

SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION AND BILINGUALISM: THE CASE OF PILIPINO¹

MICHAEL A. COSTELLO
Xavier University, Cagayan de Oro

1. INTRODUCTION

Viewed from the micro-sociological perspective, a host of factors, such as age, sex, socioeconomic status and the like, may be expected to influence an individual's acquisition of a second language. Bilingualism, however, also has an important ecological dimension, since it is typically linked in various ways to the spatial distribution of ethnic and linguistic groupings. As Lieberson (1981: 132) has pointed out, 'bilingualism may be viewed as an adaptation by individuals to the presence of persons with another tongue'. Where such persons are few in number, rates of bilingualism may be expected to be low.

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the extent to which certain ecological-level factors, such as the juxtaposition in space of varying mother-tongue groups, have been associated with the acquisition of Pilipino as a second language. I hope that the paper can serve as an example of the kind of questions which might be posed by demographers, such as myself, who are interested in linguistic phenomena, as well as to illustrate the type of data we would typically use in attempting to answer these questions. In this sense the paper can serve as a case study of 'Language Data in Censuses'.

A second rationale for the paper is that it might well be of help in projecting the future expansion of Pilipino throughout the nation, as well as in giving some idea of the factors which can impede or facilitate this expansion.

2. THEORETICAL MODEL

Theoretical underpinnings for the present paper are to be found in a seminal essay by the contemporary sociologist, Peter M. Blau, entitled 'Parameters of Social Structure'. For Blau, a structural parameter is any criterion implicit in the social distinctions people make in their social interaction'. Age, sex, race and ethnicity may be given as examples, 'assuming that such differences actually affect people's role relations' (1975: 221). The complex mix of positions affiliated with these parameters comprises the topic of social differentiation, the study of which is viewed by Blau as 'the distinctive task of sociology'.

The central concern of Blau's essay is the relationship between structural differentiation and social integration. On the face of it, these two concepts would appear to be inversely related; the more differentiated individuals become, the less they would have in common and the less their sense of social unity. In contrast, common traditions and values would seem to be the natural wellspring of an integrated society. The cultural factor, however, is actually a two-edged sword. It can create cleavages between groups, even as it increases solidarity within them. The persistence of ethnic, regional and tribal loyalties in countries of the developing world provides a good example of this problem. Thus, argues Blau (1975), 'we must still ask what produces the social connections among diverse groups that integrate them and their members into a (larger) society' (230).

Herein is to be found the potential value of social differentiation for the problem at hand. Taking a cue from Durkheim, who saw the progressive extension of society's division of labor as creating an 'organic' solidarity of mutually interdependent groups, Blau (1975) argues that 'paradoxical as it may seem. . . structural differentiation is the condition that brings about macrosocial integration' (230).

On the most basic level, structural differentiation involves only a single parameter. This type of differentiation, termed 'compositional heterogeneity' by Blau, tends to create solidarity by increasing the probability that instances of social interaction—a prerequisite for social integration—will involve individuals from two distinct groups. This, Ilongos living in Manila can be expected to have greater contacts with, and therefore to feel more

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at ease with, Filipinos of other ethnic backgrounds, than would those still living in Panay or Negros Occidental.

When more than one social parameter is involved, 'multiform heterogeneity' is present. The effect of this pattern is to reduce the size of perfectly homogeneous subgroups 'to the vanishing point', thus entailing a much more complex network of social relations. For example, even an ostensibly homogeneous group, such as a linguistic society, is actually made up of persons with differing age and sex statuses, holding varying ethnic backgrounds, interested in different subfields of specialization, and the like.

