

**ISTAMBAY:
A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF YOUTH INACTIVITY
IN THE PHILIPPINES**

By

Clarence M. Batan

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

at

Dalhousie University
Halifax, Nova Scotia
February 2010

© Copyright by Clarence M. Batan, 2010

DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

The undersigned hereby certify that they have read and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance a thesis entitled "ISTAMBAY: A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF YOUTH INACTIVITY IN THE PHILIPPINES" by Clarence M. Batan in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Dated: February 26, 2010

External Examiner

Research Supervisor:

Examining Committee:

Departmental Representative:

DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY

DATE: February 26, 2010

AUTHOR: Clarence M. Batan

TITLE: ISTAMBAY: A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF YOUTH INACTIVITY IN
THE PHILIPPINES

DEPARTMENT OR SCHOOL: Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology

DEGREE: PhD CONVOCATION: May YEAR: 2010

Permission is herewith granted to Dalhousie University to circulate and to have copied for non-commercial purposes, at its discretion, the above title upon the request of individuals or institutions.

Signature of Author

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

The author attests that permission has been obtained for the use of any copyrighted material appearing in the thesis (other than the brief excerpts requiring only proper acknowledgement in scholarly writing), and that all such use is clearly acknowledged.

Dedication

Ito ay buong puso kong inihahandog sa lahat ng mga Pilipinong istambay – kung saan ang makahulugang pagtambay ay nagbigay inspirasyon sa pagsulat ng disertasyong ito.

This is dearly dedicated to all Filipino istambay – whose meaningful experience of inactivity inspired the writing of this dissertation.

Table of Contents

List of Tables	xiv
List of Figures	xvii
Abstract	xviii
Glossary of Selected Filipino Terms Used	xix
Acknowledgments	xx
Chapter I.....	1
<i>Introduction</i>	1
A. The Research Problem	1
B. Research Contexts.....	4
1. Youth Inactivity as a Social Issue	4
2. Study Setting: The Philippines.....	5
a. Background on the Philippines	5
b. Political History	7
c. The Philippine Education and Employment Situation	9
c.1 System of Education and Current State	9
c.2 Employment Situation.....	11
C. Potential Use of Research Findings	13
D. Remaining Chapters	14

Chapter II	15
<i>A Review of Theories, Context and Evidence</i>	<i>15</i>
A. The Filipino Youth Istambay in the Realm of Social Theories	15
1. Theoretical Considerations	17
2. Generation and Youth: From the Classics to Contemporary Theories	17
3. Generational Perspective	19
a. Intergenerational Relations	19
b. Age Inequality and Social Reproduction	23
4. Youth as a Social Category	25
a. Notion of “Youth”	26
b. Coming-of-Age Processes	29
5. Conceptual Implications to the Understanding of the Filipino Istambay	30
a. On Generation	30
b. On Youth	32
c. Theories and the Filipino Istambay	33
6. Considering Mills and Bourdieu	36
a. Fields	37
b. Forms of Capital	38
c. Habitus	40
d. A Theory of Transitional Crises	41

B. Literature Review.....	42
1. Contextual Issues of Concern	43
2. Studies Related to Youth Inactivity	46
a. Western Youth Ethnographies	46
b. Cross-cultural Research	48
c. Philippine-based Studies	50
Chapter III.....	53
<i>Studying the Filipino Istambay: A Mixed Methods Research Process</i>	53
A. Why Mixed Methods Approach	53
B. Brief History of the Istambay Project	55
C. Multiple Data Sources	56
1. Secondary Data	56
a. Young Adult Fertility and Sexuality Study (YAFS) 2002	56
a.1 YAFS 2002’s Research Design.....	57
a.2 Self-reported Main Activity: Key Variable of Interest	58
a.3 Operationalization of Selected Variables.....	59
a.4 UP Population Institute (UPPI) and YAFS 2002 Data	62
b. Songs and Internet Postings	62
2. Primary Data	63
a. Case Studies	63

a.1 Field Sites.....	63
a.2 Field Research Procedures	65
a.3 Funding Support.....	65
a.4 Research Assistants.....	66
a.5 Data-gathering Procedures	66
a.6 National Situation During the Conduct of Research.....	69
b. Istambay Conceptual Survey	69
D. Mixed Methods Research Decisions: Analysis, Integration and Reporting	70
1. Data Analysis.....	70
a. Quantitative.....	71
b. Qualitative.....	72
b.1 Atlas.ti 5 Analytical Procedures	72
b.2 Analytical Techniques	74
2. Data Integration	75
3. Reporting.....	77
E. Ethical considerations	77
1. Local Research Assistants.....	77
2. Informed Consent Process	77
3. Confidentiality	78
4. Subject Participation.....	78

a. Permission at the Community Level	78
b. Government Commentary	79
5. Treatment of Data	79
6. Data Sharing and Validation Workshops.....	79
7. Reciprocity	79
8. Context of Gift-giving.....	80
9. Potential Risks Posed to the Respondents	80
Chapter IV.....	81
<i>Exploring the Filipino Istambay: A Conceptual Undertaking ...</i>	<i>81</i>
A. Etymology and Local Definitions of Istambay	82
B. Who Are the Filipino Istambay	83
1. Istambay Perceptual Survey Results	83
2. Istambay and the Variable of Main In/Activity in YAFS 2002.....	88
a. Social Profiles of Self-reported Main Activities of Filipino Youth.....	89
b. Potential Istambay.....	92
3. The Social Construction of Istambay: Music and Lyrics of Inactivity in the Philippines.....	98
a. Capturing Istambay through Music: Space and Sounds of Tensions.....	100
b. Unearthing Social Structures in Istambay Lyrics	103
c. Istambays' Voices	106

d. Harping Note with YAFS 2002	108
4. Locating Istambay in the Field: Experiences of Inactivity from the Ground .	109
a. Typology of Youth Respondents Using YAFS 2002 Self-Reported Main Activity Categories	110
b. Istambay Experiences Along the Education-Work Nexus.....	111
c. Istambay and Socially-Problematized Behaviours: Exposure, Gender and Context.....	119
d. Inactivity of Male Youth Respondents: Constituting the Istambay Phenomenon.....	123
C. Towards a Sociological Understanding of the Filipino Istambay	124
1. Problematic Istambay.....	125
2. Istambay Problematique.....	126
3. And the Sociology of Filipino Istambay Begins.....	128
Chapter V	129
<i>The Istambay Problematic and Problematique: Dispositions and Life Vignettes</i>	<i>129</i>
A. Individual Dispositions: Findings from YAFS 2002	129
1. Making Sense of Habitus, Social Fields and Capitals from YAFS 2002	129
a. Familial Context.....	130
b. Education-peer Realm.....	133
c. Disposition towards Work.....	139
d. The Realm of Socially-problematized Behaviours.....	145
d.1 Dependent Variables: Extent of Smoking and Drinking	146

d.2 Independent Variables: Possible Factors Influencing Smoking and Drinking	146
d.3 Multinomial Logistic Regression Analysis.....	150
B. Living by Standing-By: Life Vignettes of 12 Youth.....	158
1. Student: Glefer	159
2. Paid Workers: Ruben and Manolet.....	161
3. Homemakers: Lanie, Carol, Jacquelyn and Shirley.....	166
4. Unemployed: Chris and Ryan.....	176
5. No Main Activity: Alex and JR	180
6. Unpaid Family Worker: Edgar.....	185
Chapter VI.....	188
<i>The Istambay Phenomenon: Analysis of Contexts and Crises</i> ...	188
A. Imagining the Istambay Phenomenon	188
B. A Typology of Istambay Experiences by Vulnerability.....	190
C. The Problematic Istambay: Self, Dispositions and the Crisis of Identity	194
1. Familial Context.....	196
2. Education and Work Contexts	203
3. Peer-relations and Socially-problematized Behaviours	211
4. Future Aspirations: Optimism, Crises and the Familial-faith Dynamic	222

D. Istambay Problematique: Youth Transition Crises in the Philippines	235
1. Istambay and Transition Crises.....	236
a. Poverty of Families	240
b. Institutionalized Cultural Capital Crisis.....	245
c. Social Mobility Crisis	254
2. Negotiated Process of Transition: Protection versus Disconnection	257
a. Filipino Values and the Protected Istambays	258
b. Disconnected Filipino youth.....	261
3. Reversing Istambay Status: Spaces of Hope or Social Suffering	265
a. Trabaho and Transition Crises	267
b. Social Sufferings of Istambays	272
Chapter VII	275
<i>Discussion</i>	275
A. Summary and Research Insights.....	275
B. Implications	283
Bibliography	289
Appendices.....	309
A. Online Visual Representations of Istambay.....	309
B. Istambay Perceptual Survey Questionnaire.....	312
C. Case Study Interview Schedules	313

C.1 Para sa kabataan. <i>For youth respondents</i>	313
C.2 Para sa mga magulang. <i>For PARENT respondents</i>	316
C.3 Para sa mga guro. <i>For teacher respondents</i>	320
D. Focus Group Theme Guide	324
E. Sample Consent Form for Interviews.....	325
F. Sample Consent Form for Focus Groups.....	328
G. Confidentiality Form Between the Principal Investigator and Research Assistant	331

List of Tables

Table 1: Trends of Selected Labour Force Indicators: Philippines, 1997–2002.....	12
Table 2: Selected Social Theories on “Generation” and “Youth”: Implication to Understanding the Filipino Istambay.....	34
Table 3: YAFS 2002 Research Design.....	57
Table 4: List of YAFS 2002 Variables Selected for this Study.....	60
Table 5: Distribution of Respondents by Method of Data Collection.....	67
Table 6: Empirical Framework of Istambay Research.....	71
Table 7 - Images of Istambay by Themes.....	85
Table 8: Knowledge of Istambay.....	86
Table 9: Istambay Descriptions by Age groups.....	87
Table 10: Self-reported Youth Main Activities (YAFS 2002).....	89
Table 11: Profiles of Self-reported Youth Main Activity by Selected Indicators (%).....	90
Table 12: Profiles of Self-reported Youth Main Activities by Selected Education Indicators (%) (YAFS 2002).....	91
Table 13: Summary Information of Selected Filipino Songs Entitled "Istambay".....	99
Table 14: Socially-Problematized Behaviours in Selected Istambay Songs.....	102

Table 15: Storyline Matrix of Selected Istambay Songs by Selected Indicators	103
Table 16: Count and Percentage of Coded Themes Emerging From Istambay Songs...	107
Table 17: Typology of Youth Case Study Respondents Using YAFS' Main Activity Categories	111
Table 18: Life History Matrix of Youth Respondents' Educational Experiences.....	112
Table 19: Life History Matrix of Youth Respondents' Work Experiences.....	115
Table 20: Distribution of Quotations Relating Istambay with Socially-Problematized Behaviours	119
Table 21: Approval of First Person Who Raised Youth Respondents (%).....	132
Table 22: Reasons for Leaving School (%)	134
Table 23: Selected Educational Experiences (%)	135
Table 24: Self-assessed of English Fluency (cultural capital indicators) (%)	136
Table 25: Selected Peer-relations Indicators (%).....	137
Table 26: Selected Work Indicators (%).....	140
Table 27: Place of Work (%)	143
Table 28: First Job Experience: Reasons for Working (%)	143
Table 29: Home Conditions That Prompted Respondents to Work (%)	144
Table 30: Selected Indicators by Levels of Engagement in Smoking (%)	148
Table 31: Selected Indicators by Levels of Engagement in Drinking (%)	149

Table 32: Pearson’s Correlations among Selected Indicators Used in Multinomial Logistic Regression.....	152
Table 33: Multinomial Regression Analyses of Engagements in Smoking, Transient Smoker (TS) and Current Smoker (CS) Versus Non-smoker (NS).....	153
Table 34: Multinomial Regression Analyses of Engagements in Drinking, Transient Drinker (TD) and Current Drinker (CD) versus Non-drinker (ND).....	156
Table 35: Typology of Youth Respondents by Levels of Vulnerability.....	192
Table 36: Selected Familial Disposition Descriptors.....	196
Table 37: Selected Educational Disposition Descriptors.....	204
Table 38: Life Trajectory Nexus: Educational and Occupational Aspirations versus Actual Work Experiences	207
Table 39: Peer Relations, Smoking and Drinking Behaviours	212
Table 40: Critical Family Events, Religious Involvement, and Future Aspirations	225
Table 41: Selected Quality of Life Indicators Philippines 2000 versus 2007.....	242
Table 42: Youth Respondents and Mothers' Education	247

List of Figures

Figure 1: Map of the Philippines	6
Figure 2: Istambay Conceptual Framework.....	41
Figure 3: Literature Review Conceptual Map	42
Figure 4: Map of Luzon: Case Study Locations	64
Figure 5: Respondents' Engagement in Smoking by Self-reported Main Activities.....	151
Figure 6: Respondents' Engagement in Drinking by Self-reported Main Activities	151
Figure 7: A Conceptual Scheme of Istambay Study Analysis	235
Figure 8: Istambays' Negotiated Transition Crises: A Conceptual Map	239
Figure 9: Reversing Istambay Status: A Conceptual Scheme	266

Abstract

This dissertation explores the life experiences of a particular group of young people in the Philippines known as the “istambay”, a Filipino term derived from the English phrase “on standby”. The study examines the concept of istambay and the dynamics of inactivity in the lives of selected Filipino youth. It illustrates the habitus, life contexts, and the web of crises that these youth negotiate within the protective realms of family and religion, and the dismal labour conditions in the country. Methodologically, the study utilizes a mixed methods approach that includes both qualitative and quantitative aspects. Primary qualitative data are derived from case studies, songs, field notes, and ethnographic observations. Secondary quantitative analyses are conducted using the Young Adult Fertility and Sexuality Study (YAFS) 2002 and a perceptual survey.

The study is theoretically oriented around Mills’ sociological imagination and Bourdieu’s theory of practice. It illustrates that the istambay phenomenon is more than a personal trouble (problematic istambay). It is a public issue (istambay problematique). The study also shows the varying levels of vulnerability experienced by different types of istambay. Research findings reveal the istambay phenomenon is a manifestation of the interrelated problems in the educational system and the labour market of the Philippines. The consequence of inactivity among these istambays is found to be mitigated by the culture of care provided by Filipino families combined with solace derived from the church. However, istambays are also found to express disconnection from the state because of the government’s inability to provide employment for them, resulting in their quest for employment “abroad” (overseas) as an alternative. Youth inactivity, although moderated by a familial-faith dynamic, highlights how complex forms of inequalities in the Philippines marginalize the istambays from gaining legitimate active status in Philippine society.

Glossary of Selected Filipino Terms Used

Filipino	English
abroad	overseas employment
barangay	village
barkada	friends
Diyos	God
henerasyon	generation
hirap	poverty; struggle
kabataan	youth
kanto	street corner
kinabukasan	future
kuwento	story
kuwentuhan	sharing of stories
nanay	mother
pamilya	family
pagmamalasakit	culture of care
pangarap	dream
sari-sari stores	convenient stores
tambayan	public spaces where istambays usually hang-out like street corners, basketball courts, sari-sari stores
trabaho	work, job or employment

Acknowledgments

Over the past seven years of my PhD graduate training at Dalhousie University, I have known people of various colours, beliefs and dispositions, who have shaped and inspired my journey towards the completion of my degree. This dissertation is a by-product of these meaningful intersections, and I am thankful to have been given the opportunity to know and work with many people and organizations.

At Dalhousie University (DAL), I would like to sincerely thank the faculty and staff of the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology (SOSA), particularly, Dr. Victor Thiessen, my dear supervisor, who patiently introduced me to the logic and importance of quantitative research, and Bourdieu's works. He allowed me to grow not only as a "sociologist", but more importantly, as a "person". Victor not only shared his expertise, he also imparted multiple stories about his failures and victories, and his family – Barb Cottrell, his wife, with whom I spent considerable time sharing my dreams and anxieties in life, and who edited most of my work; Meta Thiessen, Victor's courageous mother, whose personal story of determination, struggle and love taught me how to keep up the "faith"; and all of Victor's children, grandchildren, and friends, who I met over the numerous occasions of eating special free dinners at his lovely home.

Special thanks to the members of my examining committee: Dr. E. Dianne Looker, who I first met at Brisbane, Australia, and since, has supported my graduate studies in various capacities: as one of my examiners for my comprehensive exams, as a research assistant for her projects, and as a reader of this thesis; Dr. Howard Ramos, thesis reader, and Dr. Elizabeth Fitting, our departmental representative, who offered additional insights to improve this thesis; Dr. William Currie, who served as chair of the defence panel; and Dr. James Côté, my external examiner from the University of Western Ontario, who willingly shared his expertise in assessing the merits and limitations of this istambay thesis.

Also, I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Richard Apostle, who was my initial supervisor for my first two years at DAL; and to the following faculty members with whom I took graduate courses: Dr. Pauline Gardiner-Barber, Dr. Chris Murphy, Dr. Lindsay Dubois, and Dr. Jennifer Jarman. There were also other SOSA faculty members who shared considerable time, resources, and lots of laughter with me. They made my graduate experience more memorable: Dr. Emma Whalen, Dr. Brian Noble, Dr. Jim Stolzman, Dr. Jerry Barkow, Dr. Peter Butler, Dr. Donald Clairmont, Dr. Graham Morgan, Dr. Liesl Gambold, Dr. Yoko Yoshida, Dr. Fiona Martin, Dr. Jean-Sebastian Guy and his wife, Dr. Michelle Lee Guy, Dr. Brenda Beagan (who shared a licensed copy of Atlas.ti software program with me), and Dr. Robin Oakley, whose care and friendship I will always cherish.

My deepest gratitude also goes to my Mama Mary Watts, and Lori Vaughan – two special persons in our department who over the years, helped me navigate the world of graduate work in our department; I will never forget the kindness, care and love you both shared with me. Also, thank you to Leola Lefebvre, our new administrative secretary, and

Rachel Fox, our new undergraduate/graduate administrative assistant, for facilitating my thesis defence. My sincerest thanks also to the administration and staff of the Faculty of Graduate Studies, especially to Dean Carolyn Watters, Associate Dean J, Michael Lee, Kathy Drew and Stephanie Theriault, for providing assistance in this entire process of thesis defence.

My graduate student life at DAL was coloured by moments of struggles (especially with learning how to write North American English) as well as lots of sweetness (from eating all kinds of fast food; from drinking Tim Hortons coffee and donuts; and from café and bar hopping, which made me appreciate the underlying power that alcoholic drinks bring into academic discussions). I shared these moments with friends who taught me hands-on Canadian life, living and skating: Ian Shelton, Marian Sheratt, Julie Hudson, Ellen Sweeney (her mom, Reeta), Kerry Chambers, Christina Holmes, Fiona McDonald, Matthew Theoret, and Dr. Carol and Dr. Peter Camfield.

A special sense of gratitude goes to Margaret Dechman, who has been one true, loving and caring friend. Thank you for teaching me all that you know about social statistics and your views about doing a special kind of sociology that cares for humanity. You are one of the reasons why I kept on believing that I, too, would acquire my *PhD with a firm resolve to social relevance and purpose* – the kind of sociology we wanted to practice. My learnings with you will always be cherished!

I am also thankful to Dr. Raewyn Bassett, who taught me the “tricks of doing qualitative research”. Raewyn has been the inspiration behind my accumulated skill in thinking, analyzing and writing about qualitative data. She patiently trained me over the past three years, and with her example, I was encouraged to practice my sociology without losing my creativity. In all our conversations, you allowed me to be “what I wanted to be”, without the fear of losing my academic self to the demands of structures and standards. As a result, I have learned that the academic enterprise should be able to respond to and respect diverse ideas, and that I should not fear taking risks but pursue inventiveness. This is a vision of sociological practice, which I learned from you that I will never forget.

I also considered my two-year teaching experience at DAL as most important in my development as a teacher of Sociology. This was made possible through a teaching and learning certification program given by the Centre for Learning and Teaching (CLT) through the leadership of Dr. Lynn Taylor, and staff members, Dr. Suzanne Sheffield and Dr. Carol O’Neil. Through the CLT, I was able to design two new courses for the Faculty of Social Sciences and SOSA. These were *Culture, Society and International Students*, which was evaluated and approved by Dr. Marian Binkley and Dr. David Schoeder; and *Youth and Society: International Perspectives*, which I first co-designed with Victor. I, too, learned managing my courses online through the mentorship of my friend, Adrienne Sehatzadeh. Over these years, the International Students Exchange and Services (ISES) has also supported me in various ways through its present and past staff, especially, Cecille Sepidoza, Margaret Wood, and Teresa Inacio. In addition, I worked on some research projects in the Atlantic Research Data Centre (ARDC) with the assistance of Arden Bell and Heather Hobson. To all of you, thank you for the trust and friendship.

I also had the privilege of knowing fellow Filipino scholars who made me feel less “homesick” while studying at Dalhousie, and some of them became my friends – Merl Andalecio, Jay Batongbacal, Filipina Gojar, Art Abu, Gloria Diaz, Allen Toribio, Jeff Araula, Iris Baguilat, Precious Samonte, Anna Placida, Alonette Ragodo-Perez, Kathleen “Mimoy” Silvano, Lowell Bautista, and Bob Capistrano. Thank you for all the meaningful conversations about the future of our country.

Outside Dalhousie, my Haligonian experience was made more meaningful and wonderful through the kindness of fellow Filipinos. For a number of years (2002-2007), I enjoyed volunteering as a choir member of Filipino Canadian Heritage Society (FCHS), singing in elderly homes, and participating in different cultural activities. I also befriended some members of the Filipino Association of Nova Scotia (FANS), and other old and new Filipino migrants (and their Canadian partners, and friends) who made Nova Scotia their second home. With them, I never felt alone as I have found an extended set of families whose love, care and friendship, I will forever treasure. Specifically, I would like to express special gratitude to: Mama Nellie Sarkar (+); Mommy Felisa de los Santos and Nanay Julieta; Tita Tess Buenaventura; Mommy Linda Hamilton; Mommy Fely Ampalid; Mommy Connie Trellier-Duncan; Mommy Helen and Kuya Danny Cruz; Tita Anna Fritz-Clarke; Tita Beth Eustaquio and Kuya Al Domondon; Tita Pinky and Tod Foster; Tita Leni Vanderjagt; Tita Juliet and Trevor McPhee; Scarlet and Jake Salcedo; Genevieve and Rey dela Cruz; Kuya Danny Hernandez and family; Tito Rudy and Tita Maripaz Miguel; Kuya Jimmy Guerrero and family; Kuya Dennis and Grace Mercado, Tita Cynthia Reyes and family, and Kuya Jimmy and Ate Kristine Sy.

