

## Socio-Economic Backgrounds of Higher Civil Servants in the Philippines: Circa 1983

PROSERPINA DOMINGO TAPALES\*

*The study underscores the political role of the bureaucracy by describing those at the apex of the bureaucracy composed of higher civil servants as the action group in political development. The socio-economic background of higher civil servants may be an important factor affecting this role. The study reveals the following findings. First, the urban bias in the recruitment of bureaucrats remains to date although this trend is gradually changing. Second, in terms of educational qualifications and family background, Filipino higher civil servants are better educated than their predecessors. This is a function of more and better educational opportunities available in the society. Third, an increasing number of younger women have entered the civil service in recent years, thus, indicating greater opportunities for them. Finally, the greater educational opportunities for younger women indicate greater access into the higher civil service.*

### Rationale for Focusing on the Higher Civil Service

The political role of the bureaucracy has been pointed out by many political scientists and public administrators. This was expressed succinctly by Harry Kranz in *Participative Democracy* in these words:

*The bureaucracy is the predominant center of political power and authority today — not just a 'fourth branch of government' but the dominant one; not just the 'core of modern government' but most of the pulp and outer covering as well. Elective executives, legislators and judges cannot be effective without bureaucracy, but bureaucrats can initiate, adopt, interpret, enforce, and ignore laws without the other branches.<sup>1</sup>*

The same is true in a country such as the Philippines, whose 1935 Constitution was patterned after its tutor and colonial power, the United States of America. The bureaucracy, before martial law, performed the same roles of policy initiation, adoption, interpretation, and enforcement. With the declaration of Martial law in 1972, the bureaucracy's role became influential. Ledivina V. Cariño, in a paper on the Philippine bureaucracy, stresses:

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\*Associate Professor of Public Administration, University of the Philippines, and Visiting Assistant Professor of Political Science and Public Administration, Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, Ill.

*During the first years of martial law, elections which constitute the direct line between the citizens and the state have been suspended. In the meantime, it was the bureaucracy that was the main actor in what President Marcos fondly calls 'the restructuring of society . . .'. The bureaucracy, especially at the highest levels, has carried the main brunt of the task of government in recent years.<sup>2</sup>*

Even with the elections for National Assembly in 1978 and the lifting of martial law in 1981, the bureaucracy has continued to perform its important role. Under the Philippines' so-called modified parliamentary system, cabinet members as assemblymen continue to rely on the bureaucracy for bills they introduce in the Assembly.

Fritz Morstein Marx aptly calls the higher civil servants, or those at the apex of the bureaucracy, as the "action group in political development," despite their avoidance of public controversy.<sup>3</sup> He contends that:

*The prompting role of the bureaucracy relies on the exercise of the administrator's normal responsibilities in aiding political decision makers. . . . In this day of functional expertise, the bureaucracy speaks too often through the voices of groups of single-minded specialists rather than with the single voice of generally oriented responsibility.<sup>4</sup>*

A study on the political role of the bureaucracy should therefore focus on the higher civil service. In the United Kingdom, the term higher civil service comprises the cream of the Administrative Class: a variable number of Principals, together with the Assistant Secretaries, Undersecretaries, Deputy Secretaries and heads of Departments.<sup>5</sup> In the United States, they are classified by the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978 as Senior Executive Service, covering the following positions: Director, Deputy Director, Associate Director, Deputy Associate Director, Assistant Director and Deputy Assistant Director. For the Philippines, it is a group of people called Career Executive Service Officers (CESOs) whose ranks were designated as such by the Reorganization Plan of 1972. They hold the following positions: Deputy Minister, Assistant Minister, Bureau Director, Regional Director, Assistant Bureau Director, Assistant Regional Director, and Ministry Service Chief.

### Comparative Studies on the Higher Civil Service

#### *Socio-Economic Backgrounds*

There is a dearth of studies on the socio-economic backgrounds of the higher civil service. However, the few existing studies show a commonality of high status among higher civil servants.

Richard A. Chapman, in his study on *The Higher Civil Service in Britain*, noted that the highly competitive system of admissions to the Administrative Class in the United Kingdom "produced more recruits from Oxford

and Cambridge than from elsewhere," with training in the classics, thus accounting for an elite corps of British policy-makers.<sup>6</sup> A study by Lowell Richards on Egypt revealed that the Egyptian civil servant is largely drawn from the middle and upper classes.<sup>7</sup> In Pakistan, Ralph Braibanti's study showed an elitist background of the higher civil service—they came from professional families, with fathers trained in Western-oriented careers. Furthermore, 70% of the civil servants were trained in Britain, and were dominated by two regions in terms of composition.<sup>8</sup> In Thailand, Likhit Dhiravegin found that the high ranking civil servants are from elite backgrounds, mainly from families of businessmen and government officials, born and raised in Bangkok and adjacent areas, highly-educated, often in the United States and England.<sup>9</sup>

Studies on the higher civil service in the Philippines focused on different aspects, as well as their socio-economic backgrounds. In his 1933 book, *The Philippines: A Study in National Development*, Joseph Hayden devoted a section on the higher civil service.<sup>10</sup> Gregorio A. Francisco's *Higher Civil Servants in the Philippines*, published in 1960 using 1959 data, focused on career patterns.<sup>11</sup> Edward Masa's 1976 doctoral dissertation of the same title using 1974 data looked into the development orientation of the bureaucrats.<sup>12</sup> Although conducted in different periods, the studies showed that the nature of the higher civil service in the Philippines has not changed much through the years; higher civil servants still come from higher income families who live in the capital city and areas around it.