The integrative function of multiform heterogeneity is, again, to decrease the probability that individuals will be able to 'withdraw' from the larger society into a purely homogeneous subgrouping. They are continually forced, as it were, to associate with 'outsiders', thus producing a nearly infinite number of cross-cutting linkages between groups that function to prevent the cleavage of society into two or three homogeneous—and potentially competing—subgroups. In modern society—*Gemeinschaft* as opposed to *Gesellschaft*—both compositional and multiform heterogeneity are typically well developed. Thus, the structural basis for an integrated society seems present in this case. Further, the process may well be self-perpetuating insofar as 'the growing prevalence of intergroup relations enlarges the social circles who accept them, which implies that such relations encounter less social disapproval and that normative expectations gradually adjust to them' (Blau 1975: 234).

The core of Blau's theory—that differentiation tends to bring about an increase in social integration—can be tested for the Philippines using census-based language data. In this case, our indicator of social integration becomes the ability to speak Pilipino, the national language. To the extent that groups have a high proportion of individuals unable to converse in Pilipino, they must be judged as being poorly integrated into the larger society.² Such groups, it would seem, would almost certainly show a lessened sense of solidarity with other ethnic or regional aggregates, while also tending to be less identified with the core institutions of the country—in particular, the national government.

In the present study, the effect of three types of structural differentiation upon bilingualism rates will be investigated: ethnic heterogeneity, occupational heterogeneity and an interaction effect involving both ethnic and occupational diversity. Some scattered evidence may be found in the literature to suggest that all three of these variables will be linked positively to bilingualism. Regarding ethnic heterogeneity, for example, Lieberman has found that U.S. cities with high levels of mother tongue diversity tend to also be characterized by high rates of bilingualism. Commenting on the role played by national languages (in this case English) in serving as a lingua franca among diverse groups, this author notes that

In a city that is linguistically diverse... there is the added need to acquire some language to overcome this diversity. The strength of English as a second language among the immigrants is thus derived not only from institutional pressures supporting English within the host society, but also the pressures to develop some medium of communication between immigrant groups with different mother tongues (Lieberman 1981: 164).

Similar patterns may also be present in countries which are less developed economically than the United States. In India, for example Broek and Webb (1973) report a 'substantial degree of bilingualism, despite the prevailing low level of literacy...(most especially) in regions where there is much fragmentation in the distribution of mother tongues' (114).

Given a context in which groups speaking diverse mother tongues are present within society, increasing complexity in the overall division of labor may also be expected to generate pressures toward bilingualism. Where occupational specialization is limited, so also will economic exchanges be reduced. In such situations the need to engage in social intercourse outside of one's immediate circle of family and friends is slight, thus minimiz-

²Thus, Shils (1970) observes that 'the sharing of a language is the sharing of the essential quality which confers membership in society' (21).

ing the probability of social encounters with persons possessing different mother tongues. As occupational specialization expands, however, the need for standardization—in such factors as currency, weights and measures, as well as in language—increases concomitantly (Hawley 1971: 123). Thus, a direct relationship between bilingualism levels and occupational differentiation may be posited, an hypothesis which is also implicit in Durkheim's (1964: 258-259) analysis of the relationship between the division of labor and 'social density'.³

When both ethnic and occupational diversity are present in society, a situation of multiform heterogeneity may be presumed to exist, assuming, that is, that these two parameters are not perfectly correlated. As such, Blau's discussion of the integrative implications of such cross-cutting types of differentiation would lead to the hypothesis that an interaction term involving both ethnic and occupational diversity would also be correlated positively with bilingualism levels. That is, the positive impact of mother tongue diversity upon the acquisition of Pilipino should be strongest in areas with highly complex division of labor (and vice versa).

Factors other than structural differentiation may, of course, also be found to be related to bilingualism levels. These could include the proportion of persons in the area speaking Pilipino as their mother tongue, cultural obstacles which work against the acquisition of a certain language and levels of formal education. In the present study, indicators of all three of these variables will be utilized. Their function, however, will chiefly be to serve as control factors, in order to determine the independent impact of the differentiation variables.