I also was showered by the friendship of young Filipino migrants who inspired me to continue my interest in youth sociology: Sheena Francisco, Jose Pil, Carlo Bernardo, Chiqui Reyes, Eloisa Guerrero, Candy Jabil, and Joanne Bernardo, who became a “trusted friend” in these last few years of my PhD studies. To Joanne, I thank you for the all the selfless sharing of your time and for tolerating my kind of person. And to my new found Turkish friends, Funda and Kerem Epozuglu, thanks for sharing your culture and for making my last few months as a student in Halifax more meaningful.

The social project of making Halifax my “second home” came easy because I was honoured by the generosity and openness of fellow Filipinos who welcomed me at their respective homes.

To Mommy Gloria Sangalang and Papa Virgilio, thank you for sharing your Winwick mansion during the first two years for my PhD work. Not only did I enjoy your company, I also was privileged to have known the beautiful persons making up your family, especially Nanay Nora Sangalang; Nanay Auring Salas; Tita Fe Sangalang; Nanay Caring and Uncle Bob Nishikawa; and your children and grandchildren.

To Mommy Cecille Sepidoza and family, whose Stratford home had been the seat of wonderful memories and my first learnings about Haligonian life. Thank you Mom Ces for taking good care of me like one of your own children. Like a “stage mom”, you made

my world inside and outside Dalhousie an interesting place to exhibit my talent and creativity. You have been a source of strength in both the happy and struggling moments of my life in Halifax, and I know, just like a “true Mom”, you have never lost faith in me. For this, I am greatly indebted.

To my dearest friends, Rocy Tendencia and Mark Meaney, thank you for offering your lovely Walter Havill home during the most significant moment of my PhD journey – the writing of this dissertation. Every moment I spent at your place was solace; every conversation with the both of you was a gift; and every food that we shared together, nourished my spirit and soul. Thank you for the kind persons that you have become. Thank you for the privilege of knowing your parents: Papa Ronnie and Mama Cynthia Tendencia; and Dad Louis and Mom Marie Meaney; and the rest of your family. Most importantly, thank you for trusting me to be a godparent to your son, Luke Rizal. With this, I will forever be part of your family.

Also, my spiritual life in Halifax had been nurtured by my visits at the churches of Saint Mary’s Basilica; Saint Thomas Aquinas and Canadian Martyrs; Saint Agnes; and the Newman Centre at Dalhousie. There were times that I, also participated in other Christian churches, and other religious rituals where I found new friends. Thus, I thank all the unnamed clergy, parishioners, and volunteers, who shared with me a conversation or two about spirituality. These dialogues of faith had kept me sane, especially during those disappointing moments when I felt lost and alone. This faith experience encouraged me to keep going with the PhD journey until I reached this sweet moment of fulfilment.

Over the years, I was also privileged to experience various places (e.g., California, New York, Chicago, Toronto, Montreal, Alberta, Calgary, and London) where I was accommodated by friends and distant relatives: Robert and Abbie Ynares; Tita Tess and Tita Vicky Ojeda; Tita Zennette Marin; Maàm Glicería Baldres; Kite Mendoza, family and barkada; Tita Helen Claros and family; Ninong Boy and Zenaida Morales; the family of JP Pil; Lloyd and Cherrie Reyes; and Yolly and Michael Ingram-Scott and family. Thank you all for allowing me to experience various “cultures” by participating in your everyday worlds.

I have not stopped smiling since I arrived in Canada in 2002 because of the benefits I have enjoyed from scholarship programs as well as research and teaching positions. From 2002-2004, I was one of the first Filipino recipients of the *Government of Canada Awards* (GCA), which at that time, was managed by the International Council for Canadian Studies (ICCS). Then, from 2004-2006, through the recommendation of the SOSA department, I was granted the *Faculty of Graduate Studies (FGS)* scholarship. During field work, my research was funded by the International Development Research Council (IDRC) through the IDRC Doctoral Research Award (IDRA) program. While at Dalhousie, I was a teaching assistant to Dr. Peter Butler and for a number of years, to Dr. Robin Oakley’s large SOSA 1000 class. Dr. Victor Thiessen and Dr. Dianne Looker also made me a “research assistant” for their numerous projects. Then, from 2007-2009, the SOSA department appointed me as “lecturer” in a number of classes that further developed my teaching abilities. Summing-up all these financial supports gave me an

opportunity to have the first taste of “quality life” to which I have always aspired for my family to experience. I thank Canada, particularly, Dalhousie University and the Haligonian people for this “privilege of education”, which I will use a tool to combat the problems and tensions that my future life may offer.

My international exposure with youth sociologists also has been a major driving force in completing this thesis. Being the current website editor of the *Internation Bulletin for Your Research* (IBYR) since 2006, and being one of the board of directors of the Research Committee 34 - Sociology of Youth under the International Sociological Association (ISA), this network kept me abreast of the latest research developments in the field of sociology of youth. I will always be thankful for all of these unnamed youth experts, whose body of works had become a source of inspiration.

While I enjoyed the privilege of fully immersing with the Canadian academic and social cultures, the writing of this istambay thesis was made more meaningful due to the assistance, care and love of the following organizations, institutions, and people in the Philippines.

First, I thank the University of Santo Tomas (UST) where I was affiliated as a tenured faculty member and research associate. UST allowed me to be on “official study leave with pay” while doing graduate studies. Particularly, I would like to thank the previous and present officials of our university: Fr. Tamerlane Lana, O.P., Father Ernesto Arceo, O.P., Fr. Rolando Dela Rosa, O.P., Fr. Melchor Saria, O.P., Fr. Antonio Aureada, O.P., Dr. Armando de Jesus, Dr. Claire Carillo, Dr. Belen Tangco, Dr. Ernesto Gonzales, Dr. Nancy Eleria, and Dr. Alvin Ang. Also, I would like to express gratitude to the support of various UST departments, particularly the Faculty of Arts and Letters, the Social Research Center, Educational Technology Center, Office of Academic Affairs; and university friends who continued to have faith that I will complete my studies: Mama Evelyn Songco, Mama Eng Castro, Kuya Jimmy Payot, Sir Bong Doma, Ma’am Maricar Santos, Ate Del Jimenez, and Sr. Teresa Choi, FMA, who despite being in Korea and Mongolia as a missionary, had always shown support through inspiring emails and prayers.

Second, my network outside UST also played a positive role in shaping this istambay thesis into a full research project. In the University of the Philippines, I sincerely thank Dr. Sylvia Guerrero of the UP Center for Women’s Studies; Dr. Nanette Dungo, who was formerly with the Department of Sociology; the staff of the Philippine Social Science Council (PSSC); the Philippine Sociological Society (PSS); and Kuya Henry Tenedero of the Philippine Center for Learning and Teaching Styles (PCLTS).

Most especially, I am thankful for the kindness of the people at the UP Population Institute (UPPI) with whom I spent a number of months as a research affiliate. Thank you for sharing the data sets of the *Young Adult Fertility and Sexuality Study* (YAFS), and for making my stay in your organization a great learning experience. Thank you – Dr. Corazon Raymundo, Dr. Nimfa Ogena, Dr. Grace Cruz, Dr. Zelda Zablan, Maria Paz

Marquez, Claire Berja, Elma Laguna, Connille Abellera, and the UPPI staff, Ryan T. Descallar, Normita T. Galban, Ernesto N. Lazaro, Imelda R. Reyes, and Renea S. Santos.

Third, I thank the communities of my two case study sites, Barangay Kasile, Talim Island, Binangonan, Rizal, and Barangay 342, Santa Cruz, Manila. Your local leaders, elders and youth have embraced this research project with full cooperation. During field work, I felt that I was one with your communities. Your openness and highly- spirited participation made all the activities and projects I implemented in your communities a resounding success. My deepest sense of respect and gratitude goes to all my respondents who expressed their opinions on various social problems about Filipino youth. Thank you for allowing me to reconstruct and tell your stories in a way that I hope captured the underlying social meanings of our Filipino social life.

Thank you to all my teacher respondents: Hermosa Reyes, Vivian Celestra, Edith Año, Mateo Valdez, Teodorica Belison, Lourdes Doma, Manuel Cueto, Rosemary Magallanes, Fidela Udani, and Rebecca Dumantay. Also, I would like to thank the following mother respondents: Iluminada Paralejas, Marcela Ceremonia, Hermogena Discutido, Leonida Sanga, Eladia Dedomo, Glecy Sabado, Liwayway Lising, Flora Delizo, Elsa Delizo, Yolly Comia, and Umeng Navarro.

Special thanks to all youth who joined the focus groups: Zenaida Reyes, Dolorita Busaco, Bensaib Fabio, April Cruz, Rachel Ann Tolentino, Marcus Insenado, Ferdinand Sabado, Marriane Orquiza, Joeferson Datile, Myrna Ceremonia, Shirley Daita, Marivic Ceremonia, Rhea Gondra, Julio Paralejas, Marlon Celestra, Ruben Dedomo, Maria Theresa Celestra, Charmaine Paralejas, Gino Dedomo, Caidic Ceremonia, Melvin Discutido, and Sheryll Celestra.

Also, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my youth respondents whose interviews, although not reported in this thesis, have deeply touched my views about Filipino youth: Joven Mendoza; Chito Ceremonia and his wife, Ana; Myrna Ceremonia, and his husband, Bonifacio, Jr.; Gladyz Navarro; Floricar Delizo; Zenaida Reyes; Kazel Hay Sabile, Randy Crisostomo, and Joel Santos.

Most especially, thank you to the twelve youth respondents whose life histories were highlighted in this istambay thesis: Alex Paralejas, Edgar Maestrado, Lanie Celestra, Chris Sanga, Carol Sanga, Ryan Daita, Ruben Dedomo, Glefer Sabado, Shirley Lising, JR Delizo, Jr., Manolet Comia, and Jacquelyn Navarro.

Fourth, to all my research assistants, thank you so much for giving me the opportunity to work and learn with you. Doing field work had been more interesting, enjoyable and fruitful due the commitment, hardwork and patience that all of you had endured from the first orientation meeting to data validation workshop to community presentations. Over the years, I have come to cherish not only our research experiences together but also our friendship. I will never forget those “happy research moments” that brought us closer together. Thank you: Allan Ong, Shirley Lising, Ryan Daita, Carol Sanga, Roxanne

Almario, and also, to my UST sociology students, Sharon Kholoma and Joyeth Santos, who during my field work also conducted research in Talim Island.

Fifth, I would like to thank a very dear friend, Jojo S. Aquino, who always amazed me with how he could efficiently manage, fulfil and deliver without hesitation, the long list of favours I asked from him over these past seven years. Your actions had given the truest meaning to the term “friendship”. Thank you Jojo for all the support and care you never hesitated to share with me. Because of this, I will forever be grateful!

Sixth, to my family, who were the source of my life and who I have shared the victories of my struggles – I left our home and our country to fulfil an educational dream that is beyond what was expected of us, Filipino poor. The persisting economic and social tensions that we all endured while I was away, was my impetus for believing that this time, I will return home not “sick”, but rather, “well and successful” for finally fulfilling a “family project”, for finally finishing the “PhD race”. I have always valued formal education not for my own well-being but as a means to achieve “quality life” for our family’s future.

Thank you to all the loving persons of my extended-family: Tito Boy, Tito Benjie, Tito Pol, Tita Aida, Mommy Margie at Tito Carlos, Tita Venice at Tito Romano; and to my cousins Kuya Ronnie, Joy-joy, Lovely, Carlo, Mina, Iris, Patrick, Cay-cay; and Melvin Anore, who had been part of our family, even if we are not related by blood.

Thank you to my dearest parents, Daddy Israel, and MamaVolet; my only brother, Kuya Sherwin, and my nephew, John Mircko.

My PhD is your PhD, too! Together, let us continue to grow as a family with a doctorate in humanity, as we all strive to become “better” persons who this world deserves.

Seventh, and foremost, I lift up the spirit of this istambay thesis to a Supreme Being whose grace, wisdom and creativity guided the writing of this project. Being away from the Philippines, I have come to know You in various forms, and I have come to experience You in a wide array of religious rituals. And most importantly, I came to see Your manifestations in the many people who intersected my life over these past few years. Indeed, I have seen Your image in various persons whose deep sense of spirituality is not tainted by any colour, race, gender, religion, or political ideology.

Maraming salamat po Poong Bathala! (*Thank you Great Spirit!*)

Chapter I

Introduction

A. The Research Problem

This dissertation explores the life experiences of a particular group of young people in the Philippines known as the “istambay”. This is a Filipino term derived from the English phrase “on standby”, which generally refers to local bystanders (Almario, 2001; Vicassans's Pilipino-English Dictionary (Abridged Edition), 2006). Films (e.g., Cabreira, 1979; Joseph Ejercito Productions, 1963) and songs (e.g., Bartolome, 1992; Camo, 1997; Enchi, 2005) commonly portray them as those who are neither in school nor working. A stereotypical istambay is usually male, a school drop-out, unemployed, lazy and someone who spends considerable time with friends. The istambay’s inactivity is believed to be associated with his propensity for engaging in socially-problematized behaviours such as smoking, drinking, drug abuse and violence. Unlike gangs, they are more loosely organized but they usually converge in public spaces called “tambayan” like street corners, basketball courts or in any open area where they can hang out. They share the common experience of having no defined role or status because of their inactivity. The istambay phenomenon typically involves youth but also extends to those older persons who over time are not able to outgrow this state of inactivity.

The stereotypical image of the istambay, aside from being gendered, appears to be perceived more as an individual problem than a social issue. This is rooted in an understanding that being an istambay is due to personal deficiencies (e.g., having low self-esteem, lack of interest in studying, laziness) rather than to external social factors that may have caused their inactivity. Thus, the istambays are taken for granted but they are arguably visible in the realm of Filipino public perception.

The istambay term has been popularized in various popular media as early as the 1960s in the film entitled, *Istambay* (1963), which featured the actor-turned-President of the Philippines, Joseph Ejercito Estrada. The term is also used as a by-line in songs, Internet

videos and statement shirts (see Appendix A). The visibility of istambay in various tambayans (public spaces) is also obvious around the country. However, this perceptual awareness of the existence of the istambay does not necessarily mean that their voices are heard or represented in the policy-making of government.

The issue of youth inactivity has gained attention around the world because of its relative impact on issues of transition into adulthood. Filipino youth istambay seem to share the experiences of fellow inactive youth worldwide which have been given many names, such as “NEET” – “Not in Employment, Education and Training” (Bynner & Parsons, 2002; Coles et al., 2002), “status zero” (Williamson, 1997), “idle youth” (Edelman, Holzer, & Offner, 2006; Ericta, 2003), the “economically inactive” (Franzén & Kassman, 2005; International Labour Organization, 2006), the “hikikomori” (Furlong, 2008) in Japan. However, the extent of similarities and differences between the Filipino istambay and their counterparts around the world warrants more investigation.

This dissertation explores how the istambay youth phenomenon is possible in the Philippines. It focuses on the dynamics of the lives of Filipino youth istambay. It explores the concept of istambay, and the dynamics of inactivity in the lives of selected Filipino youth. It examines the habitus, life contexts, and the web of crises that these youth navigate within the protective realms of family and faith, and the dismal labour conditions of the country. It investigates how inactivity impacts transition into adulthood. The study focuses on Filipino youth growing-up in the historical period during the late 1990s to 2000s, when the Philippines experienced a series of political upheavals that generated socio-economic repercussions on the local labour market.

My initial hypothesis, which is examined in this study, is that, the istambay phenomenon is possible in the Philippines because of two interrelated factors: (a) the Filipino’s culture of care and nurturance intertwined with the culture of obligation and reciprocity among family members; and (b) the persisting religious Christian, mainly Catholic, ethics of sharing.

Key to understanding the istambay phenomenon is the fact that the Philippines is not a welfare state. As a result, families bear the brunt of the unemployment problem, which in some countries, would be borne by the state. This lack of public accountability of the Philippine government, in issues such as youth unemployment drives the family to protect their youth from the consequences of inactivity by providing them a “home”, financial, social and other means of support needed for the istambay’s well-being. It is in this condition that the culture of care and nurturance among family members becomes more salient and is practiced in varying degrees and strategies. Cultural dynamics are an important ingredient in developing a “hopeful” istambay disposition (*habitus*), which is implicated within the Filipino family’s cultural expectations of obligation and reciprocity.

This family dynamic of care, nurturance, obligation and reciprocity in the lives of the young Filipino istambay is fundamentally intertwined with another important dimension of their life, which is religion, predominantly Roman Catholic. The religious orientation of the istambay parallels this family dynamic in terms of an *ethic of sharing* based on the Christian teachings on love, care and nurturance. Love, care and nurturance are expected to be shared and given to those who are in need, reflecting the Christian ideal. This religious faith is also bounded by the demands of obligation and reciprocity among family members as a fulfilment of God’s commandments such as “Do(ing) to others what you would have them do to you” (Matthew 7:4). This familial-faith dynamic makes the lives of those protecting the istambay (like the parents) experience a tension that may be likened to pulling a tightrope between protection and dependence.

The general questions that guided this inquiry were the following:

1. What is “istambay”?
2. Who are the Filipino istambays?
3. When inactivity is experienced, what factors allow them to “get by” in their everyday lives?
4. What do istambays aspire and hope for in the future?
5. During inactivity, what impact do family and religion have on the well being of the istambay?

B. Research Contexts

1. Youth Inactivity as a Social Issue

In a capitalist world, youth inactivity could be better understood in relation to the expectations and demands of the production process. For contemporary youth, their life trajectories seem to follow an economic script that charts their relative difficulties in securing “a decent means of livelihood”. This directs our attention to the demands of successful youth transition in which employment is considered a fundamental prerequisite. In most societies, the expectation is for young people to become financially independent, which is “perhaps the most important qualifier of adulthood” (Oinonen, 2003: 125).

In developing societies such as the Philippines, the lack of viable employment (Ericta, 2003; Philippine Commission on Population, 2003) has substantial impact on the Filipino youth’s views and choices relating to other transitional issues such as marriage, family formation, parental home-leaving and independent living (Raymundo & Cruz, 2004; Raymundo, Xenos, & Domingo, 1999; Xenos, 2001; Xenos et al., 2001). I contend that one piece of evidence of the current labour market condition’s adverse impact on young people’s lives in the Philippines is the rising proportion of what the Philippine government describes as youth who are “neither studying nor working”, which is categorized as “idle youth” (Ericta, 2003; Philippine Commission on Population, 2003). While I have strong reservations in categorizing these youth as “idle”, this group closely resembles the Filipino youth *istambay* of this study.

Thus, the Filipino *istambay* could be seen as straddling between the interacting dynamics of the perceived productive expectations and roles in Philippine society, and the limited opportunities that this society offers. This observation is validated by international reports (International Labour Organization, 2001, 2006; United Nations, 2004, 2005, 2007) indicating that young people around the world are expected to experience increased difficulties in the realm of employment.

For instance, the International Labour Organization's (ILO) 2006 report draws attention to the possible consequences of youth labour market vulnerability. In this report, the ILO identifies how youth inactivity is situated as a distinct source of vulnerability from the issues of unemployment and employment. It indicates that one of the consequences of labour market vulnerability is youth inactivity, which is "not only a waste of potential but also a risk to societies" (International Labour Organization, 2006: 34), especially in poor countries. In addition, this ILO report recognizes the need to gather more information on the causes of inactivity so that sound analysis of relevant data may inform the design of youth programs and policies (International Labour Organization, 2006: 34).

In this regard, this research envisions contributing to this growing discourse on youth inactivity through an analysis of the istambay phenomenon in the Philippines.

2. Study Setting: The Philippines

In order to grasp the socio-historical forces that might have influenced and shaped the istambay phenomenon, this section offers the following: (a) a general background about the Philippines; (b) its political history; and (c) a description of Philippine education and employment situation.

a. Background on the Philippines

The Philippines is located in Southeast Asia. It is an archipelago comprising a chain of some 7,107 islands stretching over a length of 1,150 miles on the western side of the Pacific Ocean with a total land area of 118,850 square miles diffused over some 500 square miles of ocean waters. Its largest islands, Luzon in the north, followed by Mindanao in the south together represent about two-thirds of the total land area of the country. Its middle portion consists of a diffusion of islands, the Visayas which make up the third major region of the country (Sutaria, 1992). Manila, the capital city, is located on the island of Luzon. (See Figure 1)

Figure 1: Map of the Philippines



Online source: <http://www.mapsorama.com/maps/asia/Philippines/PhilippinesPhysical.png>

There are some 111 linguistic, cultural and racial groups in the Philippines speaking a total of about 87 languages, 11 of which are spoken by a large portion of the total population. While the Philippines has a national language, Filipino (largely based on Tagalog), which is predominantly spoken in Metro Manila, English remains the other language that is being used as a medium of instruction and communication both in government and formal education (Sutaria, 1992).

As of 2007, the country's population is estimated at 88.57 million (Philippine National Statistics Office, 2010). About 70% of the population resides in the rural areas. The urban population is heavily concentrated in three major metropolitan areas namely Metro Manila, Cebu City and Davao City and its suburban cities and towns. Thirty-two percent of the population is between 15 and 30 years of age (Erica, 2003; Philippine

Commission on Population, 2003; Philippine National Youth Commission, 2004). This young age structure is related to the sustained high birth rate in the country, which makes the study of Filipino youth more pressing and relevant.

b. Political History

The history of the Philippines is a narrative of persisting socio-economic struggles since its colonization more than 400 years ago (Jacobini, 1961). Unfortunately, the current generation of Filipino youth are not exempt from the effects of these struggles. Due to its colonial history and the eradication of the indigenous cultural identity, the Philippines, although geographically located in Southeast Asia, is argued to be “not truly Asian” (Hogan, 2006). The impact of more than 300 years of occupation by Spain, approximately 50 years by the United States, and approximately five years by Japan during the Second World War (Jose, 2001) Westernized the Philippines at the same time as the people were attempting to reconstruct and rediscover their Asian roots. The Philippines is a society in transition (David, 1998, 2004), which is still experimenting with the rationalities of bureaucracies and governance as it becomes a “modern” democracy.

