

AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE MOTIVATIONAL SYSTEM FOR PARENTHOOD OF RURAL MARRIED COUPLES

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This study investigates both the overt social motives and covert individual motives for parenthood among rural respondents. A projective instrument, the Family Welfare Cards (FWC) was developed to assess the covert motives, while the Value of Children Attitude Scale was adapted to measure the social motives of having children. These two instruments were used in a 2 x 2 x 2 factorial design with sex, desired number of children and community (farming vs. fishing) as independent variables. The FWC data tentatively identified six covert dimensions — adequacy, self-gratification, nurturance/affiliation as motives for having children; and anxiety, self-gratification and disruptive influence of children as deterrents to parenthood. These hypothesized dimensions were clinically analyzed in the light of marital dynamics and social context to draw up a comprehensive motivational system of parenthood.

The wide range of orientations seeking to make sense of the myriad reasons why people have children merely underscore the fact that parenthood is a complex human behavior which is multi-faceted and multi-determined by both overt and covert motives. Wyatt (1967) asserts that in understanding the motives for having children, reproduction must be seen as "an event on several psychological levels and as a hierarchy of needs". He further elucidates that it is over-laid by both traditional and collective social attitudes which conceal the more decisive and authentic motives pertaining to the experience of individuals.

In most Western and local studies, however, the more defined motives are the overt social motives mainly because they are quite explicit, readily verbalized and, consequently, easily discerned and analyzed. On the other hand, the covert individual motives are rarely touched upon, primarily because they are less accessible to conscious awareness and therefore not clearly articulated and assessed.

In addition, most population researchers whose orientation are basically social or sociological have relied heavily on traditional survey methods, individual interview formats, field observations, or open-ended questionnaires. In their previous studies, however, Bulatao (1975)

and Wyatt (1967) have pointed to the incompleteness of such traditional methods. Since the motives for having children are too complex and often not easily expressed, Rabin (1965) and Forer (1961) have stressed the need to devise more subtle assessment/data-gathering methods such as projective techniques to uncover the latent, private, and covert motives.

This study is therefore aimed at identifying the motivational system for parenthood, both on the social overt level and on the individual covert level. To this end, a projective instrument was developed to bring out the covert motives, and an attitude questionnaire adapted to assess the overt motives. Possible differences with regard to sex, desired number of children, and community were also to be explored.

The choice of sex as an independent variable lies in the possible differences in the motives for parenthood between males and females. Decaesstecker (1978) proposes that men are perceived to have strong sexual drives which should not be denied, while women are less likely to seek personal satisfaction in sexual intimacy. Thus the male's motivation is primarily narcissistic in his desire to prove his masculinity and virility (Rabin, 1965; Rockwood & Ford, 1945), while the female's motivation is attributed to her instinctive function of motherhood

(Benedek, 1959; Rabin, 1965).

Desired number of children was also examined to explore the different motives for having children between those wanting more and those wanting less children. Williamson (1970) as well as Hoffman and Hoffman (1973) have pointed out desired family size as an important independent variable in the causal chain of fertility.

The inclusion of community as an independent variable was arrived at serendipitously based on observations during the pilot study. It was noted then that the fishing communities seemed to have more children than the farming communities. There were also observed differences in the way of life and characteristics, thus raising the possibility that different motives may exist between these communities.

Essentially an exploratory study, this research therefore sought to answer the following questions:

1. What are the covert motives which underlie parenthood?
2. What is the relationship between overt and covert motives?
3. In what way do the motives for parenthood between men and women differ?
4. How does the desired number of children affect the motives for parenthood?
5. In the rural setting, how do farming respondents compare with fishing respondents in their motives for having children?

A unique feature of this study was also the development of a projective instrument known as the Family Welfare Cards (FWC). This tool was designed to draw out the covert motives for parenthood so that hypotheses may be generated from the data.

METHODOLOGY

Design

For purposes of quantitative analysis, a 2 x 2 x 2 factorial design was used with sex (male-female), desired number of children (up to 3 vs. more than 3), and type of community (farming vs. fishing)

as the independent variables. Two principal categories of dependent personality variables were investigated, namely, the overt social motives and the covert individual motives, which altogether determine the motive constellation of parenthood.