### *Ethnic-Culture Representation*

Cariño pointed out that the higher civil servants have consistently come from Central Luzon, Southern Tagalog, and Metropolitan Manila. A study of Jose V. Abueva reiterated this point. In 1966, he found that Tagalogs (from Central and Southern Luzon and Manila) were predominant in the bureaucracy, even at the middle levels.<sup>13</sup> This dominance per se may not imply non-representation of the bureaucracy, since these are the most populous regions. Non-representativeness is indicated when proportional representations by ethnic groups are compared by regions.

In terms of religion, Virginia Maglangit's doctoral dissertation on Muslim Filipinos in the government service stressed the fact that in an organization of one million members, there were only 3,100 Muslim names in the 1970s. She found that these Muslims in government were highly qualified, with 61.5% being college graduates and another 10.7%, with two or more degrees. The Muslim bureaucrats, compared to the Christians, were much younger, having served in the government for less than ten years. This implies that greater strides have been made by the government in recent years to recruit Muslims.<sup>14</sup>

As far as female representation is concerned, despite Civil Service Commission figures pointing to a favorable participation of women in government, Cariño's 1978 study showed that only 5.3% of the women held supervisory positions as against 19.3% of the men; on the other hand, non-supervisory positions were held by two men for every three women.<sup>15</sup> A case in point is the Ministry of Education, Culture, and Sports (MECS) with predominantly women teachers. Looking at the gender representation in 1974, Liceria Soriano noted that 58.5% of the positions from elementary school principal to division superintendent were held by men.<sup>16</sup>

### Research Methodology

A survey of Filipino higher civil servants was conducted in May-June 1983 to look at the political participation of government administrators, especially the women. The study focused on Career Executive Service Officers (CESOs) in the National Capital Region. Although the emphasis of the study was perceived influence in policy-making, questions used in the survey also included data on the socio-economic backgrounds of CESO respondents.

From the universe of 496 female higher civil servants in Metropolitan Manila, a sample of 81 which was derived from Fr. Lynch's handbook on social research was drawn. A similar sample from the larger group of 1806 men was also drawn for purposes of comparison. The sample was enlarged to 90 for each group. Actual analysis was made from 88 male and 89 female respondents.

Questionnaires were administered to names selected at random from list of CESOs provided by personnel offices to six interviewers. However, the heavy schedules of the selected CESOs called for substitution.

Analysis was done through frequency distribution and analysis of variance of the two samples. Comparison with previous studies on the higher civil service in the Philippines was also made.

### The Respondents

The respondents in this study are distributed among 33 government agencies as follows: two Constitutional bodies (Civil Service Commission, Commission on Audit); ten agencies involved in economic development (National Economic and Development Authority, Office of Budget and Management, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Natural Resources, Ministry of Agrarian Reform, Ministry of Public Works and Highways, Ministry of Trade and Industry, Ministry of Transportation and Communications, and National Irrigation Administration); agencies involved in

social development (Ministry of Labor and Employment, Ministry of Education, Culture, and Sports, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Social Services and Development, and Ministry of Human Settlements); miscellaneous agencies performing other vital services (Ministry of Tourism, Ministry of Local Government, Ministry of Justice, Office of the Prime Minister, Office of Media Affairs, and Philippine Atomic Energy Commission); and lastly, nine government corporations (Central Bank, National Power Corporation, Philippine Sugar Commission, Government Service Insurance System, Local Utilities Administration, Philippine Ports Authority, Export Processing Zone Authority, National Housing Authority, and National Development Company). Table 1 shows the distribution of respondents by sex and type of agency.

**Table 1. Distribution of Respondents by Type of Agency**

Agency	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. Constitutional Offices	8	9.10	16	17.98	24	13.60
2. Economic Development	29	32.94	26	29.22	55	31.07
3. Social Development	13	14.76	23	25.84	36	20.34
4. Other Functions	29	21.60	10	11.23	29	16.38
5. Government Corporations	19	21.60	14	15.73	33	18.64
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>177</b>	<b>100.00</b>

The largest proportion of respondents comes from agencies involved in economic development, since in terms of number of agencies, they are numerically the largest. By sex, the largest proportions of both men and women also come from the economic development agencies. However, among the agencies, constitutional offices and social development offices have larger percentages of women respondents. This is because the Civil Service Commission has a predominantly large number of female employees at all levels. Moreover, the Ministry of Social Services and Development has a largely female personnel complement at all levels.

### Socio-Economic Backgrounds

#### *Marital Status*

A majority of the respondents are married (80.2%). No one admitted being separated, even those known as such through the grapevine. This shows a reluctance among Filipinos to admit a less popular status. There are more single women (28.10%), compared to the men (5.68%). Only 2.8% are

widowed; again there are more women (4.49%) than men (1.14%). As far as marital status is concerned, marriage, even among the women, does not seem to be a deterrent to promotion to CESO positions.

**Table 2. Marital Status of Respondents**

Civil Status	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. Single	5	5.68	25	28.10	30	16.9
2. Married	82	93.18	60	67.41	142	80.2
3. Widowed	1	1.14	4	4.49	5	2.8
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>177</b>	<b>100.0</b>

### Age

The respondents are generally over 40 years of age, the ages clustering in the 41-50 age group (32.2%) with slightly more among the 51-60 (34.5%) age bracket for both sexes. This implies that seniority and age are important factors in promotion to positions in the higher civil service. Only 13% of the CESOs are over 60 and hence retireable in a few years. A few (3.4%) are below 30, which is expected since it takes qualifications and experience to get to the top positions. There are more women in the 30 below age group (5.6%) than men, as in the 31-40 age group (19% of the women and 13.6% of the men), suggesting the entrance of more and younger women in government. Conversely, there are more men in the 51-60 age category (39.8%) than women (29.2%).