The Philippines’ first struggle in 1898 for independence against the Spaniards was chaotic. This independence was denied by the Americans, who occupied the country for half a century. After the Second World War, the United States granted the Philippines independence on July 4, 1946. However, the American influence persists today in spite of the granting of political autonomy, which turned out to be more symbolic than real.

Self-governance as an independent state led to local insurgencies over the distribution of land resources (Filomeno, 1989; McLennan, 1973). In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the country faced insurgencies prompted by divisions of land resources based on Muslim assertion in the South (Borras & Gutierrez, 2004) and ideological struggle in the North. These struggles continued for 17 years (1972-1986) during the dictatorial regime of Marcos (Richter, 1984) which, with the assistance of the Catholic institution and military

(Bautista, 2006) was toppled by the first EDSA¹ People Power revolution in February of 1986 (Montiel, 2006).

The 1986 EDSA revolution under the Aquino administration was not spared from military coup attempts (Casper, 1991). As a result of the ensuing political instability, this administration failed to translate the so-called “people’s revolution” into economic development. Interestingly, it was at this historical juncture in the 1990s that the world was rapidly globalizing in the field of economy, information and communication technologies (Castells, 1996). Although the following regime under Ramos (1992-1998) is arguably perceived as a brief moment of political and economic success (Gonzalez, III, 1997), its impact was only to be undermined by the regional economic crisis of neighbouring countries, Singapore, Thailand, and Malaysia in the 1990s (Bierling, 1995).

For the first time since the Marcos regime, in 1998, there was a peaceful transfer of power from Ramos to Estrada. However, after only three years, due to leadership incompetence and corruption charges, Estrada was forced to resign by the middle-class run EDSA People Power Revolution dubbed as “EDSA Dos” (Montiel, 2006). After six years, in September 2007, Estrada was found “guilty” by the lower court, only to be pardoned after one month by President Arroyo, for humanitarian consideration. In the meantime, the Arroyo administration from 2001 up to the present, ran the government under similar corruption charges, particularly about the use of government money in securing political positions during the controversial 2004 Presidential elections, where Arroyo won by a slight margin. Corruption was the reason for a series of military coup attempts since 2003.²

Historical national accounts document the Philippines search for its cultural identity and constant struggles for national unity and development (Bankoff, 2001). The Philippines

¹ EDSA pertains to Epifanio De los Santos Avenue, a long strip of national highway in the heart of Metro Manila where millions of Filipinos converge to protest the government in 1986 and 2001.

² Complete details of these recent accounts are compiled by the Philippine Daily Inquirer, one of the most respected newspapers in the Philippines. These are organized thru special reports such as the “Southern campaign”, “EDSA 20”, “Estrada Watch”, “Wire-tapped: The Return of ‘Hello Garci’”, “2nd Impeachment” & “Makati Standoff”. The articles are available online at www.inquirer.net.

has yet to resolve many of its local insurgencies in both the Northern and Southern parts of the country (Ileto, 2005; Juan, 2006). In addition, the Philippines may not have fully come to terms with its own diversities – either of languages or indigenous cultures (King, 1994).

Its colonial history has left the country a set of societal apparatuses (politics, bureaucracy and government; justice system; economy and education) that are heavily American based; the main religion, Catholicism, was Spain's legacy. The attempt to modernize in the last 50 years unfortunately did not result in the development of national social welfare programs that are just, equitable and accessible to Filipinos who are in most need. What has developed in the Philippines is a political system that prides itself on being democratic but governs in a feudalistic manner, where the state and economic powers are concentrated in the hands of the few Filipino elite (Benda, 1965; Buendia, 1993). This has perpetuated and high incidences of poverty and inequality in the Philippines. Consequently, political uncertainty and economic insecurity impede opportunities for the new generation of Filipino youth to smoothly transition into adulthood. One of the manifestations of this transitional crisis is the Filipino istambay.

c. The Philippine Education and Employment Situation

Another important context to consider in understanding the istambay phenomenon in the Philippines is the system of education and employment in the country. This section describes the structure of formal education in the Philippines as well as provides an overview of the labour situation of Filipino youth. Over the years, both the education and employment conditions in the country have been marred by problems, which contributed to the precarious state of inactivity of some Filipino youth.

c.1 System of Education and Current State

The education system in the Philippines is a colonial implant of the United States (US) (Amante, 2003). Although the Spanish colonizers first introduced formal education in the country, Americans re-organized the system of education. The current system consists of

six years of elementary education (except in a few private schools which offer an additional year), four years of high school and four to nine years of higher education (Sutaria 1992). However, unlike the contemporary North American education model that requires an average of 12 years of elementary and high school before being allowed to enter higher (tertiary) education, the Philippines only requires an average of ten years. Also in the Philippines, unlike Canada, there is no strict distinction between college and university.

In terms of educational trajectories in the tertiary level, the distinction is more between the college and university versus technical and vocational schools. Colleges and universities are largely delivered by the private sector. That is, “of the 2,071 tertiary education institutions, 1,261 are post secondary technical vocational schools and 809 are degree granting institutions; only 80 belong to the state” (Morada and Manzala, 2001). The Commission on Higher Education (CHED) oversees the function of these degree-granting institutions while the technical schools are regulated by Technical Education and Skills Development Authority (TESDA).

Evidence shows that present Filipino youth have more access to education than the older segment of the population. In 2000, 95% of the youth were qualified to be called literate, defined as able to read and write, and able to understand a simple message in some language and dialect (Philippine National Statistics Office, 2010). Data from the Philippine National Statistics Office’s 1994 Functional Literacy, Education and Mass Media Survey (FLEMMS) show that 88.29% of the population 15-24 years old possess not only reading and writing skills but also numeracy skills, which makes these youth exhibit the highest functional literacy rate among all age groups in the Philippines (Ericta, 2003).

The 1987 Philippine Constitution stipulates a compulsory six-year elementary education, and also guarantees a four-year high school education for all Filipino children and youth. However, in recent years, the Philippine educational system has been marred by low

educational survival rates – the rate of staying in school (Santa Maria, 2002: 186). This is locally known as the “out-of-school youth phenomenon”, which forces some youth to either search for employment or stay at home to assist in household tasks (United Nations Population Fund, 1997). Drop-out rates among Filipino youth are attributed to both school and nonschool-related factors (De los Angeles-Bautista & Arriola, 1995). Santa Maria (2002: 187) summarizes these factors that reflect the reasons why some young Filipinos are educationally marginalized. She explains:

Among school-related factors are inadequate facilities and materials, overcrowded classrooms, and overworked teachers. Nonschool-related factors have to do with poverty and the accompanying required participation of youth in household work and income-generating activities, the attitude of parents to education, family’s mobility, and the child’s poor health... The remoteness of schools and the high costs of education highlight the problem of access. Dropout rates are highest among poor students at the primary and secondary levels. Unequal access to tertiary schools is caused by the concentration of these schools in the bigger cities (Santa Maria, 2002: 187).

These problematic educational factors force some Filipino youth to delay, temporarily stop, or permanently abandon schooling. I argue that it is in the relative interplay of these factors in the lives of these marginalized youth that inactivity, of being *istambay*, is first experienced.

c.2 Employment Situation

Youth unemployment is perhaps one of the most serious social problems in the Philippines (Ericta, 2003; Philippine Commission on Population, 2003; Philippine National Youth Commission, 2004; Philippine Social Science Council, 2003). In 2003, the Philippine National Statistics Office (NSO) released a compilation of statistics about Filipino youth, entitled, *The Filipino Youth: A Statistical Profile* (Ericta, 2003). One of the highlights of this paper is the state of employment that reflects the apparent difficulties of Filipino youth in entering the labour market.

Table 1 indicates that from 2000 to 2002, the employment rate of youth fluctuated between 79% and 81%. These rates, according to NSO estimates, were considerably lower than the employment rates for all ages which stood at 90.2% in 2002. The working youth accounted for 20% of the total number of employed persons. On the other hand, 1.48 million or nearly half (47.2 percent) of the 3.13 million unemployed persons in the country in 2002 were youth. This indicates that there were no ready jobs for the new (young) entrants to the labour force (Ericta, 2003: 4-6).

Table 1: Trends of Selected Labour Force Indicators: Philippines, 1997–2002

Indicators	Year					
	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Labour Force Participation Rate (15–24 Years)	48.5	50.0	49.1	47.2	52.4	49.1
Proportion of Employed Persons Ages 15–24 to Total Employed Persons	20.8	20.7	19.7	19.8	21.1	20.2
Employment Rate (15–24 Years)	83.9	80.3	79.6	78.8	81.0	79.1
Proportion of Unemployed Persons Ages 15–24 to Total Unemployed Persons	45.9	44.8	47.8	47.2	45.6	47.2
Unemployment Rate of Population Ages 15–24 Years	16.1	19.7	20.4	21.2	19.0	21.4
15–19 Years Old	15.5	19.6	19.6	20.1	17.4	19.9
20–24 Years Old	16.6	19.8	21.0	22.0	20.1	22.4

Source: Philippine National Statistics Office (NSO), Third Quarter Labour Force Surveys

The 2004 report, *Youth Attributes, Participation and Service Providers* of the National Youth Commission confirms that the youth employment problem is complicated by exploitation, lack of available jobs and overseas employment. It reports:

Employment is mostly a problem of the 18-24 years old who enter the labor force. There are 15-17 year old who are employed and are vulnerable to abuse and exploitation. The need to find decent work is also an issue but youth often disregard this due to lack of employability and opportunities. Most of the overseas Filipino workers belong to the youth group and this trend has been increasing. This situation has been exacerbated by the the lack of capacity of the Philippine economy to absorb the youth entering the labor force (Philippine National Youth Commission, 2004: 14).

Consequently, “the unemployment rate is the highest among those who completed or have some tertiary education, because there are fewer jobs at this level” (UNFPA, 1997 cited in Santa Maria, 2002: 191), highlighting the apparent youth employment issues in the country such as labour mismatch (Morada & Manzala, 2001; Amante, 2003), lack of jobs and underemployment (Philippine National Statistics Office, 2010). Combined with the “out-of-school youth phenomenon”, the labour issue of being “out-of-work” engenders another precarious state of youth vulnerability, that is, “inactivity” (International Labour Organization, 2006). I contend that in the Philippines, one of the manifestations of this interacting education-labour issue is the *istambay* phenomenon, which the present study intends to explore.

C. Potential Use of Research Findings

I envision that this exploratory descriptive research on the *istambay* phenomenon will contribute toward the further development of the sociology of the Filipino youth, specifically in the fields of transition studies; youth marginalization and social exclusion; and youth inactivity. In my view, the findings of this research are relevant to state agencies in the Philippines such as the National Youth Commission (NYC), Department of Education, Culture and Sports (DECS), Commission on Higher Education (CHE), and the Department of Labour and Employment (DOLE), as well as to schools, colleges and universities, non-governmental organizations, private youth agencies, and local communities, especially in case study sites. It is particularly important to raise awareness about *istambay as a legitimate public issue* that urgently needs research and policy attention. By opening up a public discourse on the life contexts and vulnerable states of the Filipino *istambays*, I hope that in the future, better strategies and social programs will be developed to facilitate their smooth transitions into becoming successful individuals and socially – responsible Filipino adults. In addition, the findings of this research could also serve as a comparative basis to further explore the varying types and dimensions of “youth inactivity” across cultures.

D. Remaining Chapters

Chapter 2 presents a review of theories, context and evidence directed toward understand the Filipino istambay. This part opens with an explanation of the theoretical orientations that influenced this research. Then, the review traces youth inactivity literature from transition studies. This discussion intends to shed light on the global and local factors that influence youth inactivity relative to marginalization and social exclusion literatures. Specifically, this review highlights the rare but significant attention given by selected studies to the influence of the family and religion on youth inactivity.

Chapter 3 details the mixed-method approach employed in this study. This section demonstrates the process of “mixing” quantitative and qualitative data through data integration. Chapter 4 provides a comprehensive exploration of the istambay concept from multiple sources. Correspondingly, Chapter 5 presents the interlocking individual-social dynamics of the istambay phenomenon through an examination of the individual dispositions, values, aspirations, and life contexts of youth respondents guided by Bourdieu’s theory of practice (1977, 1984). It presents the istambay phenomenon using a comparative heuristic tool: “problematic istambay” (personal trouble), and “istambay problematique” (public issue).

Chapter 6 further discusses the life contexts of istambay youth and the roles that family and faith play in the negotiation of their transition crises, their optimistic aspirations and their disconnection from the Philippine state. The last chapter (7) provides a discussion of the research insights of this study. It ends with an explanation of the theoretical, methodological and political implications of this research for future studies.

Chapter II

A Review of Theories, Context and Evidence

This chapter is made of two interrelated parts. The first part discusses the theoretical considerations in studying the Filipino youth istambay. It opens with a discussion of selected social theories and their relation to understanding youth inactivity in the Philippines. Then, Mills' notion of sociological imagination in combination with Bourdieu's theory of practice centering on the concepts field, capitals and habitus are explored. This discussion contextualizes the present study as an attempt to demonstrate the personal-public nature of the istambay phenomenon in the Philippines: the brief discussion of Bourdieu's theory of practice provides the theoretical base and the conceptual mechanisms I use in exploring the lives of the Filipino istambay.

The second part recounts youth inactivity studies relative to issues of marginalization and exclusion, transitions, and unemployment. Based on youth studies worldwide, this section discusses the various factors that were found salient in the study of youth inactivity. It also relates findings from youth ethnographies that problematize the issues surrounding unemployed, inactive youth. This part directs attention to the limited youth literature that considers the combined impact of family and religion in understanding the lives of inactive Filipino youth.

A. The Filipino Youth Istambay in the Realm of Social Theories

To understand how sociology could explain the phenomenon of the Filipino youth istambay, one must start by taking into account how classical and contemporary social theories grasp the concepts of "generation" and "youth" as important dimensions in understanding the sociology of age relations. In so doing, the nature of the process of growing-up is explored by highlighting historical locations. This brings into focus the Western character of these selected theories, which I use as conceptual barometers to reflect and analyze what may be considered as a non-Western phenomenon of youth

istambay in the Philippines. I believe that this reflexive sociological approach (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) is only possible when the general understanding of “youth” is seen from a relational point of view. Wyn and White (1997: 10-11) explain that to perceive youth as a relational concept is to consider that “age is socially constructed, institutionalized and controlled in historically and culturally specific ways” and more broadly, “youth as a social process is... seen in relation to the specific circumstances of social, political and economic conditions.” This relational view of youth is beneficial as it allows a communication between the Western theoretical approaches towards the sociology of youth in relation to contemporary non-Western phenomenon such the Filipino youth istambay.

This first section explores the concepts of “generation” and “youth” in terms of four major theoretical frameworks: structural-functionalism, neo-Marxian theory, feminism, and agency-structure integration theory. While the conceptual distinction between “generation” and “youth” suffers from ambiguity and confusion (Marshall, 1983), these theoretical frameworks show distinct ways of understanding the concept of “generation” in terms of (a) the quality of intergenerational relations, and (b) how the generational perspective helps in unravelling insights on age inequality and social reproduction. In addition, these theoretical orientations differ in their approach to “youth” as a unit of social analysis in terms of (a) its conception, and (b) how the social process of coming of age occurs.

These selected theories allow me to reflect about the ways in which different theoretical frameworks impact the evolving concept of generation and youth in the context of developing countries like the Philippines, particularly on the Filipino youth istambay. In this section I offer an etymological-social explanation of the local terms corresponding to “generation” and “youth”. The section centers on proposing a Mills-Bourdieu paradigm, which in my view, is both theoretically and methodologically useful in explaining the phenomenon of youth istambay in the Philippines.

1. Theoretical Considerations

Social analyses of age, age groups, age stratification, and the social spaces in which they occur have fascinated sociologists from various theoretical orientations. Many theories continue to raise significant question on “age” as a variable. For instance, Eisenstadt (1956: 21) explains that “age and differences in age are among the most basic and crucial aspects of human life and determinants of human destiny”. His structural-functional assertion of age relations reveals an understanding of the conditions of stability and continuity of social systems (Eisenstadt, 1956). However, contrary to Parsons’ (1973) theoretical emphasis, the relationships between age groups, be it across “generations” or within a specific category called “youth”, do not necessarily evoke social integration. Rather, other theoretical paradigms like neo-Marxian theory extend socio-psychological interest to the notion of identity crisis and adolescence (Erikson, 1968; Gerth & Mills, 1953) and to issues of youth alienation (Allen, 1973; Feuer, 1969a; Marcuse, 1964; Ollman, 1976). Similarly, there are other youth studies that have used the frameworks of feminism (Irwin, 1995; McRobbie, 1997, 2000/1991) and agency-structure integration theory (Furlong & Cartmel, 1997; Jones & Wallace, 1992; Wyn & White, 1997) to address the interaction between age and gender on the one hand, and the intersections of identity, individualization and modern society, on the other.

Among the many theoretical perspectives, I have selected four theoretical approaches namely structural-functionalism, neo-Marxian theory, feminism, and agency-structure integration theory to highlight the variation of understanding for the concepts of generation and youth. This theoretical exercise is necessary to better situate the Filipino youth istambay in the discourse of larger social issues affecting youth in the Philippines (marginalization, exclusion, transitions and unemployment), which will be discussed in the latter part of this chapter.

2. Generation and Youth: From the Classics to Contemporary Theories

Mannheim is one of the few classical theorists who articulated the phenomenon of “generation”. His essay entitled, “The Problem of Generations” (1952) is a classic

sociological essay that has been cited in various works (Allen, 1973; Chisholm, 2002; Kohli, 1996; Marshall, 1983; Marsland, 1987; Oakley, 2001). He is “perhaps best seen as a non-Marxist version of Lukacs...who is best known for his development of the sociology of knowledge – the theory that all knowledge depends upon the social and existential position of the thinker” (Craib, 1997: 275). His approach, as explained by Kecskemeti (in Mannheim, 1952: 9), is mainly “structural”.

Eisenstadt (1956) and Parsons (1963) also address the question of age relations using structural-functionalist approach in their works, which are regarded as influential in their analyses on age relations. Eisenstadt, for instance, shows how age groups tend to occur and explains the allocation of various social roles based on age and describes the social conditions within which age plays a decisive part in role allocation and the determination of group boundaries. Parsons (1973), on the other hand, situates “youth” with respect to integrative models of society. Other important works that strengthened the foundation of the sociology of youth are Erikson’s empirical research on “identity” (1968), Ariès’ *Centuries of Childhood* (1962) and Gerth and Mills’ (1953) *Character and Social Structure: The Psychology of Social Institution*.

In the 1950s, Marxist theory presented the most significant challenge to conventionally established analyses of youth (Marsland, 1987: 7). For example, Allen (1973) criticized the functionalist view of “youth” and argued for a new approach to the study of youth that considered conflict and dialectical structural change. Also, the growth of student movements in the 1960s heralded an array of studies on youth alienation and the so-called “lost generation”. Some of the critical neo-Marxists whose works served as inspiration to these young social movements were Marcuse (1964), Goodman (1960), Ollman (1976), Fromm (1975), Feuer (1969b), and Keniston (1965b).

In the 1970s and 1980s, works on youth resistance and subculture were taken up by a new breed of neo-Marxists (Brake, 1985; Hall & Jefferson, 1976; Willis, 1977). In addition, during this period, McRobbie’s *Feminism and Youth Culture* (2000/1991) generated particular theoretical interest among researchers as she combined Marxism

with feminism. During this time, studies on youth education and schooling were also examined through rational choice (Coleman, 1988; Collins, 1979), and Marxist social reproduction perspectives (Berg, 1970; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990/1977; MacLeod, 1987).

During the 1980s and 1990s, the works of Giddens (1990, 1991), Bourdieu et al, (1984; 1990/1977; 1992) and Beck (1992) ushered in a new strand of youth discourse framed within the agency-structure integration perspective (Furlong & Cartmel, 1997, Jones & Wallace, 1992, Wyn & White, 1997). However, there are still recent works like Côté and Allahar (1994, 1998, 2007) that used the Marxian frame.

The foregoing brief survey illustrates how various theoretical positions influence the conceptual understanding of generation and youth. The next section discusses specifically how these selected theories are able to account for an understanding of “generation” relative to the issues of intergenerational relations, age inequality and social reproduction.

3. Generational Perspective

a. Intergenerational Relations

How is the structural approach of Mannheim different from Parsons? Parsons' (1951) “structure” which is based on his grand theory of social system and their integrative mechanisms, suggests a linear notion of generational life. Essential to its emergence are the techniques that assure full integration into the social system. Mannheim, on the other hand, views structure as a means of locating generation rather than its ability to socially integrate. He is more critical on how polarizations within subgroups are possible. Thus, the social relationship that underlies a generation, in Mannheim's view, is neither a “concrete group” (Mannheim, 1952: 288), with a visible organizational framework, nor something that has the character of a community such as the family. “Belonging to a certain generation determined certain facets of the behaviour and thinking of a number of individuals; these individuals acted and thought in a certain way because they occupied

the same place in a 'structural whole'... certain forms of thinking have to be analysed in terms of the *place* they occupy within a dynamic process" (Mannheim, 1952: 23). In this respect, Mannheim's "generation" is analogous to "class". This notion of "social location" constitutes his "conceptual framework for the analysis of generational phenomena" (Marshall, 1983: 55).

Generation then, for Mannheim, is "superimposed upon other historical and cultural factors" (Mannheim, 1952: 24). Also, he explains that "membership in the same historical community, then, is the widest criterion of community of generation location" (Mannheim, 1952: 303). Mannheim introduces two differing notions, "generation as an actuality" and "generation units". These notions critically assess how age groups are positioned, and from which social and intellectual conditions they have emerged.

The generation unit represents a much more concrete bond than the actual generation as such. Youth experiencing the same concrete historical problems may be said to be part of the same actual generation; while those groups within the same actual generation which work up the material of their common experiences in different specific ways, constitute separate generation units (Mannheim, 1952:304)... Thus within any generation there can exist a number of differentiated, antagonistic generation-units (Mannheim, 1952: 306).

"Such distinctions point to the necessity of analyzing sub-groupings within any one generation and the relations between such subgroups and other age groups in order to explain differential responses" (Allen, 1973: 54). While both Mannheim and Parsons address the structural analysis of generations, what is unique to Mannheim are the notions of "social location" and "generation units" whereas for Parsons, it is the idea of "social integration".