Instruments

Development of the Family Welfare Cards

Since the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) includes no cards which are designed to specifically elicit themes regarding marriage, family and most especially, child-bearing, it was felt that a new projective instrument had to be developed to tap precisely these themes.

A pretest set of 18 FWC cards were drawn and administered to a sample of 29 males and 30 females (one male respondent's protocol was dropped due to incomplete responses.) Responses to the cards were content analyzed and an import (moral or gist) was formulated for each story following the Magda Arnold sequence analysis method (1962). The thematic pull of each card was then determined through cluster analysis of the common responses elicited for each card. From the pretest set, 12 cards were chosen for their potential to evoke rich and varied nuances in their stimulus pull. One card (card 8) was modified and another card (card 13) was added to the final FWC set of 13 cards. The following is a description of each card and its corresponding thematic pull.

Card 1 — A woman fixing the collar of a boy with a laughing girl beside her.

This card primarily evokes responses indicating role expectations of the woman as a mother. Since the picture includes children as well, it also draws out themes depicting the value of children and sibling rivalry.

Card 2 — Three women seated successively on the steps of a bamboo staircase attending to each other's hair. A middle-aged woman is in front of them and a small girl cleaning by the side of the house is in the background.

Although the second card evokes value of children themes, it mostly brings about the consequences of irresponsible behavior (i.e. gossiping) of women as it affects family relations, and the development of moral values in children through modeling behavior.

Card 3 — Four men gathered informally over some bottles; one is drinking while another is playing a guitar. A child is in the background.

This card centers mainly on the factors which either contribute to or hamper harmonious family and interpersonal relations.

Card 4 — A man eating his meal with his bare hands; beside is a woman with her chin resting on her right hand looking at him.

In this card, the role demands expected of married couples are given utmost significance. It also evokes the inevitability of the couple's sharing of problems in sustaining good marital relations between them.

Card 5 — A woman lying on the bed with a half-naked man beside her.

This card centers mainly on the couple's sexual relations including its many facets such as the reasons for avoiding it, its justification, its consequences, and in addition, the initiation of sexual relations by the male partner.

Card 6 — A man with his hand around a boy's shoulder and showing off his medal while an elderly woman is touching the hand of the latter and looking on. A small girl looks away and another woman is smiling.

This card evokes two significant themes: children's role in the family and parental role demands. It also focuses on the consequences of parental neglect on children's behavior and development.

Card 7 — A man bent to husk coconuts while a boy and a woman are each carrying coconuts.

The most significant theme evoked in this card is the necessity of family team work in earning for their livelihood, plus its overall effect of improving the family's living conditions.

Card 8 — A woman breastfeeding her baby.

This card evokes themes projecting the

functional values of children. Other themes projected are the value of breastfeeding, mother role demands, and wife role demands versus mother role demands.

Card 9 — A man and a boy attending to a pig; boy has face up-turned towards the man.

In this card, the value of children themes becomes well-defined in terms of financially assisting parents and their role as adviser to father.

Card 10 — A woman lying down (in labor) while being held on her hand by a man. An older woman pats her other hand while a person with a mask on the mouth attends to her.

This card evokes themes on how a woman's crises and difficulties are overcome. It also evokes responses indicating father role demands in terms of providing the family (or wife in particular) with material and emotional support.

Card 11 — A man carrying a small boy in his arms with a basket in the background. Another boy looks on while touching the latter's leg.

This card evokes themes on the role demands/expectations on a father including how father creates or resolves sibling rivalry.

Card 12 — A man feeding a young child who is held by a boy while a woman holding a pot looks at them.

In this card, the father is not only seen as the breadwinner and helpmate to wife's household chores but as protector and source of nurturance as well.

Card 13 — Two men seated on a bench, talking with each other. A pregnant woman with her back against them holds a native broom with her left hand while both her hands are on her waist looking at the chickens pecking on the ground.

From the final test protocols of 30, the themes evoked by this card focus primarily on the special nature of a male to female relationship in which the female has little part. Masculine concerns are discussed — e.g. virility strivings, financial difficulties, hopes and fears, desirable qualities in a wife, etc.