**Table 3. Age of Respondents**

Age	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. 30 below	1	1.1	5	5.6	6	3.4
2. 31-40	12	13.6	17	19.1	29	16.4
3. 41-50	27	30.7	30	33.7	57	32.2
4. 51-60	35	39.8	26	29.2	61	34.5
5. Over 60	13	14.8	11	12.4	24	13.5
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>177</b>	<b>100.0</b>

The mean age for both groups is 48.5 years. For the male respondents, it is 49.5 while for the women it is 47.05, showing that the women are slightly younger than the men. This may partly be explained by the more active recruitment policy of the Civil Service Commission in recent years which may have enticed more women who did not work before. Conversely, this may also be explained by the reticence of men in the recent years to enter the

government service. For the latter, one possible reason is the higher salaries given to men in the private sector.

A look at age data from Francisco's and Masa's earlier studies gives a picture of the ages of higher civil servants through the years. Table 4 shows the comparison of ages of respondents in these three surveys.

**Table 4. Comparison of Ages of Higher Civil Servants  
1959, 1975, 1983 (in percentages)**

Age	Francisco, 1959 (n=126)	Masa, 1974 (n=181)	Tapales, 1983 (n=177)
Below 30	2.3	1.7	3.4
31-40	7.9	9.4	16.4
41-50	27.8	35.0	32.2
51-60	36.5	36.5	34.5
Over 60	25.5	17.4	13.0

The comparative figures above show the increasing proportion of younger persons (40 and below) and the decreasing proportion of older persons (over 60) through the years. The ages cluster at the 41-60 age brackets. This shows a trend towards opening up the CESO positions to younger people.

### *Religion*

As can be expected in a country which is 85% Catholic, a majority of the CESOs, as seen among the respondents, are Roman Catholic (88.1%). Only 5.1% are Protestant and 2.8% are Muslim. The percentage of Catholics is higher than the national average. This may be due to the urban and Manila bias of the sample. There are slightly more women Protestants (7.8% as against 2.3% Protestant men). However, as many as seven respondents did not reveal their religious affiliation, leaving room for conjecture that they may belong to other sectarian groups like Buddhist or *Iglesia ni Cristo* (a uniquely Filipino Christian sect).

**Table 5. Religion of Respondents**

Religion	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. Catholic	77	88.5	78	87.6	155	88.1
2. Protestant	2	2.3	7	7.8	9	5.1
3. Muslim	3	3.4	2	2.3	5	2.8
4. No Response	5	5.8	2	2.3	7	4.0
TOTAL	87	100.0	89	100.0	176	100.0

*Places of Birth and Regional Origin*

An urban bias is evident in the recruitment of higher civil servants in the Philippines. Over 50% of the respondents were born in urban areas outside of Manila while a quarter were born in Metro Manila itself. More men than women were born in rural areas, indicating heavier male migration (26.1% as against 18%). By contrast, more women hail from Metro Manila (31.5% as against 18.2%).

The category urban area in the province connotes capital towns, major cities and towns in the provinces characterized, not by population nor by density because of the difficulty of categorizing such in the Philippines, but by governmental, educational, and business functions. Half of the respondents with slightly more men (52.3%) than women (48.3%) come from such places.

**Table 6. Place of Birth of Respondents**

Place	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. Metro Manila	16	18.2	28	31.5	44	24.8
2. Urban area in the province	46	52.3	43	48.3	89	50.3
3. Rural area	23	26.1	16	18.0	39	22.1
4. No Response	3	3.4	2	2.2	5	2.8
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>177</b>	<b>100.0</b>

By regional origin, using the 1972 regional delineation as basis, Table 7 shows that 25.9% of the respondents are from Metro Manila or the National Capital Region. Central Luzon (Region 3) accounts for 17.5% of the respondents' place of origin while Southern Tagalog (Region 4) is the place of birth of 15.8% of the respondents. Regions 3 and 4 are the areas immediately north and south of Metro Manila and, second to the capital, are the most urbanized areas.

More women come from the National Capital Region (33.7% as against 18.2% of the men). Southern Tagalog accounts for about the same proportion of men (15.9%) and women (15.7%), naming the region as place of birth. None of the respondents come from Southeastern Mindanao, a predominantly Muslim area. More women (7.9%) than men (5.7%) are from the Bicol region.

When compared with earlier studies on regional origins of higher civil servants, the following findings stand out: the same urban, Manila bias is



obtained in all studies from 1933; the same predominance of areas around Manila (Central Luzon and Southern Tagalog) is seen. The same absence of higher civil servants in the Northern and Southern Mindanao areas is evident.

Table 7. Regional Origin of Respondents

Region	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. Ilocos	14	15.9	7	7.9	21	12.0
2. Cagayan	3	3.4	2	2.2	5	2.8
3. Central Luzon	18	20.5	13	14.6	31	17.5
4. Southern Tagalog	14	15.9	14	15.7	28	15.8
5. Bicol Region	5	5.7	7	7.9	12	6.8
6. Western Visayas	5	5.7	4	4.5	9	5.1
7. Central Visayas	7	7.9	4	4.5	11	6.2
8. Eastern Visayas	2	2.3	2	2.2	4	2.3
9. Western Mindanao	2	2.3	—	—	2	1.1
10. Northern Mindanao	—	—	—	—	—	—
11. Eastern Mindanao	1	1.1	5	5.6	6	3.4
12. Southern Mindanao	—	—	—	—	—	—
13. National Capital Region (Metro Manila	16	18.2	30	33.7	46	25.9
14. No Response	1	1.1	1	1.1	2	1.1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>99.9</b>	<b>177</b>	<b>100.0</b>