Including a measure of the proportional representation of persons who have learned Pilipino as their mother tongue is necessary in order to take into account the possibility that the linguistic problem posed by structural differentiation may be solved by the acquisition of languages other than the national tongue. Where two languages other than Pilipino predominate in an area, for example, acquisition of one of these two tongues by one (in most cases the smaller or least powerful) of the two groups may well be the most likely result. In other cases English may be used as the *lingua franca* or some hybrid variety may evolve. Thus, pressures for non-Tagalogs to learn Pilipino will obviously be greater in the predominantly Tagalog-speaking provinces than in areas farther from Manila.⁴

In addition to the above consideration, the number of Tagalogs in an area may also be expected to exercise an important influence upon the acquisition of this language among persons not holding Pilipino as their mother tongue. The larger the number of native Tagalog speakers, the more frequently will members of other groups encounter persons speaking Pilipino. Thus their exposure to Pilipino will be heightened, as will their need to acquire a working knowledge of this language. Thus, Lieberson (1981: 163) found that rates of acquisition of English as a second language among immigrants to a number of U.S. cities were correlated positively with each city's proportion of native-born whites. Somewhat similar results were also obtained by Silver (1974a) in a study of 'Russification' among minority ethnic groups in the U.S.S.R.

In another study conducted by Silver (1974b), evidence was found that Soviet minority groups adhering to Islam were less likely to learn Russian than were non-Muslim groups, even with other factors being held constant. This finding supports the view that certain cultural obstacles to language acquisition may exist, such as the possession of a significantly different religious tradition than that found among native speakers of a nation's official language. In the present context, this factor will be taken into account by controlling for the proportion of non-Christian residents in each study area.

³At the micro-sociological level, the occupational factor may similarly be important in influencing language acquisition. Stanley Lieberson's (1981: 173-217) excellent study of 'the linguistic demands of the work-world' provides an excellent illustration of this point.

⁴Note that I am assuming here, as well as in other sections of the paper, that Tagalog may be equated with Pilipino.

A third control factor is the average level of educational attainment. According to Sanders (1977), 'an important function of . . . schooling in many (developing) countries with numerous. . . ethnic groups is to teach a common language that has been recognized as the official tongue' (101). This is certainly true of the Philippines, where Pilipino has long been taught as a separate subject in both the elementary and secondary levels. Empirical evidence that educational attainment can be linked positively with acquisition of the nation's official language is again available from studies conducted by Lieberson (1981: 176) and Silver (1974a).

In sum, the present study seeks to investigate the general relationship between structural differentiation and one indicator of societal integration, namely the acquisition, as a second language, of Pilipino. The effect of both ethnic and occupational differentiation upon rates of acquisition of the national tongue as a second language will be examined. Three control variables, representing the effect of compositional, cultural and educational factors, will also be introduced into the analysis.

3. DATA AND METHODS

Results presented in this paper will be based exclusively upon ecological correlations. In this type of data analysis, various aggregate-level factors, as measured for geographic sub-areas (in this case, provinces), are compared to one another statistically.

A well-known critique of this approach (Robinson 1950) has pointed out that it is a fallacy — the so-called 'ecological fallacy' — to use this technique in order to make predictions about the behavior of individuals. For example, if areas with high levels of educational attainment are also characterized by high acquisition rates of Pilipino, these data cannot be interpreted as showing conclusively that better-educated individuals are more likely to learn Pilipino.

The present paper, however, is concerned with language acquisition as a strictly sociological, or aggregate-level, phenomenon. It is concerned with delineating those factors in the social milieu which are most likely to bring about high *rates* of bilingualism. As such, the use of ecological correlations is appropriate.