Scoring dimensions of the covert motives were established by having five independent judges study the test protocols. After a thorough discussion of each judge's suggested scoring scheme, a consensus was reached regarding the scoring categories and their operational definitions.

The Value of Children (VOC) Questionnaire

To measure the social motives for having children, the Value of Children Attitude Scale developed by Bulatao (1975) was adopted. The items were translated into Aklanon and then back-translated into English for translation equivalence. Responses were scored on a 7-point rating scale ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (7). This scale can be made available upon request. This paper will focus only on the results obtained from the FWC cards.

Respondents

The respondents for this study were 64 Aklanon married couples ($n=128$) who were chosen based on the following criteria:

- a) must have at least one child;
- b) must be between 20-40 years old; and
- c) must belong to the lower SES with a combined family income of not more than ₱800.00 per month

Thirty-two married couples were drawn from fishing communities, while another 32 couples were from farming communities. Their occupations were correspondingly fishing or farming. The males had a mean age of 31.98 ($sd = 5.19$), while the average age for females was 28.42 ($sd=4.67$). Their average monthly income was ₱384.62 ($sd=182.62$.)

Treatment of data

Quantitative analysis

Two independent scorers rated the FWC protocols following the procedures outlined in the preliminary scoring manual. Interscorer reliability was found by correlating the scorer's ratings on each

of the scoring categories. 2X2X2 analyses of variance were performed on the FWC scores to determine significant differences between groups. T-tests for matched groups were conducted to determine sex differences.

The data gathered from the VOC questionnaire were subjected to factor analysis to identify the social motives for parenthood. The relationships between the overt and covert motives was determined by correlating the scores on the FWC scoring dimensions with those on the VOC factors.

Qualitative analysis

The FWC protocols were further subjected to content analysis to probe deeper into the latent motives. Each story was formulated into an import; at the same time, Murray's needs-press categories were applied to identify both obvious and underlying motives. A sequence analysis was sometimes employed to uncover the covert motives, which usually became apparent after having evaluated several successive stories or the whole protocols. Then, each protocol was further analyzed side by side with the partner's protocols, to shed more light into the covert motives. In addition, a frequency count of the more common themes was undertaken to substantiate the inferences gleaned from the content analysis.

RESULTS

The interscorer reliability coefficients for the six FWC dimensions were found to be significant ($r = .45$ at $p < .01$) indicating relative consistency between the two independent scorers.

Family Welfare Cards Dimensions

From the FWC data, six covert dimensions were identified, namely: adequacy, self-gratification (+), and nurturance/affiliation as motives for having children; anxiety, self-gratification (-) and disruptive influences of children as deterrents to having children. In the hierarchy of covert motives, adequacy

emerged as the strongest individual motivation for parenthood. Nurturance/affiliation ranked second, followed by self-gratification which was found to be the weakest motive for parenthood. The dis-

ruptive influence of children was ranked as the strongest deterrent to having children. The anxiety dimension was ranked second and self-gratification (-) last in the hierarchy (see Table 1).

TABLE 1
Means and standard deviations for FWC dimensions
(N = 128)

<u>Dimensions</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>sd</u>	<u>Rank</u>
A. Motives for Having Children			
1. Adequacy	5.01	1.64	1
2. Nurturance/Affiliation	4.86	1.38	2
3. Self-gratification (+)	1.41	0.92	3
B. Deterrents to Having Children			
1. Disruptive influence of children	2.08	2.39	1
2. Anxiety	1.54	1.85	2
3. Self-gratification (-)	1.23	0.89	3

The analysis of variance results showed that significant differences occurred only on the self-gratification and adequacy dimensions. It may be seen from Tables 2

and 3 that only the community variable had a significant effect on the self-gratification dimension (both + and -).