When the Philippines embarked on a nationwide reorganization project in 1972, an integral part of the Integrated Reorganization Plan was the new regional delineation scheme for administrative decentralization. Table 8 reflects in the first column an older classification, while the second and third columns represent more recent ones (since Masa's data was collected before the Reorganization Plan was fully implemented). The trend of urban- and Manila-based representation is still discernible. From 21.2% of the higher civil servants coming from Manila in 1933, the proportion has grown to 25.9%, even after decentralization. As the preceding table shows, about half of the respondents come from three regions in the country—Metropolitan Manila, Southern Tagalog, and Central Luzon. While these regions are the most populous in the country, the proportions of higher civil servants coming from these areas are larger than the proportions of their regional populations. Similarly, the Ilocos region is represented by 12% of the respondents while its regional population is only 7.4% of the country's. In contrast, Western Visayas has a regional population comprising of 9.46%, but is represented by only 5.1% in the sample, and Eastern Visayas with 5.85% has only 2.3% representation among the respondents. Cagayan is also under-represented. Mindanao is the least represented among the regions,

**Table 8. Regional Distribution of Filipino Higher Civil Servants (in percentages)**

Region*	Hayden (1933)	Francisco (1959)	Masa (1974)	Tapales (1983)	Philippine Population Distribution, 1980
1. Ilocos	3.8	6.3	12.8	12.0	7.40
2. Cagayan	—	2.4	2.8	2.8	4.60
3. Central Luzon <sup>a</sup>	57.7	53.2	38.0	17.5	10.04
4. Southern Tagalog <sup>b</sup>	—	—	—	15.8	12.93
5. Bicol	—	4.0	1.7	6.8	7.27
6. Western Visayas	—	—	6.4	5.1	9.46
7. Central Visayas <sup>c</sup>	—	—	—	6.2	7.92
8. Eastern Visayas	17.3	16.6	5.6	2.3	5.85
9. Western Mindanao	—	3.2	5.6	1.1	4.72
10. Northern Mindanao	—	—	—	—	5.77
11. Eastern Mindanao	—	—	—	3.4	6.99
12. Central Mindanao	—	—	—	—	4.75
13. Metropolitan Manila	21.2	14.3	25.0	25.9	12.30

Source: Updated from Ledivina V. Cariño's table on Regional Distribution of the Higher Civil Servants, in "Some Considerations Regarding the Representativeness and Responsiveness of the Philippine Bureaucracy," paper read at the 13th Annual American Studies Seminar held at UP Los Baños, October 9-13, 1978.

\*Regional delineations varied in time. The most comprehensive classifications were made in 1972, and is the basis of this study. This accounts for some discrepancies, but does not distract from the trend.

<sup>a</sup>Metropolitan Manila areas fell in either Central Luzon (a) or Southern Tagalog (b) in earlier classifications.

<sup>c</sup>Central Visayas under new category fell under Eastern Visayas in earlier classifications.

with the predominantly Muslim areas having the least proportion of higher civil servants.

The proportions compare favorably with Masa's findings, and are close to Francisco's and Hayden. Thus, it can be said that the recruitment of Filipino higher civil servants has been unrepresentative in terms of regional proportion. The recruitment, though not actually intended, has favored the Tagalog urbanite near Manila. This may be a function of geography; it is easier for residents of areas near Manila to stay and work in Manila than from residents of far-flung areas like Mindanao. Another reason may be the availability of higher educational facilities in the urban areas. The civil service system has stressed educational qualifications and, as shown subsequently in the survey, the higher civil servants were educated in colleges in the Manila area.

When the proportions of higher civil servants are compared by sex, the females show a predominantly Metro-Manila orientation, with 33.7% as against 25.9%. This may indicate that women are less mobile than the men, and therefore women born and raised in Metro Manila have more opportunities to find jobs in Manila agencies of the civil service. This further indicates that women from farther areas are more disadvantaged, relative to the men, in seeking civil service opportunities.

At first glance, the proportion of women in the higher civil service who were born in Metropolitan Manila is much higher than the proportion of Filipinos living in the capital city (33.7% as against 12.3%). For the men, the proportions are closer with 18.2% of the male respondents coming from Metropolitan Manila as against 12.3% of the Filipinos living in the area. To see if there is any significance in these proportions, a chi square test was used, not on the aggregates but on the percentages. Table 9 shows the results, showing a disproportionate representation of Manila-born female higher civil servants.

**Table 9. Comparison of Proportions of Female Higher Civil Servants in Manila and Outside Manila and Proportions of the Philippine Population**

	Manila	Non Manila	
Women	33.7 (23)	66.3 (77)	100
Country	12.3 (23)	87.7 (77)	100
	46.0	154.0	200

Chi<sup>2</sup> = 12.94  
 p = < .05

Table 10, the comparison for the men, shows a clear proportional representation of men in the higher civil service. There is, therefore, more representation in the top bureaucratic positions among the men than among the women.

In general, women are disadvantaged by being outside of Manila. On the other hand, this is not a disability that affects men who seem to be able to work their way into the bureaucracy from areas outside of Manila.

**Table 10. Comparison of Proportions of Male Higher Civil Servants in Manila and Outside Manila and Proportions of the Philippine Population**

	Manila	Non Manila	
Men	18.2 (15.75)	81.8 (84.75)	100
Country	12.3 (15.75)	87.7 (84.25)	100
	30.5	169.5	200

$\text{Chi}^2 = 1.35$

$p = > .05$

Table 11 shows that the higher civil servants have been recruited from the Manila area, since 21.4% of them have lived in Manila since birth, and 60% have been in Manila for over twenty years. Only 5.6% have lived in Manila for less than 10 years and 8.5% for less than 20 years. In addition, more women (28.1%) have lived in Manila since birth (as against 14.9% of the men), although only a slightly higher percentage of women have lived in Manila for over 20 years (60.7% as against 59% of the men). These figures suggest greater mobility among men than women. Furthermore, the migration of the men may be attributed to the pursuit of education in Manila, which enabled them to get Manila jobs.