On the other hand, from the Marxist point of view, the role of "conflict" in the analysis of generational relations is best articulated in Feuer's *The Conflict of Generations* (1969b). Feuer (1969: viii) describes "the traits of elitism, suicidalism, populism, filiararchy, and juvenocracy" in student movements and shows the interrelation of generational conflict with the special historical circumstances creating a "de-authorization" of the elder

generation. According to him, the student movement is a product of the “law of generational struggle”, which draws its ideological frame from the young Marx’s (1964) concept of “alienation”. To explain his point, Feuer makes an insightful distinction between the ideas of Weber, Pareto, and Parsons, and Marx’s vision of social development. His thesis is that the “revival of ideology” is the root of generational conflict.

Weber may have seen himself in the role of a modern Jeremiah, but his forecast of a bureaucratic world does not stir human energies; likewise, Pareto’s immutable cycle of the circulation of the elites imparts a lesson of historical futility, while Parsons has everyone subservient to the controls and equilibrating mechanisms of the social system. Marx’s vision, by contrast, seems at the minimum a possible form of social development, a dream which may become a reality if one has but the will and resolution. And as a possible form of social development, it seems to each new generation an unrefuted hope...The new “ideological man” is emerging in the student movements of the world; there is where the revival of ideology is taking place. As the notion of exploitation was the ground for the theory of class struggle and the ideology of the workers’ movement, so the notion of alienation, derived from the youthful Marx, provides the basis for student movements and the theory of struggle between generations (Feuer, 1969b: 503).

Alienation then becomes the key notion in student ideology, which provides “the central meaning of Marxism for the student movements” (Feuer, 1969b: 503). Changes in the relationships among generations are therefore products of estrangement and generational resentment “at the time when societies are enjoying relatively full employment and affluence” (Feuer, 1969b: 509). Thus, according to Feuer, emphasis shifted from “exploitation” to “alienation”, the aim of which is to overcome constraints within the social system.

Arguably, the primary theoretical contribution of this conflict-based Marxian perspective to understanding intergenerational relations is its attempt to illustrate a generational unit’s response to social change. Unlike Parsons’ approach, the Marxist perspective demonstrates how historical units in an age group, such as the student movements, challenge the social system and the status quo. This, of course, has important implications for the quality of the relations among generations.

The growth of feminism as a social movement and theory has also contributed to the conceptualization of intergenerational relationships. Feminism's most important contribution has been the treatment of ideas about social life and human experience from a female-centered perspective (Bradley, 1996; McRobbie 2000/1991; Ritzer, 2000b). Feminist theorists have been active in seeking to claim the position of women in the larger discourse of social theory. In terms of generational analysis, gender enjoins age.

McRobbie (2000/1991) has most aptly discussed the dynamics produced in the interrelationship between age and gender in her work, *Feminism and Youth Culture*. Although her work focuses on youth subcultures, she also accords attention on intergenerational relations, particularly between mothers and daughters. However, within modern life, many tensions are created by the conflicting demands of family and employment.

Further, McRobbie illustrates the significance of gender analysis in describing relations among generations. The feminist framework gives a gender dimension, particularly to the role of women in the family. This analysis is important because women's experiences vary across different societies and it is within these experiences that generational relationships are fundamentally based, shaped and reproduced.

Theorists addressing themselves to the integration of agency and structure have a different focus than feminists, neo-Marxists and structuralists. They concern themselves with questions of self and social identity in the modern world and, hence, illustrate tensions encountered across generations. The context of these analyses is the "highly organized social system in which we live...that seems to have complete control over our lives; that we have a high degree of independence because our dependence on others is so well hidden" (Craib, 1997: 66). One influential argument is found in Beck's (1992) "individualization" thesis and "risk society". The most important distinction, offered within this theory proposes that change is experienced by the family as a social unit rather than by individual themselves; a view that "contrasts with Marxian and Weberian theories, which see family as a social unit, either of production and consumption" (Jones

and Wallace, 1992). Other than changes in family structure, changes in the power relationships within families (Jones and Wallace, 1992: 16) have direct implication on intergenerational relationships.

Giddens (1991) makes a similar contention in the context of changing family relations, but has a different interpretation than that of Beck (1992). He argues that even with the individual's exposure to "risks", such as change in traditional family patterns, there is a "massive process of institutional reconstitution" (Giddens, 1991: 177). This process, far from resulting in individualization, thus creates new forms and individuals "appear not as withdrawing from the outer social world but engaging boldly with it" (Giddens, 1991: 177). "Life transitions, such as the transition from adolescent to adult, demand the exploration and construction of the altered self as part of a reflexive process of connecting personal and social change" (Giddens, 1991:33).

Thus, it seems that the concept of generations is also *reconstituting* itself during this period of high modernity. Relations among generations, as can be surmised within the agency-structure view, depend on the engagement of the individual "self" and on the other, involving a changing "social self" affected by shifting social relations. This is where one finds new social elements in intergenerational relationships that are best described within the related issues of age inequality and social reproduction.

b. Age Inequality and Social Reproduction

Different theoretical perspectives also demonstrate how the generational perspective unravels insights into age inequality and social reproduction. As expected, the most conservative perspective is the functionalist's view, which does not see these as "real" issues because it assumes the possibility of smooth relationships among generations. Parsons' socialization theory explains how this process works. According to him, the transference of social roles functions as a societal tool whereby the younger generation is taught "to conform to social norms and learned culturally prescribed social and familial roles" (Parsons, 1956: 19), first in the family, then at school (and the state). It seems that

the older generation instills in the younger generation, a formula for social living to carry out the process of social reproduction.

An analysis of Mannheim's view of generation in contrast with Parsons' is essential. Mannheim's generational relations are distributed across society as a whole, rather than within the locus of the family and kinship. Thus, when the emphasis on youth research moved to the examination of the "generation war", this referred not to the breakdown of relationships within families, but to a form of adult paranoia about the younger generation (Jones & Wallace, 1992: 8). Some sociologists suggested that Mannheim's concept of political generation would be more useful if applied to other realms of social life (Chisholm, 2002; Kohli, 1996). For instance, Kohli (1996: 2) takes account of the fact that "human generations lie at the root of social dynamics in all spheres of social life – not only in politics but also in the economy and the family... In all of these spheres, generations are a basic unit of social reproduction and social change". Here, Parsons' role of the family is built into Mannheim's theoretical framework to constitute a different way of understanding generations.

Addressing a similar issue with respect to social equality and reproduction, Kohli (1996) also makes an interesting point about gender and generation. He argues that the generational framework could help to explain the current situation in Central and Eastern Europe, where rapid social change is being experienced. Similar to the studies of Irwin (1995) and McRobbie (2000/1991), the following observation of Kohli (1996: 4-5) illustrates how feminism has influenced the discourse on generation.

Two of the main items on this [generational framework] agenda are gender (finding a new gender contract that allows for difference *and* equality) and generation (finding a new generation contract that is responsive to the far-reaching structural changes resulting from an ageing population). The problem for the partly modernised societies of Central and Eastern Europe is how to cope with modernisation while at the same time bearing the stresses of transformation – a double burden that is highlighted, for example, by the present discussions and sometimes agonising conflicts over the place of women in the labour force and over pension reform.

The works of Willis (1977) and MacLeod (1987), using a neo-Marxist perspective, contribute to the understanding of how social reproduction transpires within social classes, but provides little means of addressing generational relations. Côté and Allahar's (1994, 1998) work on Canadian youth is a good example of how the Marx's political economic perspective could be employed in the analysis of generations³.

To understand the problems of inequality in Canada, Côté & Allahar (1998: 121) assert that “during the 1980s and 1990s, attention to intergenerational inequalities has been relatively muted”. According to them, “the roots of youth disenfranchisement appear to lie in transformations in the industrial-capitalist economy, particularly the growth of the subordinate service sector and the concomitant decline of the agricultural sector”, (Côté & Allahar, 1994: 151). Consequently, these youth suffer a kind of “false consciousness” (Côté & Allahar, 1994: 117), which guarantees the dominance of capitalists' enterprises. They argue for “intergenerational justice” (1998: 143) which is all about “the responsibilities generations have for each others welfare and the sharing of collective resources”. Age-inequality in this Marxist analysis seems to be resolved through the notion of generational-based equity.

In what follows, I will focus on “youth” as a specific category and describe how various theoretical orientations differ in their analyses of the “coming of age” as a social process.

4. Youth as a Social Category

Côté & Allahar (1994: 5) explain that “this idea of youth as a distinct stage of life was ‘discovered’ by G. Stanley Hall at the beginning of the 20th century, [and] as we approach the 21st century, the controversy continues as to what was actually discovered”. In fact, Ariès' *Centuries of Childhood* (1962) reveals that in pre-industrial Europe children were treated simply as small adults. Hence, “youth” or “adolescence” is a relatively recent social construction in Western-based sociology.

³ Côté & Allahar does not make a distinction between youth and generation. However, my interest here is to show the importance of their notion on ‘intergenerational justice’ in relations to the problem of age-inequality.

The significant contribution of the generational perspective is its focus on a specific age stratum, “youth”. Various authors (Côté & Allahar, 1994, 1998, 2007; Irwin, 1995; Jones & Wallace, 1992; Marsland, 1987; Silverstein, 1973; Tyyskä, 2005; Wyn & White, 1997; White and Wyn, 2008) provide a comprehensive survey of the theories on youth, but this research only focuses on four theoretical paradigms that revolve around two specific points. First, the four theoretical orientations utilized vary in their explanations of how “youth” as a social category has emerged. Second, these theories are distinct in terms of their description of how coming of age processes occur. These conceptual variations of “youth” are important to consider relative to my attempt to conceptualize a theoretical explanation of “youth” in the Philippines.

a. Notion of “Youth”

Based on the available Western literature on youth studies, there is general agreement that “youth” is a modern construction. Anthropology and psychology, for example, have furnished social science with a distinct perspective on this age stratum. The former is responsible for demonstrating that “coming of age” processes are specific to certain cultures and societies (Mead, 1928). The latter has adopted the notion of “adolescence”, rather than “youth”, to explain its significance in the development of human personality. Arguably, sociology’s contribution to the theoretical understanding of youth lies in the critical explanation of the emergence of “youth” as a unit of analysis.

What constitutes “youth” as a social category? Structural-functionalism explains the emergence of youth in terms of social roles, which are subjected to the growing complexity of industrial life. Neo-Marxists focus on class and cultural views. Feminism extends this analysis to the concerns of young women. Those seeking to integrate agency-structure locate youth in both their individual and social spaces, as they face the constraints of modern life.

Eisenstadt (1956: 22) explains that one of the basic characteristics of any age grade is role expectations. Role expectations function in relation to other ages and are important

for every society and social system because they ensure perpetuation of society's own structure, norms, and values. "The successful development of patterns of behaviour which conform to the norms and role expectations of a society involves a high degree of personality integration and concomitant development of special attitudes within the individual's personality" (Eisenstadt 1956: 28-29).

In a related manner, Gerth and Mills (1953) also take up the issue of "role allocation" from the functionalist perspective. They explain that "the roles allowed and expected, the self-images which they entail, and the consequences of these roles and images on the persons we are with are firmly embedded in a social context... For sociologically, 'growing up' means the relinquishing of some roles and the incorporating of others" (Gerth and Mills 1953: 13, 15). In this context, "youth" is a repository of society's norms, values, culture in maintaining and perpetuating its social system; the transfer of social roles is the most crucial aspect of this process.

Parsons' (1973: 50) observation of the American youth in the 1950s demonstrates how his view of youth and its role, is different from other theoretical paradigms such as neo-Marxism.

Clearly, American youth is in ferment. On the whole, this ferment seems to accord relatively well with the sociologist's expectations. It expresses many dissatisfactions with the current state of society, some of which are fully justified, other are of a more dubious validity. Yet the general orientation appears to be, not a basic alienation, but an eagerness to learn, to accept higher orders of responsibility, and to "fit," not in the sense of passive conformity, but in the sense of their readiness to work within the system, rather than in opposition to it. The future of American society and the place of that society in the larger world appear to present in the main a *challenge* to American youth. To cope with that challenge, an intensive psychological preparation is now taking place.

In direct contrast, Keniston (1965b: 4), in his book, *The Uncommitted: Alienated Youth in American Society*, writes:

Judged by the values of past generations, our culture seems obsessed with breakdown, splintering, disintegration, and destruction. Ours is an age not of synthesis but of analysis, not of constructive hopes but of awful destructive potentials, not of commitment but of alienation.

“Youth” from the preceding view contradicts the functionalist notion of smooth social integration and considers other factors such as class and culture. It uses the framework of dialectical structural change (Allen, 1973) in the neo-Marxian tradition (Hall & Jefferson, 1976; MacLeod, 1987; Willis, 1977). Youth in turmoil, experiencing an “identity crisis” (Erikson, 1968) shifts attention to “alienated” youth (Feuer, 1969a; Keniston, 1965a), who resist rather than conform, and who find new spaces for expression through subcultures (Brake, 1985; Hall & Jefferson, 1976; MacLeod, 1987; McRobbie, 2000/1991; Willis, 1977).

From a feminist perspective, McRobbie (2000/1991) adds a gender-dimension to youth subcultural discourse. She is not only critical of how the notion of youth has been historically “male-centered” but also of ways whereby differentiating between sex and gender have the ability to reshape youth cultural studies (McRobbie 2000/1991: 13). Her work highlights the significant variance in youth cultural experiences between boys and girls in Great Britain and as such, re-defines the male-biased understanding of “youth”.

On the other hand, what constitutes “youth” in the agency-structure integration paradigm is its distinct concern for both the individual and society. This suggests an on-going engagement with what Giddens explains as the “dialectical process in which practice, structure, and consciousness are produced” (in Ritzer, 2000b: 389). This perspective is best exemplified by Brown, Larson, & Saraswathi (2002). They explain:

[W]hat most characterizes the current generation of youth around the world is neither an obvious connection to nor a separation from others. This is so in youths’ relationships to a specific social context (e.g. the degree of autonomy or interdependence they seek within the family) as well as their relationship to the society as a whole (e.g., involvement versus alienation from broader political and social institutions) (Brown, Larson, & Saraswathi, 2002: 15).

b. Coming-of-Age Processes

Three institutions – workplace, educational system, and family – have affected the experiences and life chances of young people in the twentieth century (Côté & Allaha, 1998: 129). In essence, these three institutions serve as social spaces for the analysis of youth across different theoretical perspectives.

The structural-functionalist perspective sees the proper integration of youth first in the family, and then in the school as managed by the state. However, as Eisenstadt (1956: 29) points out “among these, the individual’s attitude towards authority and his cooperation are the most crucial for the proper functioning of the personality within the social system”.

Critical of the changing circumstances of youth as they “come-of-age” in the advanced industrial societies, neo-Marxists’ class analyses of youth culture highlight resistance and social reproduction. For instance, Willis (1997) examines the cultural sphere of working-class white male youth in Britain and explains how structural forces act through the cultural milieu. His examination of the school to work transitional experience illustrates the development of youth subcultures both in schools and in initial work sites. Willis discusses how resistance and subculture are formed and negotiated within the traditional social structures of institutions, labour, and class. This neo-Marxist analysis of youth subculture suggests transitions from school to work are critical in the reproduction of the labour force, and highlights the strength of labour as an important pivot of class identity.

The neo-Marxist perspective, as shown in this work of Willis (1977), illustrates the coming of age process of youth as incorporating conflict, influence and negotiation within social structures such as class. McRobbie (2000), being critical of Willis’ work for lack of gender dimension, centers her analysis on the terrain of girls’ culture and the construction of ideologies of girlhood in Great Britain. Thus, this coming of age as a social process shifts perspective to include gender as another significant variable in youth analysis.

On the other hand, Bourdieu's (1990/1977) work with Passeron illustrates the crucial importance of education, as a mechanism through which the values and relations that make up the social space are passed on from one generation to the next (Webb, Schirato, & Danaher, 2002: 105). He reaffirms this analysis through his concepts of "cultural capital" and "habitus". This theoretical frame suggests a coming of age process that seeks to "illuminate the duality and dialectical interplay of agency and structure" (Bernstein, 1989: 23), which differentiates it from the other theoretical approaches.

5. Conceptual Implications to the Understanding of the Filipino Istambay

a. On Generation

A direct translation of the concept of generation in Filipino language is "henerasyon", a term which has its origin in the Spanish language. Its local meaning follows the Mannheimian requirement of "membership in the same historical community" (Mannheim, 1952: 303), which is "superimposed upon other historical and cultural factors" (Mannheim, 1952: 24). For instance, in the last four decades (1970 to present), events in the political history of the Philippines are used to demarcate differences among generations of Filipinos. The Marcos dictatorship (1969-1986), over the years, has become useful in defining a generation, known as "martial law babies". Those who were born before the declaration of martial law were designated as "pre-martial law babies". This political juncture in history of the Philippines has also produced a generational unit of political activists tagged as "The First Quarter Storm", referring to young people and their social movements who fought the Marcos dictatorship. This notion of the "The First Quarter Storm" reflects the generational struggle explored by the Neo-Marxist on student movements in the 1960s and 1970s (e.g., Feuer, 1969a) in the West implying the effect of the inescapable global movement processes at work in that specific historical time.

Another political moment used in Philippine popular media designating a generation is with reference to the two legitimated People Power EDSA revolutions (EDSA 1 in February, 1986 & EDSA 2 in January, 2001) and the unrecognized EDSA 3 (May 1, 2001). Here, the use of Mannheim's political generation is inadequate because it is

unable to capture the underlying economics of these historic moments. That is, socioeconomic class, rather than belonging to the same historical community, is arguably, the main factor that explains the legitimacy of the first two EDSA revolutions, which were believed to be a middle class movement in contrast to EDSA 3, which was organized by the “masang Pilipino” (roughly the working class equivalent in the Philippines). In this case, the understanding of the People Power EDSA generations is implicated more within the socioeconomic milieu than a mere sense of belonging in a historical happening. In my view, if explaining a generation is so desired, the extension of Mannheim’s political generation to the realms of economics and family (Kohli, 1996) would provide a better view of the socio-historical contexts of its construction.

On the other hand, the contribution of the feminist perspective to generation discourse is its emphasis in highlighting the roles of women in both the reproductive and productive realms. In the case of the Philippines, the recent global growth of service and care-giving economy has brought forth a shift in the role and work of Filipino women in recent decades. The increase in access to formal education of these Filipino women, and the feminization of Filipino labour both in the domestic and global spheres have greatly affected, if not completely altered, the perceptions of a new generation of Filipino women, negotiating their roles simultaneously as mothers, wives and more importantly, as workers (Cruz, Laguna, & Raymundo, 2002; Philippine Commission on Population, 2003). For example, migrant work has challenged the traditional Filipino family dynamics of having children grow up under the care of both parents (Cruz, Laguna, & Raymundo, 2002; Philippine Commission on Population, 2003). Now there are mothers working abroad, and a new generation of Filipino children is growing up without maternal care. In response, mechanisms for negotiating these new arrangements have arisen, such as having grandparents, any female relative, or even house-husbands (Pingol, 2001) take over certain domestic responsibilities. But from the generational perspective, it is argued that that the new global economy is posing relative challenges to the Filipino family’s arrangements and relations, compared to the generations of Filipino women before the 1980s. An indicator of this migratory effect might be the recent sentiment reported in the survey about the Filipino youth’s desire to leave the country not only to

work, but for the rest of their life (Miranda, 2003). In my view, if attention to understanding Filipino generations would be directed to resources/capital sharing, there is much to gain from extending Mannheim's notion of "political generation" to global economic realms (Kohli, 2006), which as observations (Erica, 2003; Philippine Commission on Population, 2003) suggest have impacted Filipino youth in recent years.

b. On Youth

In the Philippines, a variety of local terms exist pertaining to the process of growing up. Among these, the most widely accepted Filipino term used is "kabataan" (Almario, 2001; Vicassans's Pilipino-English Dictionary (Abridged Edition), 2006). According to Ogena (2004), a Filipino social demographer, the Tagalog-Filipino term for youth, "kabataan", is less problematic than finding the direct Filipino translation for "adolescence".

Although the present Philippine legal system offered different age definitions of children and youth (Batan, 2002; Ogena, 2004; Sandoval, Mangahas, & Guerrero, 1998), these designations are useful for "identifying the target group population for the provision of public services and important population subgroups for public policy/research" (Ogena, 2004: 9).

With respect to understanding Filipino youth, Lanuza (2004) recently offered a theoretical survey on Filipino youth studies. He argued that among the grand social theories, structural-functionalism dominates the large-scale studies on Filipino youth (Lanuza, 2004: 370). Further, he explains that unlike the West, "many Filipino youth studies do not pursue deep theorizing about the youth". He recommends the continued use of feminist and gender-sensitive approaches as well as class analysis with a neo-Marxists' perspective to further youth research in the country. Also, he calls for the creative use of indigenous approaches while paying closer attention to the relationship between theory and method.

c. Theories and the Filipino Istambay

In the previous section, different theoretical perspectives illustrate the various ways of understanding youth and generational relations. The conceptual variance of generations and youth directs our attention to how they are related to the larger issues of age-inequality, generational conflict, social reproduction, and gender inequity. Thus, I find it worthwhile to articulate how these four selected theories shed light on my understanding of the Filipino istambay.

This theoretical articulation brings into focus my position as a non-Western researcher trained under Western academic traditions relative to my strong preference to practice sociology grounded in Philippine social realities. I see this section as a dialogue between these social theories and the possible ways in which the Filipino istambay may be understood and my attempt to include local contexts in the process.

Table 2 provides a summary of the theoretical themes about generation and youth derived from selected theories and their implications on the study of the Filipino istambay. This demonstrates how each theory presents a specific view of istambay, and illustrates how these theories may be utilized in coming up with a theoretically-sound and locally-sensitive knowledge of a non-Western phenomenon such as the istambay.

From the structural-functionalist point of view, inactivity among youth may be seen as part of their integration process into the social system. Thus, istambay is viewed as only part of the growing-up process where youth are learning to assume a different role as workers. Dysfunction occurs when there is prolonged inactivity. But in general, this theory assumes that as long as norms of society are taught and learned in institutions such as the family and the school, tensions brought about by inactivity should be seen as due to the youth's intention to "fit in" rather than perceiving them as experiencing a sense of alienation.