TABLE 2
2 x 2 x 2 ANOVA on Self-Gratification (+) Dimension

<u>Source of Variance</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Between	18.88	7	2.70	3.70
Sex	2.82	1	2.82	3.87
Community	10.70	1	10.70	14.67*
Children	2.26	1	2.26	3.10
Sex x Community	0.12	1	0.12	0.16
Sex x Children	0.03	1	0.03	0.04
Community x Children	2.00	1	2.00	2.74
Sex x Community x Children	0.94	1	0.94	1.29
Residual	87.50	120	0.73	
Total	106.38	127	0.84	

*p < .01

TABLE 3

2 x 2 x 2 ANOVA on Self-Gratification (-) Dimension.

<i>Source of Variance</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>
Between	13.74	7	1.96	2.14
Sex	3.44	1	3.44	3.76
Community	5.70	1	5.70	6.29*
Children	0.38	1	0.38	0.42
Sex x Community	1.32	1	1.32	1.44
Sex x Children	0.07	1	0.07	0.08
Community x Children	0.01	1	0.01	0.01
Sex x Community x Children	2.82	1	2.82	3.08
Residual	109.69	120	0.91	
Total	123.43	127	0.97	

*p < .05

TABLE 4

2 x 2 x 2 ANOVA on Adequacy Dimension

<i>Source of Variance</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>
Between	22.94	7	3.28	1.23
Sex	1.22	1	1.22	0.46
Community	0.02	1	0.02	0.01
Children	17.63	1	17.63	6.62*
Sex x Community	1.22	1	1.22	0.46
Sex x Children	2.65	1	2.65	0.99
Community x Children	0.02	1	0.02	0.01
Sex x Community x Children	0.16	1	0.16	0.06
Residual	319.80	120	2.66	
Total	342.73	127	2.70	

*p < .05

On the adequacy dimension however, significant differences were found only on the variable desired number of children. This may be seen in Table 4. Respondents desiring less than three children felt more adequate and competent than those desiring more than three children.

No differences were found for the nurturance/affiliation dimension implying a common need for affection and warmth.

Content analyses of the projective data elicited two main covert motives for men, as follows: (1) the need to compensate for personal inadequacies/failure

to be the stronger sex and more capable partner in the marital relationship, and (2) the need to gratify unresolved dependency. Meanwhile for the women two covert motives were also deduced. These were: (1) the need to establish their own sense of worth as an equal to men for their self-esteem; and (2) the need to gratify affectional needs, particularly the love and approval of the husband and of society as well. Interpretation of these findings will be elaborated on in the next section.

Common Themes Found in the FWC Protocols

To aid in the qualitative analysis of the FWC protocols, two frequency counts were performed. First, the presence or absence of the theme was noted, resulting in a count of the number of respondents who mentioned the theme at least once in their protocols. Second, the response frequency of a theme was tallied through the thirteen cards to gauge the intensity of the theme. The themes that were obtained will now be discussed according to the 3 independent variables — sex, community, and desired number of children.

Sex. Comparisons between male and female themes reveal that for both groups, fulfilling their role as the mother is the strongest motive for having children. It is interesting to note that both sexes focus more on the mother as homemaker (93%) as against the father as provider (82%). An equal proportion (38%) of both sexes mentioned physically producing a child as a theme, with a son specified by 20%, while a daughter was specified by only 6% of the respondents.

With regard to the self-gratification motive, the expectation that children will provide assistance now is expressed by 92% of the females as compared to 84% of the males. More females also perceive children as reflecting parent's characteristics (16% vs. 9%), as a source of pride and honor (42% vs. 25%), and as ensuring immortality (17% vs. 8%). Only 20% of the males as compared to 36% of the females mention sex with a coo-

perative partner, while sex with a reluctant partner is stated by 9% of the males and 3% of the females.

Among the nurturance/affiliation motives, stories with companionship and warmth between father and child are more common (84%) than warmth between mother and child (13%). Men seem to have stronger nurturance/affiliation motives as 97% mention companionship between men while only 83% of the women express themes of companionship between women.

A strong deterrent to having children seems to stem from an individual's fears as a provider. This is particularly apparent among the men as 56% expressed their anxiety about being able to provide for the family's needs, while only 30% of the women had the same fear of their being able to care for family members.

For the women, the perception of children as being limiting and burdensome may be a more important consideration as 52% of them cite this theme against only 38% of the males. Resentments of the husband toward the wife are expressed by 20% of the men, but only by 6% of the women. However, resentments of the wife toward the husband are expressed in almost equal proportion by both sexes (31%, men; 33%, women.)