**Table 11. Number of Years of Residence in Manila**

No. of Years	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. since birth	13	14.9	25	28.1	38	21.4
2. 1-20 years	9	10.2	1	1.1	10	5.6
3. 11-20 years	10	11.4	5	5.6	15	8.5
4. over 20 years	52	59.0	54	60.7	106	60.0
5. no response	4	4.5	4	4.5	8	4.5
TOTAL	88	100.0	89	100.0	177	100.0

### *Education*

The respondents are highly educated. A majority of them have gone beyond the bachelor's degree. As many as 41.8% hold master's degrees, while 12.4% have taken courses for doctorate degrees. Only three did not finish college.

More women have gone to graduate school; whereas 42% of the men cited bachelor's degrees as their highest educational qualification, only 20.2% of the women stopped after their first degree. Conversely, 18% of the women have taken courses for doctorate degrees while only 6.8% of the men have done so. The proportions of men and women who have master's degrees are close, at 41% for the men and 42.7% for the women (see Table 12).

**Table 12. Highest Grade Completed by Respondents**

Highest Grade	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. Bachelor's and below*	37	42.0	18	20.2	55	31.1
2. Master's courses	8	9.1	16	18.0	24	13.6
3. Master's degree	36	41.0	38	42.7	74	41.8
4. Doctorate courses	6	6.8	16	18.0	22	12.4
5. No response	1	1.1	1	1.1	2	1.1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>177</b>	<b>100.0</b>

\*Bachelor's degree and below included only three college undergraduates. They were combined for testing purposes.

**Table 13. Comparison of Educational Qualifications of Male and Female Respondents**

Education	Male	Female	Total
1. Graduate courses and below	45 (.92)	34 (.75)	79
2. Master's degrees and above	42 (.90)	54 (.75)	96
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>175</b>

Chi Square = 3.32

p > .05

Table 13 shows that the difference in educational qualifications between male and female respondents is not significant at .05 level, even if numerically the women exhibit higher frequencies for graduate courses. The differences between men and women may only be random. Therefore, there is not enough ground to conclude that women at the same level of positions are better educated than the men.

These findings became more significant when compared to data from the 1959 and 1973 surveys of Francisco and Masa, respectively. In Francisco's survey, 69% of the higher civil servants cited bachelor's degrees as their highest educational attainment. In Masa's later study, the proportion of higher civil servants who went to college but did not go beyond the bachelor's degree was 60.5%. The study also showed a higher proportion of those who went to graduate school; in 1974 the proportion of civil servant respondents with graduate degrees was 32.3% as against only 19.1% in 1959, although a bigger proportion in 1959 went to graduate school but did not get degrees.

As Table 14 shows, the higher civil servants in the Philippines have increasingly pursued higher levels of education. More than one half of higher civil servants in the 1983 survey had graduate degrees (54.2%), whereas those in the 1959 and 1974 surveys were largely holders of bachelors degrees. A higher proportion of master's degree holders was also seen in the 1974 survey (32.2% as against 19.1% in 1959).

**Table 14. Comparison of Educational Attainment of Higher Civil Servants, 1959, 1974, and 1983 (in percentages)**

Level of Education	Francisco, 1959 (n = 126)	Masa, 1974 (n = 181)	Tapales, 1983 (n = 177)
1. Below Bachelor's Degree	4.8	5.5	1.7
2. Bachelor's Degree	69.0	60.5	29.4
3. Graduate Courses	7.1	1.8	13.6
4. Graduate Degree	19.1	32.2	54.2
5. No Response			1.1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

A majority of the respondents attended schools in Metro Manila with 29.9% graduating from the University of the Philippines (UP), 5.7% from exclusive Catholic schools in Manila, 49.4% from private non-sectarian schools in the capital, and 1.2% from state colleges in the city. Because of the conservative Catholicism in the country, more women than men went to exclusive Catholic schools. More women higher civil servants went to UP than the men, possibly because male UP graduates tend to go into careers other than government (see Table 15).

For graduate courses, 28.1% of the respondents went to the University of the Philippines. As many as 12.4% went to foreign universities exclusively for graduate courses, while the rest went to a combination of local and foreign universities. (Table 16).

**Table 15. Schools Attended By Respondents For Bachelors Degree\***

School Attended	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. University of the Philippines	22	25.3	30	34.5	52	29.9
2. Exclusive Catholic school in Manila	4	4.6	6	7.0	10	5.7
3. State College in Manila	1	1.1	1	1.1	2	1.2
4. Private School in Manila	45	51.7	41	47.1	86	49.4
5. State College in the Province	2	2.3	0	0	2	1.2
6. Private School in the Province	8	9.2	3	3.4	11	6.3
7. Others	3	3.4	5	5.7	8	4.6
8. No Response	2	2.3	1	1.2	3	1.7
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>99.9</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>100.0</b>

\*Excludes three without bachelor's degree

**Table 16. Schools Attended By Respondents For Graduate Courses**

Schools attended	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>A. Local</b>						
UP	9	18.0	25	35.7	34	28.3
Non-UP	16	32.0	19	27.1	35	29.2
<b>B. Foreign</b>						
Exclusively foreign	6	12.0	9	12.9	15	12.5
Combined with local	19	38.0	17	24.3	36	10.0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100.0</b>

A larger proportion of the women went to UP for graduate degrees (35.7% as against 18% of the men). However, men exhibit greater mobility, since more of them attended graduate schools abroad (a full 50% when the categories are combined as against only 37.2% of the women).