**Table 2: Selected Social Theories on “Generation” and “Youth”:
Implication to Understanding the Filipino Istambay**

Theory	On generation (On intergenerational relations, age inequality and social reproduction)	On youth (As a social category and coming of age processes)	Implication to understanding the Filipino istambay
Structural-functionalism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Integration into social system (Parsons, 1973) *Sense of social location (Mannheim, 1952) *Notion of generation units (Mannheim, 1952) *Smooth relations through socialization process in family and schools (Parsons, 1973) *Generation war in the form of adult paranoia (Jones and Wallace, 1992) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Social roles brought about by complex industrial complex *Youth as a repository of norms for the perpetuation of social system (Gerth and Mills, 1953) *Concern is “to fit” rather than to be alienated (Parsons, 1973) *Critical is attitude towards authority for the proper functioning of society (Eisenstadt, 1956) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Inactivity as part of the integrative process into the social system *Prolonged inactivity as a form of dysfunction
Neo-Marxism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Conflict of generations (Feuer1969) drawn from young Marx’s “alienation” *Response to social change *Resistance, Learning to labour (Willis, 1977) *Intergenerational inequities, intergenerational justice (Côté and Allahar, 1994) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Alienated youth (Keniston, 1965) *Value of resistance and development of subculture (Willis, 1977) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Istambay as a generation unit,; experiencing generational struggle; conflict over resources *Istambay as alienated youth due to inactivity *Istambay as the reserve army of labour (Marx, 1964) *Istambay’s relative engagement in socially-problematized behaviours as a form of resistance? *Istambay stereotypes as subculture
Feminism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Claim of women’s position in both the productive and reproductive fields (McRobbie, 2000/1991) *Generation contract (Kohli, 1996) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Variance of youth experience; inclusion of women’s perspective *Construction of girl’s subculture as different from boy’s (McRobbie, 2000/1991) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Istambay as a gendered phenomenon, fundamentally male issue
Agency-structure approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Self and social identity *Individualization thesis & risk society (Beck1992) *Reconstitution of self, family units, and structures (Giddens, 1991) *Social reproduction (Bourdieu, 1990/1977, 1984, 2000) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Distinct interest in both the individual and society *Reproduction (Bourdieu, 1990/1977, 1984, 2000) – dialectic interplay of agency and structure *Demonstrated in Bourdieu’s theory of practice – capital, habitus and field (1986) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Istambay as a risk to self and society *Istambay as both a private trouble and public issue (Mills, 1959)

On the other hand, the Neo-Marxist view critiques structural-functionalism by emphasizing the role of conflict and structural apparatus over the distribution of power and resources (Allen, 1973) as key to understanding youth inactivity in contrast to Parson’s smooth integration process.

Here, istambay may be seen as a generation unit (Mannheim, 1952), whose alienation is rooted in their limited access to resources across generations, the underlying struggle being age-inequality. Under this school of thought, another concept that could closely resemble the istambay is Marx's "reserve of army of labour" (Marx, 1867/1976), whose detachment from labour and employment is perceived to be a consequence of capitalism. It was in this context that the young Marx's "alienation", as a concept is used to explain the apparent detachment of those who are denied employment such as the alienated youth in Keniston's (1965) study. Following the same Marxian tradition, youth studies under the Birmingham school (Willis, 1977) expand youth analysis to resistance and subculture formation. Seen from this perspective, the istambay's likelihood to engage in socially problematized behaviours such as smoking, drinking and drug abuse may be perceived as a form of resistance against society. Consequently, the istambay evolves a subculture that reproduces their working class worldviews.

The feminist perspective, on the other hand, provides a way of understanding why the impact of inactivity might be different between males and females in the Philippines. By considering the place and voice of women in the analysis of labour inactivity, the value of homework and domestic responsibilities emerges as a potential mechanism protecting Filipino females' identity in contrast to their male counterparts. That is, the socialized role of these Filipino females as homemakers, allows them to be domestically active. On the other hand, the expectation for Filipino males is to find work outside the home as providers. This gives the istambay phenomenon a tendency to be male-driven and male-centered.

The agency-structure approach frames its analysis on the interplay between the actor and the structure. In this context, inactivity may be seen as a form of risk impinging on both the self and society. The interest is to demonstrate the dialectical relationship between the self and the society in the context of inactivity experience. This framework has the capacity to highlight the complex processes of personal-public troubles (Mills, 1959), and social reproduction (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990/1977). Among these four theoretical frameworks, the agency-structure approach will arise throughout

the following chapters as most enlightening in explaining the istambay phenomenon in the Philippines, which is further explored in the next section.

6. Considering Mills and Bourdieu

In Mills' *Sociological Imagination* (1959), he provides a classic example on how unemployment becomes both an individual issue and a social problem. He encourages the sociologist to learn the technique of drawing-out connections between private and public troubles that one feels as a series of traps, in order to grasp sociologically, what is going on in the world. There is something inviting about this premise that encouraged me to think about what among the many social issues in the Philippines would require the use of sociological imagination. It was during my fieldwork that I fully observed the importance of employment among my youth respondents. Most of them are struggling to find work and this lack of job places them in the position of inactivity and idleness. This is the state of being istambay where I find Mills' notion of sociological imagination as capable of generating valuable insights.

Mills' approach allows me to situate the istambay in both the private and public spheres. That is, the istambay phenomenon is not just a personal trouble but also a public issue, requiring adequate attention from academics and policy makers. This idea is a good start to generating questions about the character of istambay vis-à-vis the public institutions with which they have contact; allowing us to see the contradictions and antagonisms that are produced by such intersection. I believe that by approaching the istambay question this way, I would be able to fulfill the promise of sociology to provide a logical explanation on how individual biographies interact and intersect with history. However, the general idea of Mills should be accompanied by a working theory that would allow empirical articulation. It is here that I find Bourdieu's theory of practice (Bourdieu, 1977) the most relevant to examine my subsequent istambay thesis. Bourdieu's theoretical formulation of the notions of fields, forms of capital, and habitus constituting the theory of practice, is engaging because of its application to many social issues across cultures as attested in numerous literatures. I also find that Bourdieu's

emphasis on giving equal importance to theory and research makes it possible to give serious consideration to the local cultural contexts of studying a non-Western phenomenon such as the istambay. He writes “research without theory is blind and theory without research is empty” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). The present study may attest to the universality of Bourdieu’s concepts as well as illustrate its power in capturing the nuances and peculiarities of the Philippine culture.

Theoretically, my main argument will demonstrate that Bourdieu’s theory of practice helps in showing how the varying strategies of protection and dependence provided to the istambay youth are oriented around a familial-faith dynamic rooted in the practice of the culture of care and an ethics of sharing. Let me now present this argument using Bourdieu’s conceptual tools.

a. Fields

In the article, “Social Space and Symbolic Power” (Bourdieu, 1990), Bourdieu articulates the idea of how agents, as individuals or collectivities, classify. He argues that “such questioning is particularly needed in the social sciences since...we (social scientists) tend too easily to satisfy ourselves with the commonplaces supplied to us by our common-sense experience or by our familiarity with a scholarly tradition” (Bourdieu, 1990: 139). Here, the very process with which academics (e.g., social scientists) supply categories in explaining the social world is also under scrutiny. He calls this type of sociology *reflexive sociology*, in which the overall goal is to overcome dualities such as the binary oppositions between objectivism and subjectivism.

Bourdieu (1987: 2) explains that, “agents are both classified and classifiers, but they classify according to (or depending upon) their position within classifications.” This recognizes that the social world is a multidimensional space of power and capital with which agents continuously shape and negotiate. According to him, this multidimensional space is comprised of intersecting fields governed by a set of objective relations (Andres (Bellamy), 1994: 127). Examples of these are economic, political and educational fields.

These fields are seats of power and resources, thus, they may be considered as fields of forces as well as fields of struggles.

The istambay, being relatively young, reside in a multidimensional space where I find the intersecting fields of family, school and work as the most salient. These fields are where the istambay learn about the world, its dynamics and classifications, of what could be considered the structural roots of their worldviews. These fields have the potential to powerfully shape their lives as well as restrict their development. By examining how these istambay navigate such fields, it is possible to understand what structural forces led them to inactivity and the sufferings they endure.

However, I argue that in the Philippine context, another field that has significant impact on the lives of Filipinos is the religious field. This view is grounded on the results of international surveys (European and World Values Surveys Four-wave Integrated Data File, 1981-2004) and local studies (Ateneo de Manila University, 2001; Episcopal Commission on Youth, 2002) that point to the high value given by Filipinos to religious matters. Thus, inclusion of the religious field in the analysis of the lives of the istambay is critical and crucial to this study.

Further, because inactivity assumes a detachment from school and work, educational and employment fields although necessary, become secondary. Thus, I am working on the assumption that among the fields, family and religion demonstrate the most impact at the time when the istambay experiences inactivity.

b. Forms of Capital

Bourdieu then asks: “How can we concretely grasp these objective relations which are irreducible to the interactions by which they manifest themselves?” (Bourdieu, 1990: 127). He explains that “objective relations are relations between positions occupied - within the distribution of resources - (which may become active or effective) in the competition for the appropriation of scarce goods of which social universe is the site”

(Bourdieu, 1990: 127). This is where Bourdieu uses his idea of the forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1986). What most researchers find interesting in this theoretical formulation is how he shows the convertibility of capital (e.g. how these forms change into one another) and how this process forms the basis of the strategies adopted by individuals and social groups to ensure the reproduction of capital. He explains:

Thus agents are distributed in the overall social space, in the first dimension, according to the overall volume of capital they possess and in the second dimension, according to the structure of their capital, that is the relative weight of the different species of capital, economic and cultural, in the total volume of their assets” (Bourdieu, 1986).⁴

Bourdieu explains that there are four forms of capital - economic, cultural, social and symbolic (Bourdieu, 1986). Among these, the notion of cultural capital has captured the most attention (Andres (Bellamy), 1994), which Bourdieu clarifies as manifested in three states – embodied, objectified, and institutionalized. Recent studies on cultural capital (e.g., Contenta, 1993; DiMaggio, 1982; Symeou, 2007) point to how this concept could be applied in many ways across cultures.

Correspondingly, Bourdieu’s forms of capital have been expanded into other forms such as citizenship capital (Bauder, 2008), subcultural capital (Jensen, 2006), street capital (Sandberg, 2008), sacred/spiritual capital (Urban, 2005; Urban, 2003; Verter, 2003) and emotional capital (Zembylas, 2007). The underlying theme that these studies articulate is the power that lies in possessing a particular set of resources, and how these are distributed across fields and people. These studies illustrate how Bourdieu’s notion of capital explicates social inequality, particularly the process of its reproduction (Stehr, 2001: 499).

Considering Philippine social life, I see the relationships among family members, communal networks with neighbours, and organizations such as the church, as significant resources that matter most in the lives of the istambay. This is closely related to

⁴ An elaboration of this relationship was empirically illustrated in *Reproduction*, where he uses the notion of cultural capital while symbolic capital is best described in *Distinction*.

Bourdieu's social capital, which also has been operationalized in various ways (Coleman, 1988; Feldman & Assaf, 1999; Furstenberg & Hughes, 1995; Gitell & Vidal, 1998; Musick & Bumpass, 1999; Tossutti, 2003; World Bank). For this study, I intend to introduce two specific forms of social capital – familial and religious. My aim is to see how well these capitals explain variations in the lives of selected youth as they experience different levels of inactivity.

c. Habitus

Habitus is another powerful concept introduced by Bourdieu in his theory of practice. This is where he positions the self and explicates its development, constitution and negotiations with society. There have been a number of ways in which habitus has been used (Connolly & Healy, 2004; Dumais, 2002; Lau, 2004) but similar to the notion of capital, the attempt to arrive at a standard measurement remains inadequate. However, despite the fluidity of this concept, the relative agreement points to the word *disposition*. As Richard Nice, the English translator of Bourdieu's *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Bourdieu, 1977) notes:

The word *disposition* seems particularly suited to express what is covered by the concept of habitus (defined as the system of dispositions). It expresses first the *result of an organizing action*, with a meaning close to that of words such as structure; it also designates *a way of being, a habitual state* (especially of the body) and, in particular, a *predisposition, tendency, propensity, or inclination*. [The semantic cluster of “disposition” is rather wider in French than in English but as this note – translated literally – shows, the equivalence is adequate. Translator.]

In this thesis, I assume that the state of inactivity generates a set of dispositions that contradicts their preliminary expectations of the world where they live. These contradictions, I suspect, demonstrate *ways of being* that predisposed these istambay to have a distinct worldview. I believe that making habitus part of the analysis allows a more lucid and deeper understanding of the social self of the istambay.

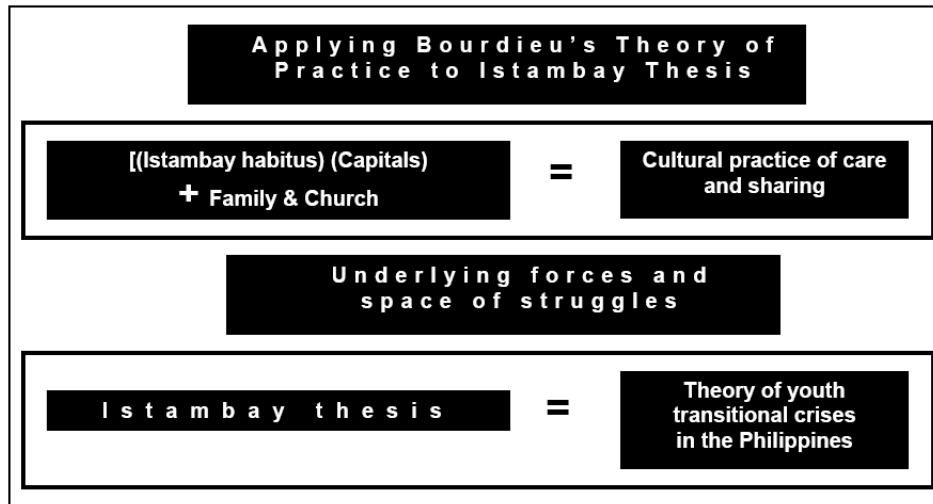
d. A Theory of Transitional Crises

Bourdieu's theory of practice (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984) formulates around the relationship between habitus and capital together with the field. Andres (1994) expresses this theory in the following equation:

$$[(\text{habitus}) (\text{capital})] + \text{field} = \text{practice}$$

Applying this formulation to the istambay thesis requires sufficient operationalization of habitus, capital and field in the context of Philippine social life (see Figure 2). Each of these concepts functions as working components that illustrate the underlying dynamics of a particular cultural practice. In the case of this study, the focus is on the practices (social and cultural) that make the istambay phenomenon possible.

Figure 2: Istambay Conceptual Framework



By examining the socially-problematized behaviours and resources that make up the dispositions of the istambay in relation to two social fields, the family and the church, the cultural practices of care and sharing become more pronounced. This formulation, expressed in Figure 2, produces an understanding of the workings of the underlying force and space of struggles that the istambay navigate. On the one hand is the familial-faith dynamic that the istambay possess as a field of resources. On the other are the varying

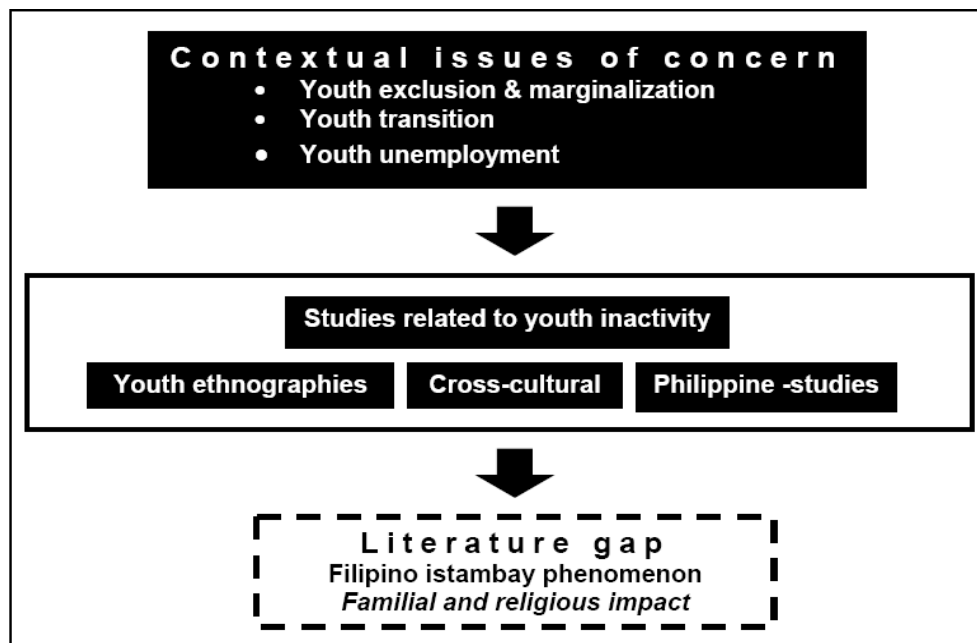
strategies of protection and dependence, which the istambay negotiate. In the end, I see this conceptual framework pointing to the youth transitional crises in the Philippines.

B. Literature Review

The next section explores the vast array of literature related to youth inactivity. Figure 3 shows the organization of my literature presentation. This literature review conceptual map traces youth inactivity on the state of debate on related issues of concern found in topics such as youth exclusion and marginalization; youth transitions and youth unemployment.

These contextual issues provide conceptual foundations to categorize youth inactivity into three sections: (a) youth ethnographies; (b) cross-cultural literatures; and (c) Philippine-based studies. In the end, I explain the rare attention given by the literature particularly on the impact that family and religion have on youth inactivity.

Figure 3: Literature Review Conceptual Map



1. Contextual Issues of Concern

Limited studies on youth inactivity could be traced to three contextual youth issues: youth exclusion and marginalization; youth transition; and youth unemployment. Each of these topics contributes to the understanding of youth inactivity in different but related ways.

The most general of these topics is youth exclusion and marginalization. Theoretically, this focus grew alongside the development of new theories pertaining to late-modernity documenting the changing socio-economic, political and historical conditions that impact the lives of young people. The concern about young people's social exclusion and marginalization centers on the necessity to move the analysis beyond young people themselves to changing structures and relations. In so doing, the persistent social divisions that young people negotiate surfaces leading to understanding the underlying systematic nature of social exclusion. This highlights the divisions that keep the young people from fully participating in society and its institutions. As Wyn and White (1997: 121) argue, the processes of marginalization are effects of social divisions, which describe the aspects of life experiences through which inequality is structured. Studies (Arnett, 2005; Brown, et al., 2002; Furlong & Cartmel, 1997; United Nations, 2004, 2005) demonstrate that the nature of educational and labour market opportunity structures available to contemporary youth have produced variations "between those for whom legitimate livelihood is achievable and those who become marginalized" (Wyn & White, 1997: 94).

Another issue of concern that contextualizes youth inactivity as a social issue is transition research. Classic youth studies such as Bourdieu and Passeron's (1990/1977), Berg (1970), Bowles and Gintis (1976), Collins (1979), and Willis (1977) demonstrate the role of "schooling" and "work" in the lives of Western youth. They powerfully document the nature and problems of the educational system and its relations to employment during the 1970s. Although varied in their study approaches, each of these classical works offers a glimpse of the wider social structures within which Western youth are positioned, reflecting the processes of social inequality and social reproduction.

Western literature on youth transition studies direct our attention to the factors that challenge and change the traditional pathways in achieving adulthood. Wyn and White (1997) identify three key areas of research concern in youth transition studies: “(a) the failure of the education-work nexus in industrialized countries; (b) the struggle to achieve a livelihood; and (c) the development of the capacities for social practices which will enable full participation in society” (Wyn and White, 1997: 94).

There is general agreement that Western youth are facing new challenges that were not present in previous generations. Studies (e.g., Chisholm, 1990; Hogan & Astone, 1986; Thiessen & Looker, 1999; Wyn & White, 1997) demonstrate that the process of becoming an adult in the West has become more diverse. This diverse patterning of life trajectories is influenced by the nature of educational and employment systems.

On the other hand, studies on young people’s educational and occupational aspirations and expectations consistently indicate the high value given to professional jobs (Furlong, Kasurinen, Biggart, & Sinisalo, 1998; Lowe & Krahn, 2000; Mortimer & Johnson, 1998). These perceptions vary by gender, social class and locality (Andres & Krahn, 1999; Andres & Looker, 2001). The actual educational and occupational achievements of these youth are mediated by the access to and quality of their academic institutions (Caspi, Wright, Moffitt, & Silva, 1998; Côté & Allahar, 1994; Davies, 1999; Lehmann, 2003; Pallas, 1993; Thiessen & Blasius, 2002; Thiessen & Looker, 1999).

In contrast to developing nations such as the Philippines, Western transition studies particularly, on school-to-work, are many and have been a useful source of policy formulation and development programs (Brown, 1980; Galaway & Hudson, 1996; Thiessen & Looker, 1999). Recently, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) funded a study on Filipino youth transition (Miralao, 2004; Natividad, 2004). This study generally relates the relative situation of Filipino youth to their Western counterparts in terms of the complex challenges they face compared to the generations of their parents. Some notable findings are: Filipino youth’s

high aspirations to complete education and find work, the relative delay of marriage and the interest to live independently from parents with or without marriage. Although these studies did not offer much information about the work and employment of Filipino youth, the initial findings provide a good foundation for future transition research in the country.

Youth unemployment is another topic that is related to youth inactivity. Various literatures (Edelman, et al., 2006; Reiter, 2006; Reiter & Craig, 2005; Roberts, 2001) suggest that there is an association between unemployment and idleness. However, the relation is reported to vary according to factors such as the nature of welfare systems to which the youth belong (Malmberg-Heimonen & Julkunen, 2006), the political conditions (Reiter & Craig, 2005) and the role of social class, residence and family structure (Macdonald, Shildrick, Webster, & Simpson, 2005; Pavis, Hubbard, & Platt, 2001) among socially-excluded young adults. These variations direct some researchers like Roberts (2001) to argue that unemployment “need not lead to the formation of socially excluded groups”, critiquing the heavy focus given to social exclusion knowledge in Northern Europe and North America. This implies that understanding the impact of inactivity, in particular, unemployment, may have different dynamics in various countries. He (Roberts, 2001: 123) explains:

Social exclusion is in fact a north European and North American issue. These are the countries where alarm bells have rung about the creation of excluded groups. All the conditions that allow unemployment to lead to exclusion apply in these countries. Hence the probability that in Britain for example, if the levels for unemployment of the last quarter of the twentieth century persist during the first quarter of the twenty-first, by then an underclass will be well-developed (Roberts, 2001: 123).

