. Since it is an internal process, its nature can only be inferred from the interaction which follows it. It is an essential prerequisite to coherence and congruity of interactions.

In one sense, co-orientation may be conceived as the cognitive aspect of the interaction, the first level of its situational framework. The second level is the physical context—where does the interaction occur? The third level is the social context—how, with whom, and why is the interaction taking place? The second and third levels of the situational context were not designated as discrete constructs in the analytic paradigm, but were identified simply as "situation—the physical and social context of the interaction particularized by the participants in time, place, and purpose."

The smallest unit of communicative behavior in the paradigm is **action**. It is a communicative sequence of intentional behavior attributed to a single actor. Action, here, is used not in the sense of motoric
behavior but in the Burkeian sense of symbolic act imbued with motive or intent.

The give and take of actions toward a goal by two or more actors constitute interaction. In observation, it is recognized as a sequence of communicative behaviors between the participants moving within a common purpose.

The observed patterns of interaction form the basis of the construct rule. A rule reflects how a role occupant will typically behave toward an actor enacting a reciprocal role. Role and rule are inextricably bound, the former setting a pattern that is governed by the latter.

The highest level of constructs in the paradigm is cultural value. It represents an ideal or a standard of behavior approved and desired in a particular culture. The value is implicit and can only be inferred from interaction or from native expressions of approval or disapproval.

Strengths and Limitations of the Study

The primary strength of the study is in the consistent phenomenological perspective it has maintained. Family roles and interaction were seen through the eyes of the Filipino—observed in actuality and clarified through flexible, open-ended interviews.

Secondly, the study is theoretically based. It began with initial assumptions and propositions regarding role, communication, and culture. The theory was revised and
elaborated as the study progressed. The data were used to clarify tenuous concepts and relationships. The resulting analytic paradigm reveals more clearly and in more detail the components of the theory and their relationship to each other.

The use of Filipinos in the United States as subjects may be considered both a strength and a weakness. It was an advantage because of the exposure of Filipinos here to another culture which sharpened their awareness of Filipino practices and values. It was a disadvantage because Filipinos in the United States are obviously atypical of the Philippine population. While the choice of subjects limits the generalizability of the data to the Philippine population, it does not detract from the explanation of the relationship of role to communication and culture.

The major weakness of the study results from the limited opportunity to observe family interaction as it naturally occurs, over a long period of time, as a participant-observer. This limited the patterns of interaction that could be included in the research and confined the observations and conclusions largely to parent-child interaction. Adult to adult interactions within the intimate family situation are difficult to observe for obvious reasons.
Implications for Future Research

The analytic paradigm developed in the present study is a generic explanation of the relationship of role to communication and culture. However, the present study was limited to the observation of family roles in one cultural setting. Further studies may validate the paradigm in other social situations in other cultures.

Other studies might focus on one part of the paradigm, specifically the congruency of role perceptions (roles assigned to the self and to the other) as related to satisfaction or frustration of communicative interaction.

A third study, and the one to which this investigator gives primacy, is the replication of the present study among Tagalog families in the Philippines. It would also be desirable to investigate whether there are regional differences in Filipino patterns of interaction.
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Selected Bibliography