Tables 15 and 16 show that the higher civil servants are an educational elite group, going to Manila schools for their undergraduate degrees, to prestigious local schools for graduate work and to foreign universities for graduate courses.

A sizeable number of the respondents specialized in public administration (95) while a fairly large number took social sciences (40), law (46), and education (30). The others in professional fields such as engineering, medicine, agriculture, and the sciences belong to agencies where these professions are needed, e.g., Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Health, and the National Power Corporation.

More men than women went into fields traditionally considered to be male areas—law (32 men as against 14 women), engineering (19 as against 2), agriculture and fisheries (11 as against 4). On the other hand, more women took up traditional female fields, such as education (19 women as against 11 men). The proportions are about the same for medicine and the sciences. This may reflect a tendency for continuance of traditional male-female occupational differentiation.

Tables 17 and 18 reveal the changing fields of specialization of higher civil servants. While the highest proportions in 1959 and 1974 were both in the fields of law and law combined with other fields, the proportions went down from 39% in 1959 to 19% in 1974 for law and from 17.5% to 10% for law in combination with other fields. Conversely, public administration, which registered as the most popular field in 1983, was not even considered by higher civil servants in 1959. This was partly due to the relative infancy of public administration in 1959 (the first Institute of Public Administration was established in the University of the Philippines only in 1952). The field became popular in the late 1960s when the Civil Service Commission urged supervisors in government to take public administration courses.

Thus, from largely legal backgrounds, higher civil servants have increasingly acquired managerial training. The other fields are professional areas where new recruits into the civil service usually start before being promoted eventually to the highest training positions.

Table 17. Major Fields Of Specialization Of Respondents\*

Field/Area	Male	Female	Total
social sciences	17	23	40
humanities/arts	10	16	26
law	32	14	46
public administration	41	54	95
education	11	19	30
engineering	19	2	21
medicine	3	3	6
agriculture and fisheries	11	4	15
sciences	10	9	19

\*Percentages not computed due to double-counting.



Table 18. Major Fields of Study of Higher Civil Servants

Fields of Study	1959		1974	
	No.	%	No.	%
Law	74	39.0	42	19.0
Law with other fields	21	17.5	22	10.0
Engineering	13	10.8	16	7.3
Engineering with other fields	4	3.3	1	.4
Education	10	8.3	8	3.7
Education with other fields	—	—	11	5.0
Medicine	5	4.0	4	2.0
Medicine-Social Sciences	2	1.6	—	—
Agriculture & Forestry	5	4.0	14	6.4
Agriculture with other fields	—	—	7	3.2
Commerce and Business				
Commerce with Business Administration	4	3.3	15	7.0
Administration with other fields	—	—	7	3.2
Physical and Natural Sciences	4	3.3	3	1.3
Social Sciences	2	1.6	27	12.7
Social Sciences with other fields	—	—	16	7.3
Military Science	2	1.6	6	2.9
Public Administration	—	—	3	1.3
Others	—	—	8	3.7
None	—	—	7	3.2
	120	100.0	218	100.0

Source: Edward Masa, *The Higher Civil Servants in the Philippines*. Doctoral Dissertation submitted to the College of Public Administration, University of the Philippines, 1976, p. 170.

All of the respondents have attended training programs intended to increase their managerial competence. Most of them have attended the required Career Executive Development Program, while many of them who rose from middle management positions had previously taken the Junior Executive Training (JET) course. Others attended special skills courses designed to meet their specific needs. Table 19 below shows the types of training programs attended by both men and women.

Table 19. Training Programs Attended by Respondents

Training Programs	Male	Female	Total
1. management training	43	51	94
2. job-related skills training	62	66	128

The table suggests the availability of training opportunities for both men and women. It further shows that a greater proportion of the higher civil servants is trained in managerial skills necessary to perform their responsibilities as top executives.

### *Family Background and Income*

Two indicators of socio-economic status are family background and income. The best source of information on family background is the occupation of parents, while income sources are more objective and easier to use than actual monetary figures.

A question used in the studies of Francisco and Masa was adopted—the question on the occupation of their fathers. It was modified to be more precise, with the addition of the phrase, “when you and your brothers and sisters were growing up?” Some categories were also modified for better comprehension.

Table 20 shows the occupation of fathers of the respondents. A large proportion (36.7%) of the respondents have fathers who worked in the government. Some of them actually admit that this fact has encouraged them to work in the government. Next to government employment (including teachers) is the high status occupation of landowners which ranked a poor second (12.4%), followed closely by the high status of government official (10.7%).

**Table 20. Occupation of Respondents' Fathers**

Occupation of Father	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. unskilled labor	1	1.1	1	1.1	2	1.2
2. skilled labor	3	3.4	1	1.1	4	2.3
3. small farmer/fisherman	8	9.1	3	3.4	11	6.2
4. employee in private firms	6	6.8	6	6.7	12	6.8
5. government employee <sup>a</sup>	36	40.9	29	32.6	65	36.7
6. landowner	9	10.2	13	14.6	22	12.4
7. government official (political)	8	9.1	11	12.4	19	10.7
8. businessman	6	6.8	8	9.0	14	7.9
9. professional	4	4.5	4	4.5	8	4.5
10. other	3	3.4	12	13.5	15	8.5
11. no response	4	4.5	1	1.1	5	2.8
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>177</b>	<b>100.0</b>

<sup>a</sup>Includes public school teachers

There are no glaring differences in background between men and women, except for the relatively larger proportion of men citing the labor/farmer/fisherman backgrounds of their fathers. This may reflect the value prevailing in the Philippines about the great hope people have on education. Despite the lack of resources, a male child is given educational opportunity so that he in turn can help send the other siblings to school. Female children are sent to school if money is available. If the female child is more talented than the males in the family, she is the one sent to school.