However, studies on youth unemployment only discuss one form of inactivity, labour. As the ILO (2006) suggests, youth inactivity, although closely related to unemployment, is a separate issue that needs urgent attention. The ILO (International Labour Organization, 2006: 30) observes:

As for the question of why a young person would be neither working nor looking for work, and what that means to her/his welfare and future development, the answer depends on what the young person is doing as an alternative. A person could be inactive for any of the following reasons: (a) is attending school (and not working or looking for work while in school); (b) is engaged in household duties such as caring for children or other household members; (c) is retired; (d) is disabled or ill; or (e) other reasons including not knowing how/where to look for work or believing there is no work available (the “discouraged worker”).

Over the past few years, interest in studying inactive youth has garnered attention. These studies provide important insights that are discussed in the following section.

2. Studies Related to Youth Inactivity

a. Western Youth Ethnographies

There are few but notable youth ethnographies that are related to the present study. For instance in America, Hollingshead’s (1949) *Elmstown Youth*, and Whyte’s (1981/1943) *Street Corner Society*, both illustrate the connection of social structure with young people. The former demonstrates the impact of social class and stratification on Midwestern American adolescents while the latter demonstrates the social order of a lower class slum community through the lives of street corner Italian male youth. Between these two, Whyte’s study is relatively closer to the present istambay research in terms of its efforts to make sense of the lives of those whom the public takes for granted: those who hang-out on street corners. In the Philippines, as mentioned in the introduction, one common space of the istambay is the “kanto”, the Filipino term for street corner. Whyte’s use of “street corner” to analyze the selected lives of Italian male youth is intriguing because it shows how even in less expected spaces like that of a slum area, social order and organization are possible.

In the 1970s, starting with Bourdieu and Passeron’s (1990/1977) *Reproduction*, an interesting stream of youth ethnographies on social reproduction and social inequality have flooded the literature. Among these, the most influential and the most critiqued is Willis’ (1977) *Learning to Labour*, taking working class British youth as his source of analysis. After a decade, Macleod (1987) takes Willis’ approach to understand the

structure of lowered aspirations among disadvantaged American youth. On the other hand, Lehmann's (2007) *Choosing to Labour*, following this tradition, extends his approach to cross-cultural comparison between Canadian and German youth. His analysis continues to demonstrate the interrelated impact of social class, institutional structures and individual choices on youth's work aspirations. Additionally, edited works based on field work research such as Dolby & Dimitriadis (2004) and Bourdieu's (2000) essays on *The Weight of the World*, could be added to this list that takes into serious consideration the relative impact of work, labour and economy on youth, especially those who are perceived to be in a disadvantaged position.

The foregoing studies challenge the myths and stereotypes that the public hold on the images of marginalized youth. They offer a specific way of dealing with structures, particularly of labour and economy, which arguably, as these studies point out, impact the process of becoming an adult. These studies also show the importance that the self or the agent plays in the production or constitution of this transition process.

Overall, these youth ethnographies have shown that disadvantaged youth could be studied in many ways. In my view, these approaches draw attention to the relative impact of both structure and agency. These studies also demonstrate the critical roles that labour and economy occupy in the transitions of young people, especially those in the lower stratum of society.

Similar with Whyte's approach, what I seek to accomplish in this istambay study is to illustrate that the myths and stereotypes may be wrong, and that spaces such as the *kanto* (street corners) are pregnant with insights into order and stratification. The stream of studies that have flowed from Bourdieu's work encourages me to see the istambay both in terms of structures and individual dispositions that make up their marginality, which may be influential in the constitution of their location. Additionally, as these youth ethnographies show, a discussion of *labour*, particularly the lack of it, lays bare the roots of processes of marginalization, which are most critical to young people's transition process.

b. Cross-cultural Research

In recent years, there has been a steady emergence of cross-cultural studies on young people (Brown, et al., 2002). Evidence of this is clearly articulated in the series of UN youth reports (United Nations, 2004, 2005, 2007) that bring together youth experts worldwide reporting the state of knowledge on young people across countries. These reports show the general divide between rich and poor countries, especially with respect to the state of work and employment in developing countries. The ILO (2001, 2006) corroborates these reports, which directs our attention to youth inactivity as an important issue of concern.

At this time, there is no general agreement as to the standard definition of inactive youth. The ILO (2006) provides only a conceptual sketch of who may belong to this youth subsector. Although, this report identified the concept of “NEET” (Not in Education, Employment and Training) “as a good measure of the non-utilized labour potential of the youth population” (International Labour Organization, 2006: 32), the ILO knows that drawing out this segment from available data sets is only possible for OECD countries. The ILO (International Labour Organization, 2006: 32) explains:

It is important to keep in mind that this measure (NEET) contains both unemployed non-student youth and youth who are inactive for reasons other than educational enrollment, including discouragement (i.e. inactive non-students). Ideally, one would be able to isolate each subset from the number of youth classified as NEET to see which constitutes the bulk of the non-utilized labour potential measure. Unfortunately, the detailed information from which to disaggregate the NEET total is available only for the OECD group of countries to date.

However, this report concludes that for the OECD region, “the majority of youth who were neither in education nor employment were inactive non-students (57 per cent, on average) while the remainder were unemployed non-students (43 per cent)” (International Labour Organization, 2006: 32). It also observes that the large preponderance of NEET among young women than young men in regions of South and Central America and sub-Saharan Africa may be due to economic and cultural constraints brought about by homework that is a social role held by women. The focus on NEET has expanded the

discussion beyond youth employment (Bynner & Parsons, 2002) to those also experiencing social exclusion in the context of problematic transitions. However, NEET as a concept also has been criticized because of the undue emphasis on youth volunteerism (Furlong, 2006).

The concept of NEET takes into consideration youth inactivity in two realms: education and work. However, what the ILO suggests is a more expanded view of inactivity including housework, and discouraged youth. From an empirical point of view, this makes youth inactivity a difficult concept to measure.

This tension in conceptualizing youth inactivity is evident in the many ways in which the so-called inactive youth have been studied cross-culturally. For example, Franzén & Kassman (2005) focus particularly on economic inactivity to understand the impact it has on the Sweden population. Another way of studying inactivity is relating the concept with idleness (Edelman, et al., 2006; Ericta, 2003; Philippine Commission on Population, 2003).

In Japan, there is the *hikikomori phenomenon* referring to their socially withdrawn youth (Furlong, 2008; Kaneko, 2006). The so-called retreat from main stream society has caused deleterious psychological effects on these Japanese youth. Recently, Furlong (2008) argues that this phenomenon also may be understood in the context of changing opportunity structures for this new generation of Japanese youth. The social withdrawal may be related to the “discouragement” that the ILO hypothesizes as a consequence of inactivity.

Cross-culturally, youth inactivity is understood in various ways as articulated in the foregoing studies. Various conceptualizations in each country suggest how local contexts engender features that distinguish youth inactivity across cultures.

c. Philippine-based Studies

In the Philippines, no formal study has been conducted on the Filipino istambay. However, there are research studies and reports that indirectly provide a way of understanding this inactive subsector of Filipino youth. These local studies could be divided according to the contextual issues of concerns I proposed in the literature map (See Figure 3).

Similar to the West, there are a good number of studies on Filipino youth that focus on exclusion and marginalization. The most dated is Jocano's (1969) ethnographic study on the slums of Manila where he documents different types of youth experiencing different levels of poverty. In this article, he introduces the concept of subcultures in the lives of Filipino youth gangs, liberated females and university students. He argues that at various levels, these youth are experiencing tensions arising from problematic structures of Philippine economy, education and employment during the 1960s. This research advocates structural adjustment in order to mitigate the growing restlessness of these Filipino youth. It is interesting to note that some of the descriptions of Jocano are relatively comparable to istambay.

There is also a set of local studies on youth delinquency (Shoemaker, 1992, 1994). These report the association of gender and socioeconomic status relative to levels of risks. As stereotypes suggest, the istambay are easily viewed as juvenile delinquents and this observation provides the probable roles that gender, social class and risks play during times of inactivity.

Local research studies on street children (Blanc, Porio, Meta, & Moura, 1996; Camacho, 1999; De Jesus et al., 2009) also furnish detailed accounts of marginalization among Filipino children and youth. In these studies, “vulnerability” as a concept is introduced as key to understanding their process of exclusion and their strategies for negotiations in and out of the streets. Underlying this marginalization process is the apparent construction of the streets as a viable space for life and livelihood. This demonstrates the extreme

consequence of social inequality, particularly unemployment on disadvantaged children and youth.

A well-researched description of sexuality and related risks among Filipino youth is documented in the reports (Cruz, Laguna, & Raymundo, 2002; Laguna, 2003; Raymundo, 2003; Raymundo & Cruz, 2004; Raymundo, et al., 1999; Tan, Batangan, & Cabado-Española, 2001) culled from the results of the cross-sectional national survey, Young Adult Fertility and Sexuality Study (YAFS). Over three decades, from 1980 – 2000, these surveys offer valuable information on the attitudes and values of Filipino youth. For instance, Cruz, et al. (2002) analyzing the practice of risk behaviours (smoking, drinking, drug abuse, commercial sex, and premarital sex) reports the significance of family variables such as parental guidance and control, and to a certain extent, the family's religiosity, in determining the likelihood of adolescents' being at risk.

In recent years, the emergence of the concept of “idle youth” in various reports (Ericta, 2003; Philippine Commission on Population, 2003; Philippine National Youth Commission, 2004; Philippine Social Science Council, 2003) in the context of the education and employment nexus, in my view, brings forth the *istambay* question within the realm of transition research. That is, the local literature does not simply suggest looking at youth unemployment in the traditional sense (Philippine National Youth Commission, 1998c; Santa Maria, 2002) but rather seeing unemployment relative to its connection to or disconnection from educational issues, ranging from the point of access, or the lack of it, to completion. This view suggests focusing attention on transitional issues, particularly with respect to school-to-work such as the locally observed labour mismatch (Morada & Manzala, 2001; Amante, 2003). Thus, the idle youth discourse in recent local literature engenders a separate and logical treatment of a youth subsector that merges both those who are disadvantaged by the school system as *out of school youth*, and those who are without work as *unemployed*. It is in this context that I find the articulation of the *istambay* phenomenon fruitful in understanding the concept of transition.

Except for Margold's (1995: 284) ethnographic study of Filipino male migrant workers in the Ilocos region, which specifically mentions the term "standby" in describing a group of young underemployed and unemployed, most of the knowledge about the *istambay* is only available in popular media such as films and songs (e.g., Bartolome, 1992; Joseph Ejercito Productions, 1963), over the Internet (see Appendix A) or as a popular topic for YouTube videos. The inclusion of the term *istambay* in major Filipino dictionaries (Almario, 2001; Vicassans's Pilipino-English Dictionary (Abridged Edition), 2006) also affirms the recognition of this phenomenon of inactivity in the Philippines. However, these sources only offer a limited conceptual sketch of the Filipino *istambay*.

As I suggested in the introduction, analyses of the roles that family and religion have on the Filipino *istambay* is a fertile ground for academic exploration. The central role that the Filipino family plays in the lives of the youth is a well known cultural feature of Philippine social life (Medina, 1991, 2001; Ramirez, 1993). In addition, the general practice of Christian religion, particularly the Catholic faith, continues to shape and influence the values of Filipino youth (Ateneo de Manila University, 2001; Episcopal Commission on Youth, 2002; UST Social Research Center, 1982). There has been strong evidence of the workings of this familial-faith dynamic among Filipinos along with the discourse on collectivistic culture (Church & Katigbak, 2000) and social capital perspective (Abad, 2005). However, there has been no research that explores the social mechanism of this dynamic on inactive youth, the Filipino *istambay*. I suspect that exploring the *istambay* phenomenon in this manner would reveal substantial insights about the nature and structure of Filipino society and relations with the global world from the perspective of a disadvantaged subsector of youth. The present study seeks to address this knowledge gap.

Chapter III

Studying the Filipino Istambay: A Mixed Methods Research Process

This chapter demonstrates the process and extent of mixing the qualitative and quantitative data used in the study. First, I explain the logic behind the use of mixed methods in this research. Second, I relate the history of the research project that leads to the specific research inquiry on the Filipino youth istambay. Third, I describe the primary and secondary sources of my data and the research strategies employed in the collection, organization and analysis. Fourth, I discuss my research decisions in using mixed methods in terms of three dimensions (Gilbert, 2006): (a) rationale; (b) design; and (c) integration. This section highlights my view of qualitative and quantitative methods as complementary (Green, Caracelli, & Graham, 1989); my decision to prioritize qualitative data over secondary quantitative data (Creswell, 2003); and my attempt to integrate both methodologies at multiple stages (hybrid) of the research process (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004) from data collection, through reduction to analysis. The last part enumerates some ethical considerations in conducting this research.

A. Why Mixed Methods Approach

No national quantitative data set that focuses on youth in/activity in the Philippines is available. The lack of appropriate data makes the study of youth inactivity in the Philippines methodologically challenging. In addition, recent youth surveys (Ateneo de Manila University, 2001; Episcopal Commission on Youth, 2002; McCann Erickson-Philippines, 2000; Raymundo & Cruz, 2004; Raymundo, et al., 1999), although national in scope, are all cross-sectional. Longitudinal data would have permitted a more informative analysis about “change” and “transition” over a period a time, which is ideal for studying youth transitional crises such as inactivity. On the other hand, earlier qualitative research on the lives of specific segments of Filipino youth (e.g., Jocano, 1969) is now dated. Recently, two youth ethnographic case studies have emerged (Batan,

2000; Fernando, 1997) but none on the impact of youth inactivity in the Philippines, particularly on the Filipino istambay. Given the paucity of data on the phenomenon of the Filipino istambay, I utilized *mixed methods research* for three reasons: (a) practical relevance (Morgan, 2007); (b) research creativity; and (c) power of data integration (Bryman, 2007). This chapter discusses mixed methods as a research process, weighing the importance of both quantitative and qualitative data in the development of research insights at multiple stages.

As observed in various international and local studies (Bautista, 1998, 2001; David, 2001; Quah & Sales, 2000), sociology in developing countries is confronted by a wide array of tensions that shape and to a considerable degree, limit the practice of social research in these countries. These tensions range from the theoretical use of “Western sociologies” to more practical dimensions of doing actual research such as bureaucratic regulations, problem-oriented job assignments, and budget restrictions (Quah & Sales, 2000). For these reasons, finding appropriate national data on Filipino youth inactivity was difficult. However, this methodological limitation did not deter the inquiry on Filipino istambay but rather this became a point of departure for identifying, creating, and examining particular data sets that could be utilized to clarify the issues at hand, including their connections and interrelationships with larger issues of sociological importance. Because conducting a full national youth survey would require enormous resources, I relied on data scavenging, particularly quantitative data sets, and related free resources about istambay such as films, songs, and Internet postings. However, this pragmatic dimension is also infused with research limitations (Neuman, 2003: 322-23).

Especially limiting is the fact that the secondary data used in this research was not designed primarily to study youth inactivity, and therefore, is not sufficient to fully grasp the istambay phenomenon. To resolve this initial research dilemma, I expanded the process of data exploration by combining the quantitative secondary data with a manageable gathering of qualitative primary data of youth and their communities through case studies. I find this research strategy of mixing primary and secondary data right at the start of the research process to be especially useful in conducting social research in

developing countries with limited resources. This implies the use of available data, but also gathering and utilizing primary data for supplementary purposes. Because quantitative and qualitative data were intended to be mixed, another key component in this istambay study is the attention given to data integration. Over the course of this study, mixed data sources were presented to illuminate the research issues. In so doing, insights and themes emanating from the analyses become a by-product of a dialogue of mixed data reporting.

Given the exploratory and descriptive nature of this dissertation, the employment of mixed methods is thus seen not only as practical and creative but also instructive relative to the intention of integrating quantitative and qualitative sources aimed at producing meaningful research insights.

B. Brief History of the Istambay Project

Another important methodological dimension of the present istambay research is its history. The original general design contained in the dissertation proposal entitled, *Preparing for the Future: Life course and Intergenerational Analysis of Youth Transitions in the Philippines*, was relatively ambitious and wider in scope. The intent was to contribute to the long list of youth transition studies that have been conducted in different countries (e.g., Arnett, 2005; Galaway & Hudson, 1996; Heinz, 1996; Kerckhoff, 1990; Natividad, 2004; Thiessen & Looker, 2003). However, during the field research in 2005-2006, and after preliminary analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data, it became apparent that examining the complex processes of youth transitions in the Philippines would require more sophisticated data. The limitations in available data that I discovered forced me to become more sensitive and critical about which issues could be brought into the forefront. The discovery of the istambay phenomenon is one by-product of this reflective process. Thus, *istambay is itself a finding*, which I subsequently took as a major focus of this dissertation for the following reasons: (a) the complexity of its functioning within the individual-social realms was sociologically fascinating and required extensive research attention; and (b) it reflected the undercurrents and tensions

of growing up in the Philippines. Methodologically, focusing on the istambay phenomenon enhanced the selection, utilization and analysis of mixed data in the entire research process.

C. Multiple Data Sources

Research information used in the study came from multiple sources. These are divided into two types: secondary and primary. Secondary data ranged from a national youth survey and songs to Internet postings, while, the primary data comprised a conceptual survey and case studies. This section describes the details of these multiple sources.

1. Secondary Data

a. Young Adult Fertility and Sexuality Study (YAFS) 2002

Amongst the national quantitative data sets on Filipino youth that were available for further analysis, I found the *Young Adult Fertility and Sexuality Study* (YAFS) conducted by the University of the Philippines' Population Institute (UPPI) as the most appropriate and relevant one to the present study. This project consisted of cross-sectional surveys covering three decades (1982, 1994 and 2002) aimed at understanding the knowledge, attitudes, and behaviours of Filipino adolescents in terms of sexuality, reproductive health, and fertility (Raymundo & Cruz, 2004). For the primary source of quantitative data, I chose the latest survey, conducted in 2002, because it included more questions on youth activities, education, labour and employment compared to earlier surveys. These data provided indirect information on the istambay phenomenon among Filipino youth. Specifically, YAFS 2002 allowed an exploration and description of youth inactivity vis-à-vis other activities such as studying, home-making and working, and it had a number of variables that permitted partial operationalization of Bourdieu's concepts.

The following first describes the YAFS 2002's research design, followed by the measures I utilized in this research.

a.1 YAFS 2002's Research Design

Table 3 provides a summary of the YAFS 2002's research design. In 2002, UPPI surveyed 19,728 Filipino youth aged 15 to 27 years covering all 17 regions, from about 900 sample barangays (villages), out of more than 40,000, nationwide. The sampling framework was based on the 2000 census of the Philippine National Statistics Office (NSO). A stratified, two-stage sampling strategy was implemented using the barangays as the primary sampling units and households as the secondary sampling units (Raymundo & Cruz, 2004).

Table 3: YAFS 2002 Research Design

Design indicators	Details
Age range of respondents	15 – 27
Youth sample	19,728 youth respondents
Coverage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 17 regions • 894 barangays
Sampling framework	Philippine National Statistics Office's (NSO) <i>National 2000 census</i>
Sampling strategy	Stratified sampling (use of sampling size as a stratification variable) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Barangays (villages) as the primary sampling units (PSUs) • Sample barangays are divided into enumeration areas (EA) • All households in each EA were listed. (Those household without any member between 15 to 27 years dropped)
Type of questionnaires	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Household form (screening instrument) Youth questionnaires (Separate questionnaire prepared for Christian and Moslem youth for each respondent type) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Female-single • Female-married • Male-single • Male-married Self-administered questionnaires Community form (key informants)
Response rate	82%
Fieldwork period	April - May of 2002
Survey data gathering strategies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Screening interview, getting the list of all household members • Identify youth in the household list • Multiple interviews per household (multiple-youth strategy)
Interview technique	Face to face

YAFS 2002 utilized eleven questionnaires: household form; eight youth questionnaires namely, female-single, female-married, male-single and male-married with separate questionnaires for Christian and Moslem respondents; a self-administered questionnaire on sensitive sexual issues; and a community form. The household form was used as a screening instrument to identify possible youth respondents. Thus, households without any member in the prescribed age range between 15 and 27 were automatically dropped from the sample. This sampling strategy made possible having multiple youth interviews per household. The response rate as per UPPI's estimate for YAFS 2002 was relatively good at 82% (Raymundo & Cruz, 2004).

Field work for YAFS 2002 was conducted during the summer months (April to May 2002) since that increased the probability that youth respondents could be contacted. Field supervisors in each region managed the field interviewers. Data gathering started with the screening interview using the household form. From this preliminary household interview, possible youth respondents were identified. Then, face-to-face interviews were conducted with qualified youth respondents (multiple youth strategy) in the household (Raymundo & Cruz, 2004).

a.2 Self-reported Main Activity: Key Variable of Interest

Key to a quantitative understanding of istambay is a measure of youth in/activity. Fortunately, YAFS 2002 included a question on the "main activity" of youth respondents: *What was your main activity from January to March 2002?* The respondents were given only one choice among the following items: none, unemployed (looking for work), housework, working (domestic helper included), unpaid family worker, and student.

A major advantage of this main activity variable was the range of response categories. These categories of "youth main statuses" were operationalized as either reflecting varying types of potential istambay (those with no main activity, unemployed, and unpaid family workers) or engaged in socially-legitimated activities (students, homemakers, and

working). Second, the “timing” of main activity was also an important consideration in this study. The youth respondents were asked to identify their main activity from January to March 2002. In the Philippines, school is in session during those months, which permitted distinguishing students from other main statuses.

While useful, this main activity variable also has severe limitations. One limitation, due to the cross-sectional nature of YAFS 2002 data, is that each main activity is treated as a static event (Xenos, 2001). Thus, this variable only provides a snapshot of the main activities of youth respondents in a limited period of three months. Consequently, it fails to capture change or process.