All data have been taken from the Philippine census of 1970.⁵ Provincial-level statistics have been used since data are not available for smaller geographic units. No attempt has been made to adjust the census figures for the errors which might well be expected to be found there, though in one case a province with an obviously incorrect measure was eliminated from the analysis.⁶

The dependent variable analyzed in the study is the percentage of persons in each province who, while not listing Tagalog as their mother tongue, claim to be able to speak Pilipino (SPEAKPIL). This indicator has been constructed in the following fashion: first, it was assumed that all persons who have Tagalog as their mother tongue are able to speak Pilipino. Based on this assumption, the number of non-Tagalogs who are able to speak Pilipino may be found by subtracting out the number of native-born Tagalogs (defined as the number of respondents with Tagalog as their mother tongue) from the number of respondents who speak Pilipino. This number was then divided by the number of non-Tagalogs in the province (i.e. all persons *not* listing Tagalogs as their mother tongue) and multiplied by one hundred.

Ethnic heterogeneity (ETHNCMIX) has been measured using data on mother-tongue affiliation (defined by the census as the language spoken in the respondent's home during his or her childhood). Lieberson's (1969) index of population diversity, computed as $(1.00-S) \times 100$, where S is the sum of squares of the proportion of the province's total

⁵Data presented in this paper are taken from National Census and Statistics Office (1974), Tables II-19 (occupational composition), III-6 (education), III-13 (mother tongue), III-16 (ability to speak Pilipino), and III-21 (religion).

⁶Based on the 1970 census data, the number of persons able to speak Pilipino in the province of Marinduque is actually smaller than the number of persons giving Tagalog as their mother tongue. As a result, the method used in this paper for estimating the acquisition rate of Pilipino among non-Tagalogs produced a negative result, which is obviously impossible.

population affiliated with the five largest mother tongue groupings, was used in this case.⁷ This index is designed to measure the 'probability that randomly paired members of the population will hold different . . . affiliations' (Lieberson 1969: 851) and can vary between 0 (where all residents come from the same ethnic group) and 100.

Occupational heterogeneity (DIVLABOR) has been measured in an analogous fashion, though in this case the key parameter involved is the distribution of the working population into the eleven major occupational categories used by the census.⁸ Thus, provinces in which the bulk of the working population was employed in a single occupational category (in most such cases this was 'farmers, fishermen and related workers') scored low on this index, while those with more diversified occupational structures scored high.

An interaction term, incorporating the joint (multiplicative) effect of both ethnic and occupational heterogeneity, was then constructed by multiplying, for each case, the index values of these two concepts. This variable (INTER1) provides a measure of 'multi-form heterogeneity' and, thus, should be related positively to the acquisition of Pilipino as a second language.

An additional interaction term (INTER2) was also developed, to incorporate the joint effects of both ETHNCMIX and the percentage of persons in the population speaking Tagalog as their mother tongue. Again, a positive relationship of this factor with the learning of Pilipino may be hypothesized. That is, while ethnic heterogeneity tends, *ceteris paribus*, to bring about the creation of a lingua franca, this does not ensure that it is Pilipino which will be selected to fill that role. In particular, if native Tagalog speakers are few, the pressure to choose that particular language will be low; if they are many, the pressures should be correspondingly higher.

The three control variables, and their definitions are, first, the percentage of persons in the province giving Tagalog as their mother tongue (TAGALOG); secondly, the percentage of persons in the province who were not Christian (NONCHRIS) and, third, the provincial level of educational attainment (EDUC), which was measured as the percentage of persons in the province aged 25 years and over who had attended one or more years of secondary school. The first and last of these variables are expected to be related positively with SPEAKPIL, the second negatively.

The statistical technique of multiple regression analysis will be used to investigate the problem posed in this study. Since the sample under investigation includes all possible cases within the population of elements (i.e. all provinces in the country), there is no need, strictly speaking, for statistical tests. Nevertheless, F-statistics will still be reported, chiefly to serve as indicators of the relative magnitude of the various factors entering the regression equation.