The categories were collapsed into three—high, medium, and low— for computation of the difference of means. Low status occupations include unskilled or semi-skilled laborer, skilled laborer, and small-scale farmer/fisherman. Medium status occupations are government employee, employee in private firm, and proprietor of small business. High status occupations are landowner, government official, businessman, and professional.

Table 21 shows that there is moderate association between sex of the respondents and the occupation of their fathers. Pearson's R is 0.17098. Kendall's Tau C is 0.17429 significant at 0.0184, again showing moderate association for this ordinal data. Gamma is 0.29392, indicating similar association.

Table 21. Occupational Categories of Respondents' Fathers

Categories	Male	Female	Total
Low	12	5	17
Medium	42	35	77
High	27	36	63
Total	81	76	157

Kendall's Tau C = 0.17429 Sig. 0.0184  
 Gamma = 0.29392  
 Pearson's R = 0.17098 Sig. 0.0161

When compared with Table 20, the findings become more significant. Intergenerational mobility is twice easier among the men than among the women, as seen from the frequencies among the males and females with fathers from low-income professions. The opportunities are about equal among male and female in the middle income category, while at the high income level, there is a slightly larger proportion of women. These may be explained again by socio-cultural factors. While educational opportunities are open to both male and female Filipinos, economic factors determine a woman's opportunity to go to school. As mentioned earlier,

if the family is poor, the male sibling is given priority to go to higher institutions of learning. It is not surprising, therefore, that female higher civil servants come from higher socio-economic strata. Women from poorer families are exponentially less likely to have opportunities for professional careers in the civil service.

When compared with the Francisco and Masa studies, the trend toward relatively lower economic backgrounds is seen. As Table 22 shows, the largest proportion of respondents' fathers in the Francisco survey came from higher income occupations (40%), while 35.2% came from lower income occupations; the smallest proportion came from middle-income families (24.8%). Thus, even if the largest group of higher civil servants in 1959 came from well-to-do-families, a big percentage likewise came from low-income families. In the Masa survey, the proportions changed, such that 41.4% of the higher civil servants in 1974 had fathers who belonged to middle-income occupations (41.4%); the second highest proportion came from high-income families (30.4%), and lastly by those in the low-income category (25.4%) (see Table 22).

**Table 22. Income Classification of Occupation of Fathers of Higher Civil Servants 1959, 1974, and 1983\* (in percentages)**

Fathers' Occupations	Francisco, 1959 (n = 125)	Masa, 1974 (n = 181)	Tapales, 1983 (n = 177)
1. Low income	35.2	26.1	6.5
2. Middle income	24.8	42.6	64.1
3. High income	40.0	31.3	47.4
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

\*Categories recombined and recomputed from Table 14 of Edward Masa, "The Higher Civil Servants in the Philippines," Doctoral dissertation submitted to the College of Public Administration, University of the Philippines, 1976.

This survey shows the increasing trend toward the middle-income background of higher civil servants in the Philippines. At the surface, it suggests a higher upward mobility, since there is a decreasing proportion of higher civil servants at the low income level (35.2% in 1959, 26.1% in 1974, and only 6.5% in 1983). However, this may reflect changes in the nature of the Philippine economy, with commercialization bringing people up the income ladder. It may also indicate a changing attitude toward government service. What it suggests clearly is that the Philippine civil service in the latter years has not recruited equally from all classes in the population. Women are doubly handicapped in that a low income background gives them less opportunities for entering the higher civil service.

*Other Sources of Income*

To determine socio-economic status further, a question was asked about sources of income other than salary. More than half of the respondents cited the income of their spouses as another source of family income. Other commonly cited additional income sources are overtime pay and dividends (see Table 23).

**Table 23. Other Sources of Family Income of Respondents**

Other Sources	Male	Female	Total
1. family business	10	12	22
2. income from another job	19	15	34
3. income of spouse	50	46	96
4. farmland	25	21	46
5. rentals from real property	11	18	29
6. dividends/royalties	14	20	34
7. overtime/allowances	42	45	87
8. Others	11	14	25

A number (34) have income from another job, mainly from lecturing in evening classes primarily in law, business, or public administration. In the "others" category are occasional consultancies, speaking engagements, and small business dealings. Farmlands, family business, and rentals from real properties reveal higher-income classifications of many respondents. There are no apparent differences between the sexes in terms of sources of other income.

*Organizational Membership*

Most respondents are joiners of organizations. Of the 177, only 24 (13.5%) said they were not members of any organizations (see Table 24).

**Table 24. Types of Organizations Joined by Respondents**

Type of Organization	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. Civic	6	6.8	8	9.0	14	7.9
2. Professional	32	36.4	28	31.5	60	34.0
3. Religious	8	9.1	5	5.6	13	7.3
4. Combination of 1, 2, 3	29	32.9	37	41.5	66	37.3
5. None	13	14.8	11	12.4	24	13.5
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>177</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Table 24 shows that the higher civil servants join different types of organizations, with 37.3% saying that they join several organizations. A large proportion (34%) join exclusive professional organizations. A small number (14 or 7.9%) are active only in civic organizations, while a still smaller number (13 or 7.3%) are active in religious organizations.

The civic organizations frequently joined are Lions and Kiwanis Clubs. The religious organizations are Knights of Columbus for the men, Legions of Mary for the women, and Christian Family Movement for both sexes. Professional associations are those directly linked to their fields of specialization, such as the Training Officers Association of the Philippines, Certified Public Accountants, or Philippine Medical Association.