Instances of sibling rivalry with the son being favored are cited by 60% of the respondents, while the daughter being favored is mentioned by only 11%. Other differences between men and women are seen in themes relating to quarrels in the community (expressed by 31% of the men and 17% of the women), and also marital discord (mentioned by 11% of the females compared to 2% of the males.)

Community. Although the difference is slight, more farming (86%) than fishing (78%) respondents had themes of the father fulfilling his role as provider. Coping by rationalizing is stated by 52% of the farmers but only 27% of the fishermen. Passivity, withdrawal, or resignation themes are more common among the fishing (30%) than farming (16%) respondents. Physically producing a healthy child is a theme for 45% of

the farmers as against 30% of the fishermen. Asserting control over children is also mentioned by more fishermen than farmers: 52% vs. 45% for father controlling the child, and 53% vs. 41% for mother controlling child.

Among the self-gratification (+) themes, more fishermen (31%) than farmers (25%) cite sex with a partner's cooperation. Expectations of present assistance from children are expressed by 92% of the farmers and 86% of the fishermen. Children as a source of pride or honor is mentioned by 38% of the farming and 30% of the fishing respondents.

In general, nurturance/affiliation motives are expressed by more farmers. Companionship between men is cited by 100% of the farmers as compared to 91% of the fishermen. Companionship between women is a theme for 94% of the farming and 84% of the fishing respondents. Warmth between father and child is related by 88% of the farmers and 80% of the fishermen. Only stories of warmth between mother and child are stated by more fishing (17%) than farming (9%) respondents.

Stories with anxiety themes are more common among fishermen. The husband's fear of not providing enough for the family is expressed by 55% of the fishermen and 42% of the farmers. Expressions of guilt by the husband are cited by 34% of the fishing and 28% of the farming respondents; guilt by the wife is mentioned by 28% of the fishermen and 19% of the farmers. However, the wife's feelings of sadness and helplessness are stated by more farmers (36%) than fishermen (25%).

Desired number of children. In the adequacy dimension, the differences between respondents who desire less (-3) and those who desire more children (+3) are not very marked. Such differences are seen mainly in stories with themes on asserting control. Those desiring larger families state the father's control over the child and the husband's control over the wife (52% and 12% respectively) more often than those desiring smaller families (45% and 9% respectively.) The reverse is true for the wife's control

over the husband which is cited by 25% of the -3 children respondents and 19% of the +3 children respondents.

The self-gratification (+) motives are stronger for those desiring more than 3 children. Sex with the partner's cooperation is a theme for 36% of the +3 children as compared to 20% of the -3 children respondents, while sex with a reluctant partner is stated by 9% of the +3 group and 3% of the -3 group. More of the +3 group than the -3 group perceive children as reflecting parent's characteristics (16% vs. 9%); as a source of pride and honor (41% vs. 27%); as presently providing assistance (94% vs. 84%); and as providing future security (11% vs. 6%).

With respect to the nurturance/affiliation motives, the differences are again slight. Warmth between father and child is related by 80% of the -3 group and 88% of the +3 group, while warmth between mother and child is cited by only 14% of the -3 and 12% of the +3 groups. More of the -3 group relate companionship between men (97% vs. 92%) and companionship between women (92% vs. 86%) than the +3 group.

In general, the respondents who desire more children have more anxiety themes than those desiring less children. The husband's fears about providing for the family is cited by 56% of the +3 group as compared to 39% of the -3 group, while the wife's fears of caring for the family is mentioned by 34% of the +3 respondents vs. 17% of the -3 respondents. The decision to limit the number of children is cited by 25% of those desiring less as against 9% of those desiring more children. For the sibling rivalry themes, 81% of the +3 respondents favor the son as compared to only 41% of the -3 respondents who do so.

DISCUSSION

Clinical Evaluation and Implications

The preliminary scoring categories of the FWC were admittedly found to be lacking in precise definitions, which mainly accounted for scoring difficulties. Due to the low interscorer reliability and

lack of significant statistical differences, frequency counts of respondents expressing the theme or issue were added. However, the initial piece-meal or per card approach to the interpretation of the stories appeared to have diluted the more substantive message of the protocols as a whole.