4. FINDINGS

Zero-order correlations among all variables included in the model are presented in Table 1, along with their means and standard deviations. On the average, the percentage of non-Tagalogs in the provinces under observation who were able to speak Pilipino stood at 45 percent. Levels of both ethnic and occupational heterogeneity were fairly high with average index scores of 30.4 and 56.5, respectively, on these two variables.

⁷Analysis was limited to the five largest mother-tongue groups in each province, along with a residual 'others' category which was apportioned into three subgroups according to a procedure recommended by Lieberson (1969: 861).

⁸These are (1) professional, technical and related workers; (2) administrative, executive and managerial workers; (3) clerical workers; (4) sales workers; (5) farmers, fishermen, hunters, loggers and related workers; (6) miners, quarrymen and related workers; (7) workers in transport and communication; (8) craftsmen, production process workers and related laborers; (9) service, sport and related workers; (10) stevedores, related freight handlers and laborers not elsewhere classified; and (11) other workers and occupations unidentifiable.

This measure of an area's division of labor was first proposed by Gibbs and Martin (1962).

Table 1

Zero-order Correlations, Means and Standard Deviations for Variables Included in a Model of Acquisition of Pilipino as a Second Language: Philippine Provinces, 1970.

	Indicator							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. SPEAKPIL	-	.11	.61	.35	.75	.74	-.32	.52
2. ETHNCMIX		-	-.29	.89	.27	-.05	.20	.02
3. DIVLABOR			-	.11	.38	.52	-.29	.68
4. INTR1				-	.46	.11	.09	.32
5. INTER2					-	.73	-.13	.45
6. TAGALOG						-	-.16	.33
7. NONCHRIS							-	-.29
8. EDUC								-
Mean	45.0	30.4	56.5	16.1	4.8	16.9	7.0	20.3
Standard Deviation	19.6	25.1	14.9	14.0	9.5	32.0	17.0	8.7

N = 65

Intercorrelations between the independent variables in the model are generally in the expected direction. For example, provinces with a high proportion of non-Christian residents appear to be somewhat less developed economically, as shown by the negative correlations between this variable and both DIVLABOR and EDUC (-.29 in both cases). In contrast, provinces with large Tagalog populations tend to be somewhat better-off with regard to these two factors (the relevant correlations are, respectively, .52 and .33).

In one case, the intercorrelation between two of the independent variables (ETHNCMIX and INTER1) is high enough to raise a possible problem of multicollinearity. When separate regression analyses were made deleting these two variables, however, the results remained essentially unchanged, so both have been retained, given their importance for testing Blau's structural effects model.⁹

Results of the regression analysis are presented in Table 2. Based on the zero-order relationships (no controls), the strongest predictors of the dependent variable are INTER2 (the interaction term involving the provincial level of ethnic heterogeneity and the percentage of native Tagalog speakers), TAGALOG, DIVLABOR and EDUC, with the signs of all coefficients being, as expected, positive in nature. Signs for INTER1, NONCHRIS and ETHNCMIX are also in the expected direction though in these cases the zero-order coefficients are somewhat smaller in magnitude.

Our chief interest, however, lies in the partial regression results, which are shown in the second and third columns of the table. These coefficients (unstandardized and standardized betas) show the independent effect of each variable in the model, once all other predictors have been held constant. Generally speaking, these results support the differentiation-integration model proposed by Blau. Of the four variables which measure some aspect of social differentiation, three have signs in the predicted direction, two of which have F-values which would be large enough to attain statistical significance in a sample of this size (N=65). The dominating variable in this case is the interaction term showing the multiplicative effect of ethnic heterogeneity and the presence in the province of native Taga-

⁹Copies of these computer runs are available from the author.

log speakers. Where both of these factors are present, the proportion of non-Tagalogs able to speak Pilipino rises dramatically. Thus, ethnic heterogeneity in and of itself may add only marginally to the spread of Tagalog (as shown by the statistically insignificant beta coefficient for ETHNCMIX) but it can be vitally important factor for provinces in which a sufficient number of native Tagalog speakers are present to serve as a sort of catalyst for this group; however, the likelihood is that some alternative to Pilipino will be adopted as the lingua franca between various groupings.¹⁰

TABLE 2

Provincial Levels of Acquisition of Pilipino as a Second Language, 1970: Multiple Regression Results.