### Conclusion

Findings in this survey reinforce earlier data on the elite socio-economic backgrounds of the higher civil service in the Philippines. In terms of geographic and regional representation, the urban bias in the recruitment of the bureaucrats has continued from the early years in the Philippine civil service, though the trend is gradually changing. As far as educational qualifications are concerned, the trend is for higher level of education, with more higher civil servants going to graduate school. Conversely, there is a slow lowering of socio-economic status, with more career bureaucrats coming from middle class backgrounds. Through all these, the participation of Muslims and persons from overwhelmingly rural regions has not increased.

The typical Filipino higher civil servant in the Philippines in 1983 is therefore male, married, Catholic, in his late 40's, born in an urban area, has lived for over 20 years in Manila, has a master's degree, has had public administration courses, has studied in the Philippines and abroad, has had management and job-related skills training, has a middle class background, and has other source of income aside from his civil service salary.

On the comparison between male and female bureaucrats, this study has significant findings. First, the females seem to be slightly younger than the males. This may be explained by the increasing entry of women into the labor force in general, combined with recent efforts of the Civil Service Commission to entice college graduates into the public sector. These come in the form of awarding of civil service eligibility to honor graduates, and more active recruitment policy. Second, females also seem to have slightly higher educational qualifications. Again, this may be partly due to the new policies just mentioned, and partly from the fact that in the private sector men command higher salaries than women, so that highly educated men may opt for work in the private sector. Third, the slightly higher income brackets of fathers of female respondents may be explained by greater educational opportunities for women whose parents can afford to send them to

college as well as in better-known schools. Women from lower economic backgrounds have to defer to their male siblings who are given priority for higher education when the family budget cannot stretch enough to send everyone to school.

The civil service system is based on the notion of merit and fitness. Necessarily, only those who qualify through examinations and educational qualifications can enter the bureaucracy, and hopefully, rise up to policy-making positions. These requirements have led to an elitist educational background of the top bureaucrats. These indicate the critical role of education as a prerequisite to professional and technical positions as points of entry by civil servants. The recruitment practice also leads to a bias for the urbanite, or the urban migrant, since the best educational facilities are only available in the urban areas. Thus, although the bureaucracy aims for wider participation, the merit principle prevents such from occurring.

Though educational elitism is permissible to meet the merit principle, the principle of participation is not met insofar as the gender differences are concerned. In terms of sex distribution of personnel, even if the Philippines' ratio of women in the bureaucracy is higher than many countries at the highest level, the proportion is still skewed in favor of the men. Moreover, it seems that women get to top positions because of higher educational qualifications. Perhaps, status and political influence may also be factors in getting women into the higher civil service. Only higher education is clearly indicated from findings of the study, while socio-economic background is less clear. Whether socio-economic background operates through education or may represent some subtle form of political influence this cannot be determined from the data but may remain a possibility.

The findings are similar to earlier studies by Francisco and Masa in terms of regional origin of civil servants, but are different in terms of educational qualifications and family background. Filipino higher civil servants these days are better educated than their predecessors, a function of more and better educational opportunities available in society. The lesser participation of the lower income classes should be a cause of concern by and eventually a problem to the Civil Service Commission. Its solution requires the concerted assistance of the country's economic and educational planners.

Nevertheless, two trends show optimism. A growing number of younger women have been entering the civil service in recent years, indicating greater opportunities for them. Finally, the greater educational opportunities for them indicate greater access into the higher civil service, since educational qualifications comprise a large part of the stiff civil service requirements.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Harry Krantz, *Participative Democracy: Women and Minorities in a More Representative Public Service* (Toronto: Lexington Books, 1976), p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Ledivina V. Cariño, "Some Considerations regarding the Representativeness and Responsiveness of the Philippine Bureaucracy," paper read at the 13th Annual American Studies Seminar held at UP Los Banos, October 9-13, 1978, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Fritz Morstein Marx, "The Higher Civil Service as an Action Group in Western Political Development," in Joseph LaPalombara (Ed.), *Bureaucracy and Political Development* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 62.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 94.

<sup>5</sup> Richard A. Chapman, *The Higher Civil Service in Britain* (London: Constable, 1970), p. 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>7</sup> Lowell Richards, *The Higher Civil Service: East and West*, Master's thesis submitted to the Graduate School, Vanderbilt University, 1964.

<sup>8</sup> Ralph Braibanti, "The Higher Bureaucracy of Pakistan," in Ralph Braibanti (Ed.), *Asian Bureaucratic Systems Emerging from the British Imperial Tradition* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1966), pp. 209-353.

<sup>9</sup> Likhit Dhiravegin, *The Bureaucratic Elite of Thailand: A Study of their Sociological Attributes, Educational Backgrounds, and Career Advancement Pattern* (Bangkok: Thammasat University, 1978).

<sup>10</sup> Joseph Hayden, *The Philippines: A Study in National Development* (New York: MacMillan, 1942).

<sup>11</sup> Gregorio A. Francisco, *Higher Civil Servants in the Philippines* (Manila: UP College of Public Administration, 1960).

<sup>12</sup> Edward A. Masa, *The Higher Civil Service in the Philippines*, unpublished doctoral dissertation submitted to the College of Public Administration, University of the Philippines, 1976.

<sup>13</sup> Jose V. Abueva, "Administrative Culture and Behavior and Middle Civil Servants in the Philippines," in Edward W. Weidner, (Ed.) *Development Administration in Asia* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1970), pp. 132-186.

<sup>14</sup> Virginia Maglangit, *The Muslim Filipinos in the Government Service: Their Problems and their Participation*, unpublished doctoral dissertation submitted to the Centro Escolar University, 1975.

<sup>15</sup> Cariño, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>16</sup> Liceria B. Soriano, "Women and Education," *Philippine Law Journal*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (February 1975), p. 75.