Thus, a global and inferential treatment of the data was employed to deduce the unarticulated needs. Adhering to the family systems approach, an individual's protocol was analyzed side by side with his/her partner's protocol so that either protocol could serve to check and verify the projected percepts of the subject in the eyes of his/her partner. The rationale of this approach stems from the contention of family systems theorists that "stresses in the family are always experienced interactively" and whatever affects one member inevitably affects all other members in some way (Carandang 1985; Andolfi, 1979). This method subsequently proved to be most enlightening, as a more gestalt and "real" picture of the individual was revealed. Seen in the light of the dynamics of the married couple, the authentic covert motivations were thus readily identified and understood.

The Covert Motives of Males

Need to compensate for personal inadequacies

The most striking observation was the discrepancy between the male respondents' self-ideal and their actual feelings with regard to paternal responsibilities. As our data have shown especially in the adequacy motive, both men and women were acutely aware of their individual responsibilities as father and mother, respectively. However, a large number of the men expressed their fears and anxiety which were presumably aroused by their insecurity in not having provided well or, at worst, in being an economic failure to the family. The wives, on the otherhand, tended to view them as weak and ineffectual husbands because they had failed to satisfy their personal and societal expectations of

being the stronger and competent partner.

The data therefore suggest the ever perennial battle of the sexes. A psychological "competition" appears to be waged, whereby either husband or wife, strives to be acknowledged as the superior partner. This is hypothesized to arise in a marital set-up where the man who is supposed to be the stronger and more capable one, is outshone by the wife's overall efficiency in handling her multifaceted roles as homemaker, wife, entrepreneur, and sometimes even breadwinner. To speculate further, because he feels threatened, the husband is now impelled to maintain his position of authority by a show of power through dominance and his virility strivings. In effect, he tries to subjugate and dominate his wife especially in the sexual sphere, but channels his love and affection to his children. Thus, he is perceived by the children as more warm and affectionate than the mother.

Fromm (1963) recognizes man's vulnerability insofar as he has to prove something, with the pressure of possible failure looming over him. He posits that man's defense against such vulnerability is "power, either physical force or prestige". At the same time, being sensitive to ridicule from the woman, he protects himself from being symbolically castrated by trying to dominate the woman.

As seen in most fishing men's protocols, the husband who feels castrated by a strong and powerful wife retaliates either by subjugating her via playing his "machismo" or sexual aggressor role to the hilt, or by withholding the emotional support and intimacy she hankers for. Fromm and Macoby (1970) explain that such display of sadistic machismo can actually be a "compulsive compensation for feelings of weakness and dependence on women".

Therefore, it is strongly suggested that for the male respondents, the covert need to compensate for personal inadequacies and ineffectiveness in their societal role as the stronger sex propels them toward fatherhood. The motivation for parenthood is thus closely tied up with man's self-image and the extent

this image approximates his self-ideal. The greater the discrepancy between his actual self and self-ideal, the greater the need to compensate for such lack. As added pressure, the more adequate and capable his wife appears to him, the stronger the need to prove himself the superior sex. More often than not, the sexual area appears to be the only realm left where he can uphold his demasculinized ego.

Consequently, it is hypothesized that through his virility and power strivings, he overtly attempts to prove his superiority over the acknowledged more competent and stronger woman. By impregnating his wife, he has concrete proof of his superiority over her and his adequacy as a man. Having a child is thus an effort to negate his feeling of incompetence, especially when the wife is viewed as the stronger and more competent one.

Need to gratify dependence

Furthermore, the child becomes his source and object of nurturance. As depicted in a majority of the protocols, the father relates more freely, warmly, and spontaneously with his children than the mother does (84% of the male vs. 13% of the females). On many occasions, he acts as the child's playmate while the wife attends to her chores. Such easy rapport could be attributed to the channeling of his affections towards the child and also possibly to his having remained emotionally a child. According to Freud (1960), the wish to remain tied to a maternal, protective figure constitutes one of the most basic tendencies in man. At the same time, with the child, the threat of exposing his limitations appears minimal, as he need not cover up for them nor does the need to compete with the child to safeguard his authority position. This could also be a reaction formation for some guilt feelings aroused by his failure as a breadwinner.