Variable	r	b	Beta ^a	F
ETHNCMIX	.11	.21	.26	0.75
DIVLABOR	.61	.52	.40	5.73*
INTER1	.35	-.14	-.10	0.10
INTER2	.75	.78	.38	9.13**
TAGALOG	.74	.16	.27	4.78*
NONCHRIS	-.32	-.19	-.17	5.88*
EDU	.52	-.79	-.04	0.12

$R^2 = .758$, $F = 25.55$ ($p < .001$)

Intercept = 7.95

Adjusted R^2 - .729

^aStandardized partial regression coefficient.

** $p < .01$

* $p < .05$

The other differentiation variable which conforms closely to theoretical expectations is DIVLABOR; provinces in which occupational differentiation has progressed more substantially are clearly more likely to also exhibit high proportions of the non-Tagalog populace who have learned to speak Pilipino. Following Blau, we interpret this variable as showing that the additional economic exchanges entailed by occupational specialization tend to help bring about increasing use of the national language as an integrative mechanism.

The one case in which Blau's model does not work is with regard to the joint effect of occupational and ethnic heterogeneity levels. In opposition to my original hypothesis, the beta coefficient for this variable takes a negative sign, though its magnitude would not be large enough to warrant the conclusion of statistical significance in a sample of this size. This seems to imply either that Blau's estimate of the integrative consequences of multiform heterogeneity are overstated or that the present study's measure of this concept is inadequate.

With regard to the control variables, the predicted relationships were found to hold

¹⁰For example, ethnic heterogeneity is quite high in a number of Mindanao provinces (Agusan del Sur, Bukidnon, Cotabato, Davao Oriental, Zamboanga del Sur) even though the percentage of non-Tagalogs in these areas who are able to speak Pilipino falls below the national average in all five cases. The very small proportion of Tagalogs in these provinces (Cotabato, with 2.3 percent, ranks highest in this regard) thus appears to be a major reason for this.

in two out of three cases. As expected, provinces with larger proportions of native Tagalog speakers also show evidence of possessing larger proportions of non-Tagalogs who have learned Pilipino. Similarly, acquisition of Pilipino appears to be significantly hindered in cases where a substantial proportion of the population adheres to a non-Christian religion. Somewhat surprisingly, though, educational levels appear to matter little, as far as the acquisition of Pilipino as a second language is concerned. In fact, this variable shows evidence of a weak *negative* correlation with the study's dependent variable once all other factors have been held constant. Results from future censuses may be expected to differ from this, of course, given the greater emphasis accorded Pilipino as a medium of instruction in recent years. As of 1970, however, it would appear that it was factors in the immediate social milieu which determined more strongly whether Pilipino has been both acquired *and retained* than did the formal teaching of this language in the classroom setting.¹¹

As a final comment on the model tested in this paper, it can be noted that the total impact of the eight independent variables upon provincial rates of acquisition of Pilipino as a second language is quite strong. Indeed, slightly more than three-quarters of the variation in this variable can be accounted for by the factors included in the model ($R^2 = .758$). This figure, of course, is relatively high in comparison to most social science research and allows for some measure of optimism with regard to our efforts to uncover the complex reasons why Pilipino is more predominantly spoken in some areas of the country than in others.

5. SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The basic thrust of this paper is that language acquisition can be viewed as a strictly structural, or ecological, phenomenon. In particular, forces tending to bring about social differentiation can at the same time exercise an integrative effect by requiring the adoption of a standardized means of discourse. Data presented in the paper have supported this viewpoint insofar as they show that, given the presence of a reasonably large number of native Tagalogs in an area, higher provincial levels of ethnic diversity are strongly related to the acquisition of Pilipino among the non-Tagalog populace. Similarly, trends toward a more diversified occupational structure in the country also appear to be linked positively to the spread of Pilipino as the nation's lingua franca. Other structural level variables, such as the proportion of Tagalogs and of non-Christians in a province, also appear to be closely linked to the rate at which Pilipino is acquired as a second language.

One implication of these findings is that, even as early as 1970, Pilipino was alive, well, and showing every sign of continued diffusion throughout the country. Indeed, 41 percent of all non-Tagalogs were able to speak Pilipino by 1970, as compared to only 30 percent in 1960 and 4 percent in 1939 (see Costello 1980-81, Table V). Further, trends toward the increasing intermixture of ethnic groups in the country and towards a more extended division of labor can only help to accelerate the spread of Pilipino. I thus cannot agree with one recent assessment of Philippine 'underdevelopment' (David 1980: 86,87) which deplores the Filipino's 'inability to promote a national language', and which concludes that the lack of a 'truly pervasive national market' in the country means that 'while commercial and business elites transact business in English or Nippongo, Filipino peasants and workers deal with each other in their own regional languages'. Such may have been the case in the Philippines of a generation ago, but increasing differentiation

¹¹ Again, an interaction effect may be present here. Formal schooling may have a positive impact upon the acquisition of Pilipino as a second language in provinces where pressures working toward the adoption of Pilipino are present (e.g. an extended division of labor or a large Tagalog population). In other provinces, however, the effect of this factor may be nil. Lieberman's (1981: 235) analysis of bilingualism patterns in Montreal supports this conclusion:

Critical to this process is the fact that many Montrealers acquire at least a smattering of the second official language through school or elsewhere. Therefore, if they live in a residential area which supports this second language, they will maintain or improve their ability. By contrast, if they live in an area in which their native tongue is more than adequate for communication, then this incipient bilingualism will be supported.

within the country has clearly made the exclusive reliance upon regional languages untenable.¹²

The weak empirical link between provincial educational levels and Pilipino acquisition rates is also worthy of comment. From the standpoint of educators who would wish to facilitate the spread of Pilipino, this finding lends support to the decision, made after the 1970 Census data had been gathered, to make increasing use of Pilipino as a medium of instruction in the schools. Apparently, the mere addition of Pilipino to the curriculum as a special course may not, in and of itself, have much ability to strengthen the use of this language in day-to-day activities.¹³

Finally, results presented in this paper may be of use in projecting the rate at which the acquisition of Pilipino as a second language will spread throughout the country in coming years. An initial step has already been taken in this direction by Gonzalez (1976), using a simple growth formula. Additional work in this area must still be made, however, by incorporating the results of this, or similar regression models, into the provincial-level projections. Based on the findings of this paper, the spread of Pilipino will not be uniform in all provinces of the country, but will be especially rapid in the Central Luzon and Southern Tagalog regions. In regions located farther from Metro Manila, penetration of Pilipino will be greatest in the medium-sized urban centers, given their more complex occupational structures, along with areas in which ethnic heterogeneity, as coupled with some minimum level — say about 10 percent — of native Tagalog speakers, is present. Areas in which few residents profess Tagalog as their mother tongue, with less complex divisions of labor and in which non-Christian populations are large, however, may be expected to lag noticeably with regard to the acquisition of Pilipino. As such, problems of integrating these areas into the larger national culture may be expected to continue for quite some time.

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¹²Professor David's conclusions with regard to the link between the inflow of foreign capital to the country and the use of English in major commercial transactions seems less debatable, though this phenomenon, too, fits easily within the framework adopted in the paper (as viewed, in this case, from the international level).

¹³I recognize that objections may be made, on grounds other than the need to propagate Pilipino, to the use of this language as the medium of instruction (see, for example, Malicsi 1978).

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