Another limitation is the mutual exclusiveness of the main activity categories. The youth respondents were limited to one activity from the list provided. This precluded the possibility of knowing which respondents were engaged in multiple activities during the three-month period. This methodological feature was conceptually problematic because these activities (as life events) were dynamic and sometimes overlapping. This limitation could have been alleviated if this variable had allowed multiple responses.

Also, this main activity variable was self-reported, and the perceptual nature of this question required youth respondents to judge what the most important activity was at the time of the survey. There is always the possibility that their response masks other equally salient dimension of their lives, but the lack of additional information limits finer empirical exploration. Nevertheless, the main activity variable in YAFS 2002 was utilized in this study because it offered some information about inactive Filipino youth who potentially represent istambay.

a.3 Operationalization of Selected Variables

In this study, I operationalized some variables that arguably corresponded to Bourdieu’s concepts of fields, habitus and capitals. Table 4 lists 30 variables I used to construct social profiles of youth respondents according to main statuses as well as to examine the

relationship of main statuses with socially-problematized behaviours, particularly smoking and drinking.

Table 4: List of YAFS 2002 Variables Selected for this Study

Theme	Variables
Socio-demographic indicators (controls)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age/age groups • Gender • Locality • Region • Marital status • Economic status (poor versus non-poor) • Youth's education • Father's education • Mother's education
Familial field	<p><i>Approval of first person (mainly parents) who raised youth respondents in selected risky situations</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Going out on a date unchaperoned • Going to a party at a short notice • Spending overnight at friends' house
Educational realm	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reasons for leaving school among those who are not in school at the time of the survey <p><i>Selected educational experiences</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ever been suspended from attending classes? • Ever been a member of academic clubs? <p><i>Cultural capital indicators</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ability to write English fluently • Ability to speak English fluently
Peer realm	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Have barkada (friends) at present? • Have respondent and barkada ever been involved in a violent incident?
Work/employment field	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ever worked? (All respondents) • Ever worked in the past week? (Selected respondents) • Is R willing to work? (selected respondents) • Looking for work? (selected respondents) • Place of work <p><i>First job experience</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reasons for working • Home conditions that prompted respondents to work
Socially-problematized behaviour realm	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Have you ever tried smoking? • Are you currently smoking cigarettes regularly • Have you every tried drinking (alcoholic beverages)? • Are you currently drinking alcoholic beverages regularly?

The variables chosen for this study comprised socio-demographic indicators and controls; measures of individual dispositions capturing the respondents' habitus and cultural capital; and contextual indicators that represented the various social fields (familial,

educational, work/employment, peer, and socially-problematized behaviours). These 30 indicators were carefully selected by conducting preliminary bivariate analyses between the hundreds of YAFS 2002 variables and this study's main variable of interest – youth main statuses. The selected variables had sufficient variation and some statistical association with youth main statuses.

The socio-demographic indicators comprise traditional factors, which also generally reflect, in Bourdieu's term, the "fields of resources". These are age, gender, locality, region, marital status, economic status, and educational indicators. I included these variables because they are indicators of social divisions that traditionally structure the positions of the individuals in a society.

Bourdieu's notion of habitus was operationalized using variables that captured the individual dispositions of respondents in various social fields. In the familial field, I found three variables measuring youth respondents' perception of the level of parental protection for selected risky situations. This may reflect how the level of parental control shapes, influences and structures the respondents' value system. Turning to the educational realm, five variables indicate the economic as well as socio-cultural conditions of youth respondents. These are reasons for leaving school; educational experiences on school suspension, membership in academic clubs, and indicators of cultural capital – linguistic ability in speaking and writing English. In addition, I found presence of barkada (friends) and exposure to violence with friends to capture the extent and quality of respondents' relations with peers.

In the work/employment social field, seven variables included in the analysis captured the respondents' employment experience, work orientation, place of work; reason for working, and first job experience. This provided a general overview of the respondents' employment situation.

The last social field considered in this study was in the realm of socially-problematized behaviours, which specifically measured the respondents' exposure and extent of

smoking and drinking. This realm was particularly important in the multivariate analysis because these variables were utilized to measure the connection between youth main status and the reported smoking and drinking behaviours of respondents.

In general, these selected variables were used to illustrate the intertwining of individual dispositions and social conditions of respondents with specific interest in comparing the potential istambays (comprised of those who reported having no main activity, unemployed, and unpaid family workers), with the socially legitimated active statuses of homemakers, workers and students. These variables are further described in Chapter 4, 5 and 6 as they are used in the analysis.

a.4 UP Population Institute (UPPI) and YAFS 2002 Data

From March to mid-October 2005, I worked with local researchers and experts of the University of the Philippines' Population Institute (UPPI). I visited the office at least twice a week, mostly to gain primary knowledge of the data sets from the Young Adult Fertility and Sexuality Study (YAFS). I also took part, as an observer and facilitator at the regional-based reporting of the YAFS data held at Quezon City, Metro Manila and Bohol Province. UPPI provided me with electronic copies of the YAFS data sets in Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) format.

b. Songs and Internet Postings

Other secondary sources utilized in exploring the concept of istambay were songs and Internet postings. I used these resources as preliminary sources to learn about various representations of istambay. In conducting this research, the Internet was found to be a good resource of various istambay postings, which were used to gauge the existence, popularity, and relevance of the concept of "istambay" among contemporary Filipinos. Although I did not carry out an extensive examination of these various online representations, I present them to demonstrate the active use of the terms "istambay" or its abbreviated version "tambay" online. Searching these terms through *Google* indicated how istambays were represented in various media forms such as in films, photos,

paintings, cartoons and sketches, graphic arts, graffiti, and commercial items (see Appendix A).

Amongst the various forms of media representations, this study selected six songs to illustrate the social construction of istambay as a concept. Specifically, the lyrics of these songs were subjected to textual analysis to illustrate the individual tensions, habitus, and social structures constituting this inactivity experience. This provided a necessary conceptual foundation to further examine the istambay phenomenon.

2. Primary Data

In combination with the secondary data, this research gathered primary data from two sources. First, case studies were conducted from two study sites, and second, a conceptual istambay survey was conducted with selected university students.

a. Case Studies

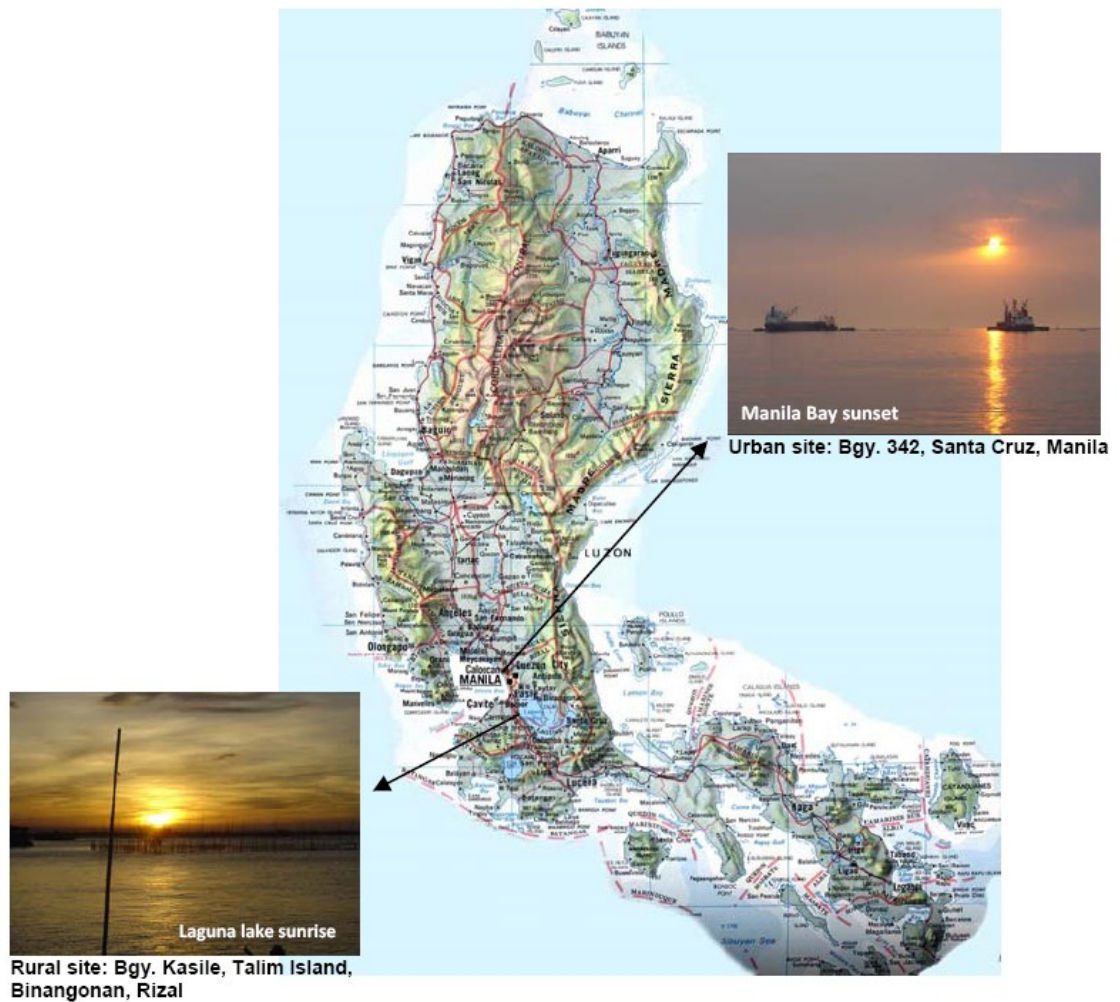
Case studies (Creswell, 2003; Neuman, 2003; Stake, 1998) were conducted in two economically-poor Philippine communities, one in a rural area and the other in an urban site. The field work lasted for a period of 12 months from March 2005 to February 2006. The primary goal of these case studies was to have first hand, ethnographic knowledge of the lives of Filipino youth. This also allowed gathering the perspectives of parents and teachers of youth respondents.

a.1 Field Sites

Both case study sites are located on the island of Luzon (See Figure 4). For the rural site, I chose Barangay Kasile, one of the fishing barangays in Talim Island, located in the town of Binangonan, Rizal. Talim Island is about 15 kilometres from Manila. Based on the official national census of 2000, Barangay Kasile registered 471 residents from 74 households. This is the least populated community in the municipality of Binangonan, Rizal. I have long ties with this community as this was the site of both my undergraduate

and master's theses projects where I conducted an ethnographic study of rural Talim youth from 1994 to 1998. The advantage of returning to this site after seven years, in 2005, was that most of the community members were familiar with the research process, which facilitated field observation and gathering of data.

Figure 4: Map of Luzon: Case Study Locations⁵



⁵ Online source of Luzon map: <http://images.google.ca/imgres?imgurl=http://class.csueastbay.edu/anthropologymuseum/virtmus/Philippines/Islands/LuzonTopo.jpg>. Photos were taken by Clarence M. Batan.

I conducted the urban case study at Barangay 342, one of the barangays in Santa Cruz, Manila. I was familiar with this place since it is near the University of Santo Tomas where I am affiliated as researcher and assistant professor. My familiarity with some of the religious/community leaders in the area facilitated my entry into this urban community. Census 2000 indicated that Barangay 342 registered 1,287 residents in 288 households, which is thrice the population Barangay Kasile in Talim Island.

These areas are populated by mainly Catholic Christians who speak a Tagalog-based Filipino language. Barangay Kasile is primarily a fishing village while Barangay 342 is a typical urban area where jobs are mainly in the service industries.

a.2 Field Research Procedures

Preliminary correspondence with community leaders in the two study sites were initiated prior to the start of fieldwork in January 2005. Actual fieldwork started March 2005, and the gathering of data lasted for five months, from August to December 2005. Field visits, ethnographic observations, interviews, focus group discussions and video-documentation were conducted in these case study areas. A formal data-validation workshop transpired last January 22-23, 2006 with youth respondents and some observers. Community presentations of the preliminary findings in the two study sites were implemented on February 17-18, 2006.

a.3 Funding Support

The field research was carried out with the aid of a grant from the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), Ottawa, Canada through the IDRC Doctoral Research Award (IDRA). Information on the Centre is available on the web at www.idrc.ca. This funding facilitated the implementation of case study research from establishing contacts, data gathering, data validation, presentations, to implementation of community projects.

a.4 Research Assistants

Two research assistants from each area assisted in conducting this research. All of them were part-time workers. In Manila, I had one male college student, and a local female resident. While in Talim, I was assisted by two local residents, a female and a male. Three of my research assistants were college graduates, who were unemployed at the time. On specific occasions when I needed assistance such as in the UPPI, during video-documentation, data-validation workshop and community presentations, I gave honoraria to those persons who rendered assistance.

a.5 Data-gathering Procedures

1. *Interviews and focus groups.* There were three sets of respondents in this study: youth, parents and teachers (see Table 5). In consultation with the local research assistants, I selected the respondents using a purposive snowball sampling method. The first group of respondents identified was the youth respondents. Then, parents and teachers of these young respondents were asked to participate in the study.

Interestingly, in this study, all parents that I interviewed were mothers. This was mainly due to the fact that these mothers were usually at home and were more available for interviews than their husbands. In addition, I observed that in these communities, fathers commonly prefer that their wives discuss matters about their children. Thus, in all my parental interviews, I ended-up interviewing mothers of my youth respondents. On the other hand, while it was relatively difficult to find the former teachers of my youth respondents, as an alternative, I found local teachers who more or less know the community and youth respondents offered significant data for this research. I utilized both the parental and teacher interviews as supplementary data alongside six focus groups with youth from three different age groups (15-19; 20-24; and 25-35).

Over the course of field work, three local research assistants, with their consent, were also interviewed as youth respondents. They offered valuable insights

because of their varying experiences of inactivity, which enhanced the authenticity and ethnographic details of the qualitative data.

Overall, 23 interviews were conducted with youth respondents, 11 with some of their parents and eight with their teachers. In addition, as supplementary sources of information, in both study sites, focus groups on three age groups (15-19; 20-24; and 25-35 years old) were conducted. A total of 22 youth respondents participated in these focus groups.

Table 5: Distribution of Respondents by Method of Data Collection

	Barangay Kasile, Talim Island	Barangay 342, Sta. Cruz, Manila	Total
Youth interviews	12	11	23
Number of youth participants (Focus groups in 3 age groups)	13	9	22
Parent interviews	5	6	11
Teacher interviews	4	4	8

2. *Research procedure.* My local research assistants assisted me in establishing communication with the case study sites. They identified interview and focus group respondents. I conducted most of the primary interviews and focus groups with youth, parents and teachers. However, in few instances, local research assistants conducted interviews and focus groups.
3. *Video capture.* With consent from the respondents, most of the interviews and focus groups were captured through video. Additional visuals were taken involving important community activities.
4. *Transcription & encoding.* Research assistants transcribed the interviews and focus groups manually because they did not have computers to encode these transcripts electronically. Subsequently, part-time workers were employed for electronic encoding of transcriptions.

5. *Community projects.* I consider reciprocity to be an ethical part of research and so several community projects were implemented. In consultation with Talim Island community leaders and youth, a feeding program in Kasile Barrio School was established from September 2005 until February 2006. Sixty children benefited from this project. In addition, a Christmas project was implemented on December 18, 2005. Before the end of the field research, two more projects were initiated by the community – a community chapel project and a computer-training youth program. These projects were supported by the Social Research Center and Faculty of Arts and Letters of the University of Santo Tomas. Additionally, a Christmas project was implemented in Manila on December 17, 2005. About 100 children benefited from this project where the community also received sporting and recreational equipment intended to further youth development in this area. In both communities, these projects were organized with the assistance of the local youth organizations and community councils.

6. *Data-validation workshop.* Another important aspect of this research was data validation. This was undertaken through a two-day workshop last January 22-23, 2006. Eleven youth respondents from two case study sites, four research assistants and four observers voluntarily participated in this activity. In this workshop, I presented my preliminary findings to the participants, and through various activities such as individual reflections, focus groups and plenary sharing, we discussed, and clarified relevant issues surrounding the study. In the end, we produced a validated list of research findings, which were eventually presented to the case study communities.

7. *Community presentations.* In rural Talim Island, more than 150 persons attended the community presentation and 30 persons participated in the same activity in Manila. Overall, this activity generated a lively discussion in the community about the situation and future of youth in their respective communities.

a.6 National Situation During the Conduct of Research

Throughout field work, the Philippines experienced an economic down-turn and political instability. Some of the identified causes of this situation were: (1) the rising price of oil in the world market, which affected the cost of basic commodities and services; (2) the mismanagement and corruption cases that brought divisions among political parties in the government; (3) the questioning of the legitimacy of the current leadership due to the alleged massive cheating during the 2004 presidential elections and; (4) the proposed amendment to the constitution changing the form of government from a presidential to parliamentary system.

The months of June and July 2005 were critical to the Arroyo administration. This situation persisted until February 2006. There were street protests, massive demonstrations and failed military coup attempts asking for the voluntary resignation of President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo. Political exhaustion and the lack of viable alternative were cited as the main reasons why these rallies did not generate support from two institutions – the Catholic Church and the military, which were believed to be influential in motivating ordinary citizens to join mass street demonstrations.

This national situation affected my research, especially the data-gathering procedure in two ways. First, traffic and security checks, particularly in Metro Manila were heightened as a preventive response to local and international threats of violence and terrorism. In this regard, I scheduled my field visits to UPPI and Manila case study site strategically with full caution. Thus, my mobility to these sites was reduced. On the other hand, my visits to Talim Island were successful. Second, as expected, the narratives of my key respondents were filled with their personal takes on this current situation. My transcripts were carefully analyzed considering this context.

b. Istambay Conceptual Survey

To deepen my lay understanding of the concept of istambay, I also conducted a one-page conceptual survey among selected students of the University of Santo Tomas. The main

objectives of this purposive survey among university students were: (a) to gain a general perception of istambay, and (b) to know their extent of knowledge of istambay as a youth phenomenon. The student sample was selected from two colleges namely, College of Education and the Faculty of Arts and Letters. The survey was facilitated by two faculty members who explained to their respective classes the rationale of the research. Students were then asked to participate voluntarily to answer the survey. Results of this survey were used in Chapter 4 to establish the extent of youth's knowledge about istambay relative to other data sources.

D. Mixed Methods Research Decisions: Analysis, Integration and Reporting

The rationale behind using mixed methods research in this study were three-fold: (a) practical since national/longitudinal data sets on Filipino youth in/activity were limited; (b) creative, due to the use of multiple sources of data; and (c) instructive, as this research has attempted to bridge the barriers between quantitative and qualitative evidence through data integration (Bryman, 2007). This section explains the research decisions I made in implementing mixed methods design in the analysis, integration and reporting of various data used in this study.

1. Data Analysis

Table 6 provides the empirical framework that shaped the research insights presented in this research. Both quantitative and qualitative data was systematically analyzed using appropriate commercial software to explore the istambay phenomenon. Quantitative data were analyzed using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 14, while qualitative data utilized Atlas.ti qualitative version 5.

Table 6: Empirical Framework of Istambay Research

Empirical space	Quantitative	Qualitative
Main data analyzed	YAFS 2002	Case studies
Primary focus	Self-reported main activity variable (youth main statuses)	Youth life histories (12)
Supplementary data	Perceptual survey	*Parental (mothers) and teachers' interviews *Focus groups (youth) *Songs *Internet postings
Analytical techniques	*Descriptive statistics *Multivariate analysis (multinomial logistic regression)	*Coding *Thematic analysis *Narratives *Dialogic reporting
Software	SPSS 14	Atlas.ti 5
Mixed methods principles employed	Complementary	
	Utilized to build case	More prioritized
	Data integration at multiple research stages	

The following enumerates separate analytical procedures that were undertaken in handling quantitative and qualitative data.

a. Quantitative

Two quantitative data sets were extensively analyzed in this thesis. These were the YAFS 2002 and the istambay perceptual survey. In general, the quantitative data was analyzed using descriptive statistics such as frequencies, percentages, and means. In most instances, bivariate analyses were presented using cross-tabulations. Where appropriate, results were illustrated in bar charts. Due to the nominal nature of self-reported main activity (the key variable of interest in YAFS 2002), the strength of association was reported using Cramer's V (Loether & McTavish, 1993: 201).

Multivariate analysis was conducted in Chapter 5, to examine the odds of smoking and drinking among the YAFS respondents associated with youth main statuses and selected demographic and contextual indicators. I first present the bivariate relationships between selected variables and the outcome variable (levels of smoking/drinking), as well as the correlation matrix among these variables. I chose multinomial logistic regression (Chan,

2005) in modelling these relationships. This extension of binary logistic regression (DeMaris, 1995; Lottes, Adler, & DeMaris, 1996; Pampel, 2000) was used in this study because the outcome variable was comprised of three categorical levels. This allowed an assessment of the relative impact of independent variables on the odds of different levels of smoking/drinking. I present a more detailed description of the dependent and independent variables, and their usage in multinomial regression analysis in Chapter 5.

I also employed frequencies and percentages to present qualitative data such as istambay conceptual descriptions (see Table 7) and coded themes/quotations emerging from istambay songs (see Table 16), and socially problematized behaviours (Table 20) from the case study data. Atlas.ti 5 through its “Codes-Documents-Primary-Table” function produced quotation and word counts of codes in Excel format. I used this to illustrate the distribution of coded themes across data sets (songs and case studies). In so doing, general patterning is established as the basis of argument.

b. Qualitative

The main qualitative data used in this research were 12 life histories of case study respondents. From the original 23 youth respondents, 12 were chosen on the basis of social relationship with them, which facilitated the gathering of more detailed information about them. Other than the main one-on-one interview, these 12 youth participated in various research-related activities like data-validation, community projects and presentations. These interviews were complemented with the mothers and teachers’ interviews and focus groups with selected youth. On the other hand, to explain the social construction of istambay as a concept, the supplementary qualitative data used in Chapter 4 were istambay songs.

b.1 Atlas.ti 5 Analytical Procedures

The analysis of all textual data (i.e., song lyrics, interview and focus groups transcripts) was explored, organized, and managed, using the qualitative software program - Atlas.ti

5. Although this software allowed analysis of photos, audio and video materials (Gibbs, 2007; Muhr & Friese, 2004), which were also gathered during fieldwork, I restricted my focus on textual data because of its considerable volume.