Hypothesizing further, not only does the child serve as a prop to his weak ego, but also fulfills his underlying dependency needs. This becomes manifest when the father views his child as an assistant in eking out a livelihood for the

family, as well as a caretaker in his old age.

Such dependency is reinforced by significant female figures (e.g., his wife and mother), and by society as a whole because of the privileged status conferred on him. But despite patriarchal values adhered to, with man as presumably the authority and head, matriarchal elements appear to undermine the father principle.

In the Filipino culture, as noted by Lapuz (1973), strong passive feminine tendencies in the male are engendered by the prolonged dependency on the maternal figure. Fixated in the dependent position, the young man continues to seek security and gratification from a nurturing figure even in adulthood.

The Covert Motives of Females

Need for self-affirmation and approval

As portrayed in both male and female protocols, the women emerged as the more adequate, competent, and stronger partner in the marital relationship. They have proven this in the efficient and responsible handling of their multi-faceted roles as wife, mother-caretaker, housekeeper, entrepreneur, teacher, motivator, arbiter, disciplinarian, and even breadwinner in some instances. This seems to be in consonance with the cultural ego-ideal of the Filipino woman whom Lapuz describes in her study (1973) as "the strong and helpful wife who manages the household and children efficiently, gives effective emotional, and if possible material support to the husband, and above all, is permissive towards him".

Yet, for all the woman's show of competence, a basic need to establish her own sense of worth vis-a-vis her husband's love and approval, as well as to have the admiration and esteem of society underlie her parental strivings. This dual need for self-affirmation and approval, is hypothesized to have its roots in the culturally-upheld preference for the male child in a society which outwardly emphasizes patriarchal values, i.e., that women are of the inferior sex and must traditionally be submissive. However, in

reality, a matriarchal structure is evident in the women's dominant position in the domestic set-up.

Because of this obvious preference, the female child likely grows up with a distorted perception that she is of the inferior sex since she is not as preferred or privileged as her male counterpart. This attitude is somehow sensed, if not obviously seen in the mother's pampering of the male sibling and of the father too. However lest she be ostracized for rebelling against the status quo, she learns to integrate her designated role. The resentments generated by the rivalry of the sexes are somehow neutralized by identification with the male aggressor/rival. She thus resolves her hostilities, for the time being, by setting out to prove herself capable, and thus of equal worth as the favored male counterpart. Consequently, she strives to be competent in all aspects of life, as dictated by her needs for self-affirmation, and the approval of her source of narcissistic gratification. By the time she assumes her parental role as mother, she is quite adept in handling almost all the demands made on her, both by her environment and herself.

Through motherhood, she does not only verify her biological adequacy as a child bearer (Benedek, 1959) but also and more so, makes a concrete bid to ensure the love and approval of the husband.

As one female respondent aptly verbalized it, she becomes a "source of pride" to the husband as she is admired because despite her pregnancy she was able to fulfill her household duties and still give birth to a healthy child. The husband's esteem of her is presumably raised higher when she gives birth to a baby boy. The woman, by bringing forth a son, gets doubly reinforced by the husband's obvious preference for a male child and his joy at having his wish come true. As the childbearer of a son, she thus gets the impression that this is a "feat" on her part, and consequently her self-image is enhanced. In fact, she gets praised for it and there is a celebration. The man, at the same time, gets doubly gratified because he not only

proves his masculinity/virility but also now has a living extension of himself to ensure his "immortality" (Pearce & Newton, 1963). In fact, as the previous data have borne out, the self-gratification and self-perpetuation needs are accentuated more by the females than the males. This finding seems to concur with Lapuz' generalization that "the Filipino mother counts on her daughters to fulfill mutual dependency needs, but it is with her sons that she feels a good deal of pride and vicarious self-esteem" (1973).

However, in the parenting process, she most likely outshines her husband by her personal efficacy in fulfilling her role expectations. In contrast, the husband often does not live up to his share of parental responsibilities because, to start with, he has not been trained to do so. What is ironic is that the woman who strives to please the husband through the fulfillment of her roles as wife and mother, stands out as the more adequate and capable partner. She may thus unwittingly alienate her husband whose position as head and leader gets threatened. The husband who feels insecure and inadequate in the face of the wife's competence somehow holds back relating to her as his equal, and to lessen his "castration anxiety" or apprehensions, tries to display his power over her. (Fromm, 1963)

Thus, hers appears to be a more difficult and complex motive as she cannot outrightly expose the husband's inadequacies/incompetence. So as not to jeopardize her source of love and approval, she is likely to uphold the culturally reinforced sex-typed role by deferring to the man as the authority and head of the family.

In such a marital setting, it is suggested that the initial and encompassing motive of proving one's sense of worth as an equal to man narrows down to a more basic need for attention, approval, and love from the male figure. The children therefore become her means to obtain her affectional needs, directly from them and indirectly from the husband who also showers his love and attention to the children. This is clearly depicted in the

nurturance/affiliation dimension.

At the same time, because she has invested more of herself in her children's survival and psychological growth than the husband, she has a highly potent ally in them. As seen in the self-gratification (+) index, she "uses" her child to keep the irresponsible husband from misbehaving, or to remind him of his fatherly duties. In such a case, where it is clearly evident that the husband derives much happiness and satisfaction from the children she also becomes happy and satisfied and further gives herself credit for having brought them up well and healthy. She thus uses her children to get affectional display from her husband, or in some cases, to seek as substitute love objects for the emotional intimacy that she does not get from the husband. Castiglioni (1981) also notes a similar observation with her rural female subjects in that children were valued for the part they played in binding spouses together. In effect, she deduced, "the more children one has, the stronger the bond between husband and wife".

To sum up the hypotheses generated, the female's covert motive lies in her underlying need for the affirmation of her self worth from the male love object. This encompasses her need to be seen as capable and equal as the man, as well as the need to be given the love and attention by him if not through her competence and accomplishment as a wife and mother, at least through her children who are the "products" of their love, but more so, the real fruits of her labor.

CONCLUSIONS

The study has brought to fore the authentic, covert motives of men and women in the rural setting with the use of a more subtle and sensitive projective instrument, the Family Welfare Cards. Furthermore, the root cause of these covert motives was hypothesized to be the incongruence of the perception of the masculine sex as superior, and the feminine sex as inferior with reality proofs of the women emerging as the more com-

petent and capable figure. The undermined patriarchal structure threatened by matriarchal dominance (Fromm, 1970) appears to have crucial and far reaching effects on the shaping of the personality of the growing boy and girl, not to mention his/her parental identifications, self concept, mode of adaptation and eventually, motives for parenthood. The obvious and collective social overt motives could be further appraised in proper perspective along with the uncovered inner motives hypothesized in the study. By integrating both overt and covert motives, a motivational system for parenthood has emerged. With the establishment of the interrelationships of covert motives with external social factors, the meaning of parenthood as a psychosocial event becomes more grounded in the reality of the Filipino culture.

Recommendations

1. The identified FWC covert motives of rural men and women for having children should be subjected to validation. The scope could include the urban setting so that a comparison of the covert motives of urban respondents could be made with those of the rural folks.
2. Focussed studies on the influence of the dominant parental figure and specific parental attitudes such as the preference for a son, should be conducted.
3. The Family Welfare Cards should be refined further as an indigenous projective tool with empirical validity. Its validity with urban and semi-urban sample groups should be demonstrated. In addition the FWC scoring categories for covert dimensions need to be refined for precision in their definitions to reduce ambiguity in scoring. Moreover, the interscorer reliability could be increased through intensive training of the scorers and content analysts, especially in the systems global approach of evaluating protocols of couples side by side.
4. Because of the consistent trend of significant differences between fishing and farming communities, further eva-

uation of the conditions and peculiarities of the fishing environ and how they influence personality variables need to be conducted.

5. The variable of locality or region could be highlighted. A study of the motivations of rural couples in typical Tagalog region in comparison with those of a Visayan region could accentuate regional differences which related literature has little of.

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