In total, there were 53 primary textual documents in RTF format uploaded to Atlas.ti 5 for analysis. These were comprised of 1,011 single-spaced pages of transcribed interviews, focus groups and data validation transcripts as well as lyrics of istambay songs. Initially, the first ten interview transcripts of youth respondents were openly coded. Using the “Codes-Documents-Primary-Table” word count function of Atlas.ti, the emerging thematic codes from these preliminary codes were identified and were used for “auto-coding”. This facilitated the automatic assignment of codes to paragraphs in the transcripts. However, even with this auto-coding, all transcripts were carefully read, and were assigned necessary codes used for organizing, and retrieving information. In sum, 230 primary codes were constructed, and more than 3,500 primary quotations assigned for analysis.

The primary organizing code that was analyzed in this paper was “istambay”. From this, corollary codes, for example, “trabaho” (*work*), “pamilya” (*family*), “Diyos” (*God*), “hirap” (*poverty*), “pangarap” (*dream*), etc., were organized and linked using the “query tool” function of Atlas.ti. This query tool operates with Boolean operators (OR, XOR, AND, and NOT) (Muhr & Friese, 2004: 160). I used this function to combine two or more primary codes, specifying their particular relations in order to construct “supercodes” (e.g., “istambay AND pamilya”; “istambay WITHIN pamilya”). These supercodes facilitated easy retrieval of overlapping and linked quotations, which allowed for a more focused analysis of transcripts.

Another Atlas.ti function that assisted in the analysis was the “family life” (Muhr & Friese, 2004: 191). This function allowed classifying primary documents, codes, or quotations into “families”. For instance, when I decided to focus my analysis on 12 youth respondents, I created a family of “12 youth”, meaning, I assigned the transcripts of 12 respondents under one category (family) that when selected focused the text search,

exploration, retrieval of codes and quotations only to these 12 respondents. I also assigned other families on primary documents like “parents”, “teachers”, “focus groups”, and “istambay songs”, and code families such as “socially-problematized behaviours” and “future aspirations”, which facilitated the organization, retrieval and management of qualitative data.

I compiled all my theoretical, methodological and substantive insights and reflections in the memos function of Atlas.ti. This was where I constructed and developed the major concepts presented in this thesis. In addition, I also found the “network function”, the conceptual-building tool in Atlas.ti (Muhr & Friese, 2004: 211) very useful in this study. I utilized the template provided in network view to initially construct the istambay conceptual maps (see Figure 8 and Figure 9) in Chapter 6, which reflected the major findings of this research.

b.2 Analytical Techniques

The basic techniques used in analyzing the qualitative data are thematic analysis combined with narratives and dialogic reporting. Thematic analysis is a process for encoding qualitative information (Boyatzis, 1998: vi), which was the mode of data treatment I employed in identifying the emerging themes related to the primary code of interest, “istambay”. In the context of thematic analysis, the advantage of the present research is that it was centered on only one concept, “istambay”, which guided the entire process of analysis. This centrality of examination provided a more meaningful assessment of the interacting and related codes, in identifying the themes that constituted the istambay phenomenon.

Thematic analysis was particularly useful in the development and presentation of the storyline matrix of istambay songs, life history matrices, and istambay typologies, which organized the case study respondents relative to their various qualitative indicators. Commonly presented in table format, these themes framed the discussion of research findings, which was combined with narratives and dialogic style of data reporting.

In Chapter 5 and 6, I provide a “thick description” (Geertz, 1973) by narrating the life histories of 12 case study youth respondents. This approach is rooted in ethnographic methods (Agar, 1986; Chari & Gidwani, 2005; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995, 1998), which I found valuable in establishing vivid contextual descriptions. Guided by themes, I presented more detailed, fluid descriptions to help the reader “see” and possibly, “feel”, the everyday life circumstances, opportunities, poverty, and aspirations of these youth.

An important qualitative analytical technique utilized in this research was the “dialogic style” of data reporting. Key to this technique was the use of “research dialogue” between the researcher and the researched in data presentation and analysis. This technique was extensively used by Bourdieu and colleagues’ (2000) qualitative work, *The Weight of the World: Social Suffering in Contemporary Society*. In this work, interview transcripts were reported illustrating how research information was shaped and influenced by both the researcher and respondents. In the same manner, conscious of my power as a researcher, particularly in interviewing youth (Eder & Fingerson, 2002), I chose to show selected portions of actual transcripts to illustrate the research dialogue between myself and the respondents. In a self-reflexive manner (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), this allowed the presentation of multiple voices from youth, parents, and teachers. In so doing, data interpretation was not centered on my relatively powerful views as a researcher but rather, through research dialogue, I was able to diffuse the power of interpretation by allowing the data to speak as they were gathered, thereby preserving the naturalness of conversation. I considered this type of research reporting as enabling better discourse of research insights reflecting my intention to let the voices of my respondents be heard and felt in the text of this thesis.

2. Data Integration

One of the salient issues among mixed methods researchers is the degree to which they “genuinely integrate” the quantitative and qualitative components of their studies (Bryman, 2007: 8). The main issue is how mixed methods mutually illuminate the

research findings so that “the end product is more than the sum of individual quantitative and qualitative parts” (Bryman, 2007: 8). In this research, the process of data integration was shaped by three research decisions:

- a) *Complementarity*. Despite the limitation of cross-sectional YAFS 2002 data, I built on the descriptive findings to better situate my reading of the qualitative transcripts in case studies. In so doing, my thrust was to determine the extent of complementarity between my quantitative and qualitative data. Here, the quantitative descriptions from YAFS 2002 informed the themes that guided the narratives and subsequent analyses of case study data. In addition, the supplementary data (perceptual survey, songs and Internet postings) were used to enhance the data conceptualization and analysis.
- b) *Prioritizing Qualitative Data*. In the process of data integration, this study has prioritized qualitative data over quantitative data because they offered more research information that was useful in developing the arguments in this study. However, whenever possible, quantitative findings were referenced to establish how qualitative findings were informed by quantitative analysis.
- c) *Mixing at multiple stages*. In this study, data integration occurred at multiple stages in the research process. First, during the conceptualization of this research, given the limited availability of national data, this research was designed to have both primary and secondary data from various sources; the primary intention of which was to combine the evidence. Second, during fieldwork in 2005-2006, I worked simultaneously to understand the YAFS 2002 data through my research affiliation with the UPPI, as well as to conduct a first-hand ethnographic study in two case study sites. This experience gave me simultaneous exposure to both quantitative and qualitative data. Third, in the analysis, and reporting of the information from multiple data sources, I was consciously engaged in understanding the relations and interactions between quantitative and qualitative research findings.

3. Reporting

In the reporting of data, there are two important dimensions observed in this study. First is the historical context, and second, is the language translation of Filipino to English. All reported national statistics used in this study were within the historical period of YAFS 2002, and fieldwork in 2005-2006. Thus, this study reported statistics between the period of late 1990s and 2009. In addition, being fluent in both Filipino and English, I was the main translator of research materials. My English translations of transcripts presented in this thesis were more “contextual” than “literal”. That is, I constructed the English translations with an intention of capturing the (latent) meanings of Filipino language so that it would make sense to an international English speaking audience. Although, some nuances were lost, I made sure that each translated transcript was readable, understandable, and insightful.

E. Ethical considerations

The primary collection of qualitative data from interviews, focus groups and observation was obtained with the following ethical considerations:

1. Local Research Assistants

Local research assistants were paid according to their services. They were paid \$300.00 CAD per month during the data gathering phase. This is slightly above the average monthly salary in the Philippines, which is about Php 13,200.00 (\$1 CAD = Php 44.00). In the Philippines, work is not determined by rates per hour but per day. At the time of the survey the minimum wage provided by law is Php 250.00/day [about \$ 6.00 CAD/day].) To protect the information gathered, my research assistants signed a confidentiality agreement.

2. Informed Consent Process

Participation in interviews and focus groups was strictly voluntary. All interview and focus group respondents signed a consent form. The consent form outlined the purpose of

the project, study design, what respondents would be asked to do, possible risks and benefits, the voluntary nature of participation, issues surrounding confidentiality, the storage and use of data, and follow-up information.

3. Confidentiality

I explained to the respondents that any information gathered in this study would be kept confidential. All respondents gave signed consent to use and release research information. In this study, I chose to use the first names of respondents in reporting their respective data.

During the field research in the Philippines, all electronic data (e.g., interview and focus groups' transcripts) were stored on a password protected laptop. Other remaining data such as audio-video tapes were stored in a locked box where I was the only person with access to this locker. Upon my return to Dalhousie University, all data and related materials were saved in a password protected computer. Data have remained confidential to anyone but the researcher and his supervisor. The policy of Dalhousie University is that notes and transcripts of interviews should be retained for five years, post publication.

4. Subject Participation

a. Permission at the Community Level

For the two case studies, before the actual field research, permission was sought from the local community leaders of each field site. Official consultations took place with community representatives (parents, teachers and some youth) and the local leaders. In these preliminary consultations, the following were discussed: (a) the nature and purpose of the study; (b) important ethical considerations during the conduct of the study; and (c) potential use and benefits of study results.

b. Government Commentary

For historical purposes, the *government commentary* is critical to the study. The knowledge and perception of youth, parents and teachers about any government youth project, or the lack thereof, served as basis for further analysis and reflection. All of the respondents' commentaries were treated with utmost caution.

5. Treatment of Data

With the consent of the respondents, qualitative data from interviews and focus groups were recorded either through written notes or with audio-video equipment. Interviews and focus groups took place at the field sites. The date and time of interviews and focus groups depended on the availability of respondents.

With respect to the ethnographic field observation, events such as community meetings, socio-cultural and religious events and other public activities were videotaped. Data acquired through this visual method were used to build field notes.

6. Data Sharing and Validation Workshops

There were data sharing and validation workshops among selected respondents to validate interview and focus group transcripts. The aim of this activity was to ensure proper interpretation and authentic representation of information. Participation was voluntary and proper consent was also secured.

7. Reciprocity

The principle of reciprocity also guided this study. In every formal consultation, food and beverages were provided. Interviewees and focus group respondents were given gifts as tokens of gratitude for their participation. This research technique is based on my previous field research experience, *where tokens in the form of simple gifts rather than money*, were culturally accepted and the most preferred way of showing gratitude to respondents. To show the actual benefit to the community from this research, community

projects were implemented. These community projects included food programs, a community chapel project, Christmas projects, and a computer-training youth program.

8. Context of Gift-giving

My field research experience with two case study sites taught me that direct giving of money to the respondents *generates a bad impression* in the community. This is rooted in the culture of friendship that usually evolves not only between the researcher and the respondents, but with the entire community. “Kwentuhan” or sharing of stories in the Filipino context usually reflects the openness, kindness and support that respondents and communities show to researchers. I observed that this relationship is threatened when money is involved in the process. Thus, in order not to put the respondents in an awkward position in the community, I followed the suggestions of local leaders to give a simple token of appreciation rather than direct giving of money to respondents.

9. Potential Risks Posed to the Respondents

The social issue of the process of growing up and the phenomenon of the *istambay* is a part of the Philippine public discourse. Thus, given the general nature of the research topic, I did not anticipate any potential risks posed to the respondents.

Chapter IV

Exploring the Filipino Istambay: A Conceptual Undertaking

This chapter offers a comprehensive exploration of “istambay” as a concept gleaned from various sources namely local dictionaries, istambay perceptual survey, the Young Adult Fertility Study (YAFS), popular songs, and case studies. By examining the ideas that the above sources contain, the chapter directs attention to two possible ways of understanding sociologically the istambay phenomenon. The first is the “problematic istambay”, which points to the individualized and generally negative stereotypes that Filipinos have learned to associate with people experiencing this state of inactivity. The second is “istambay as problematique”, which aims to understand the social forces that generate and sustain this phenomenon of inactivity, particularly among Filipino youth.

These two dimensions are used in this chapter as heuristic tools in exploring the intertwining private-public nature of istambay. In so doing, the salient components of what entails being a Filipino istambay are systematically clarified. This analysis brings forward five working insights:

- a. That the concept of istambay suggests generalized negative view of inactivity rooted in individual defects (i.e., laziness, lack of motivation, low self-esteem)
- b. That the istambay phenomenon a social problem located within the interlocking issues of (forced) inactivity and unemployment;
- c. That istambay may be regarded as a male-centered youth phenomenon;
- d. That the istambay phenomenon highlights the significance of the education-employment nexus in understanding inactivity in the Philippines;

- e. The experiential differences in access to and utilization of education-employment resources produce a variety of *istambay* who differ in their degrees of vulnerability.

This chapter concludes by discussing the personal and social aspects of the *istambay* phenomenon, which hopefully deepens the sociological understanding of youth inactivity in the Philippines.

A. Etymology and Local Definitions of *Istambay*

Etymologically, the Filipino term *istambay* is derived from the English idiom “on standby” (Almario, 2001; Vicassans's Pilipino-English Dictionary (Abridged Edition), 2006). English as a language and as an official form of communication was introduced in the Philippines during the U.S. American occupation in the early 1900s, and the evolution of the term *istambay* and its usage by present-day Filipinos appears to be a by-product of this colonial period. *Istambay* is a localized version of “standby”, which over the years has developed a set of peculiar characteristics that signify a particular subsector in Philippine society.

Evidence of the foregoing observation is the inclusion of the term *istambay* in two local dictionaries published by well-known universities in the Philippines. One definition explains *istambay* as “a person who does not have work and who usually hangs-out on streetcorners” (Almario, 2001: 385)⁶. This definition also recognizes the use of *tambay* as an accepted abbreviated form of *istambay*.

Another definition of *istambay* comes from a Pilipino-English dictionary (Vicassans's Pilipino-English Dictionary (Abridged Edition), 2006: 209), which offers a more lucid characterization of the negative stereotypes attached to being an *istambay*. This dictionary defines *istambay* as “(1) an act of spending one's time unprofitably; idler; (2) a

⁶ This is the full definition in Filipino: *istambay* png [Ing stand by]: tao na walang trabaho at karaniwang humihimpil sa kanto: TAMBAY (Almario, 2001: 385)

person who spends his time unprofitably; idler; (3) inactive; not being used, as machines”. This definition also suggested the Filipino terms *paglalakwatsa* (gallivanting), *taong tamad* (lazy) and *di ginagamit* (not being used) as synonyms for istambay.

Despite the similar negative emphasis of these three local definitions, these conceptions of istambay reflect two differing yet related themes. The latter describes the istambay as troubled, deficient and delinquent, but the former reflects more of the social aspects of being istambay, that is, “not having work” and spending time in *kanto* or street corners.

This conceptual tension between the individual and the social is also reflected in the analysis of two data sources, the istambay perceptual survey and the YAFS reported in the next section. I contend that this tension reflects the istambay’s negotiations with the contemporary world, both at the individual and societal levels. The task of this research is to explore the private-public connection (Mills, 1959) that would lead to overcoming this conceptual duality (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

B. Who Are the Filipino Istambay

In order to gain a grounded conceptual understanding of istambay, I first drew insights from two empirical sources, the istambay perceptual survey and the Young Adult Fertility and Sexuality Study. Each gives a meaningful overview of who and what the Filipino istambay are, the first from the perspectives of university students, and the second from a surveyed nationally representative sample of Filipino youth.

1. Istambay Perceptual Survey Results

I conducted a purposive survey among selected students of the University of Santo Tomas (UST) with three objectives. First, to obtain a general perception of istambay among a relatively well-educated group; second, to know the extent of the respondents'

knowledge of the istambay; and third, to assess the extent to which the istambay may be regarded as a youth phenomenon.

I surveyed a total of 111 university students from two faculties, the Faculty of Arts and Letters (53%) and the College of Education (47%). Sixty-three percent of respondents were females and 37% males. This reflects the gender distribution of the student population of these two faculties. The mean age of respondents was 18.9 years.

The respondents were first asked an open-ended question, “*Whenever you hear the word "istambay", what comes into your mind?*” Each respondent was given ten blank lines to describe their perceptions of istambay. This was followed by a question asking if they personally knew an istambay, and if yes, how many they knew. Lastly, for those who personally knew an istambay, I asked a multi-response question about the age-groups of these istambays. The age-group categories of choice were 11-14, 15-19, 20-24, 25-35 and 36 and older.

The survey generated 650 open-ended responses, which I categorized into nine broad themes (see Table 7). Seventy-seven percent of the respondents offered a variety of istambay descriptions (e.g., lazy, too dependent, idle) that portray them as suffering from individualized risk-related problems. This was followed by more particular descriptors such as having “no work or unemployed” (66%), engaging in “socially-problematized behaviours” (65%) (e.g., drinking, drug abuse, smoking, crime and violence), and being “inactive” (59%). While other descriptors pertained to self and identity such as having a “happy disposition” (38%) and projecting a “negative physical appearance” (in public) (31%), other images pointed to social dimensions of istambay life such as “lacking in resources” or being “poor” (44%), as a “social problem” (14%), and as persons who are often seen “hanging-out with friends” (9%).

This survey reveals a multidimensional but interconnected image of istambay. The concept of istambay from the thematic descriptions of respondents affirms the earlier

observation that, in general, the term is (a) negatively-laden, (b) permeated by individually-based stereotypes, and (c) reflects the istambay's social situation.

Table 7 - Images of Istambay by Themes

Image/description	Yes		No	
	f	%	f	%
Individualized-risk related problems	86	77	25	23
No work/unemployed	73	66	38	34
Socially-problematized behaviours	72	65	39	35
Inactive	66	59	45	41
Lacking in resources/poor	49	44	62	56
Happy disposition	42	38	69	62
Negative physical appearance	34	31	77	69
A social problem	15	14	96	86
Hangs-out with friends ("Ma-barkada")	10	9	101	91
Others	13	12	98	88
n = 111				

Table 8 shows that 76% percent of respondents revealed having a personal knowledge of istambay. Among these respondents, 48% identified having known more than ten istambays, 34% knew one to five istambays and 18% knew six to ten istambays. This suggests a high degree of istambay knowledge among the majority of respondents, which indicates that istambay descriptions may not be limited solely to perception, but also to their actual personal interaction with the istambay.

Table 8 also shows the age groups of the istambay. Based on multiple response percent of cases, the majority of respondents identified having known istambay who were to 20-24 (74%), 16-19 (60%), 25-35 (49%), 36 and older (30%) and 11-15 years old (10%). This indicates that istambay known by the respondents are as young as 11 years and as old as 35 + years of age. These data reveal an age pattern that relatively peaks between the ages of 16 and 35, evidence that the majority of istambay, as identified by the respondents, are youth. This indicates that istambay may be regarded as a manifestation of a transition crisis faced by some Filipino youth.

Table 8: Knowledge of Istambay

Do you know any istambay?		
Knowledge of istambay	f	%
Yes	82	76
No	26	24
Total	108	100
If yes, how many do you know?		
Number of istambay	f	%
1 to 5	26	34
6 to 10	14	18
More than 10	37	48
Total	77	100
How old are the istambay known to you? (Multi-response)		
Age group	f	% of Cases
11 to 14	8	10
15 -19	49	60
20 – 24	61	74
25 – 35	40	49
36 above	25	30
N = 82		

To better understand the nature of thematic istambay descriptions, each of these descriptions is cross-tabulated with gender, knowledge of istambay, and age group of istambay known to the respondents. While gender and personal acquaintance with the istambay did not show any pattern, the age group of istambay appears to be associated with three specific istambay descriptions as seen in Table 9. These are “socially problematized behaviours”, “lacking in resources” and “happy disposition”. These descriptions occurred more frequently among respondents who had personal contact with younger istambay than the older ones. This possibly indicates change over time in behaviours, economic condition and disposition. For instance, the istambays’ engagement in socially-problematized behaviours lessens as they age, possibly due to maturity or acceptance of more responsibility. Also, an older istambay may be better off financially than his younger counterparts because within the Filipino family context, it is a common practice for the older family member to manage the finances at home. For example, this arrangement commonly transpires in families of overseas migrant workers where even

some istambay are given home responsibilities. When it comes to happy disposition, as expected, younger istambays are perceived as happier than their older counterparts, this may also be a function of the challenges they face growing-up and growing old.

Table 9: Istambay Descriptions by Age groups
N = 82

Thematic istambay descriptions	Age groups			
	15 to 19	20 to 24	25 to 35	36 above
<i>Individualized-risk related problems</i>				
Yes	84	79	83	80
No	16	21	18	20
<i>No work</i>				
Yes	67	69	73	76
No	33	31	28	24
<i>Socially-problematized behaviours</i>				
Yes	59	59	53	44
No	41	41	48	56
<i>Inactive</i>				
Yes	45	44	55	44
No	55	56	45	56
<i>Lacking in resources/poor</i>				
Yes	69	66	68	48
No	31	34	33	52
<i>Happy disposition</i>				
Yes	55	44	33	32
No	45	56	68	68
<i>Negative physical appearance</i>				
Yes	27	28	28	28
No	73	72	73	72
<i>A social problem</i>				
Yes	12	11	15	16
No	88	89	85	84
<i>Hangs-out with friends ("Ma-barkada")</i>				
Yes	16	13	13	20
No	84	87	88	80

*Age group 11-14 is not shown due to small number of cases.

Overall, this survey shows that the concept of istambay is understood by the university students as pertaining to a diverse mix of primarily negative stereotypes consistent with the local istambay definitions described earlier (Almario, 2001: 385; Vicassans's Pilipino-

English Dictionary (Abridged Edition), 2006: 209). These descriptions contain both individual and social conjectures that illustrate the point that istambay as a concept traverse in a fluid yet knowable path of categorization. This fluidity often renders the concept of istambay vague since it encompasses a complicated personal trouble of a defective individual, and the istambay as a social problem (Mills, 1959). In effect, this makes the concept of istambay difficult to operationalize.

2. Istambay and the Variable of Main In/Activity in YAFS 2002

This section attempts to explore and locate istambay using a nationally representative sample of Filipino youth in the Young Adult Fertility and Sexuality Study (YAFS) conducted in 2002. Building on the insights gleaned from the istambay perceptual survey, this secondary analysis presents social profiles of Filipino youth's self-reported main activity. Although the variable of main inactivity as used in YAFS is limited, I argue that after a careful examination of these profiles, the analysis leads to understanding the istambay in the context of three variable categories, namely, those youth who identified themselves as having "no main activity", "unemployed" and "unpaid family worker". These three are presented as separate categories to demonstrate that their social characteristics differ. This analysis also reveals that the istambay phenomenon is more likely experienced by Filipino males than their female counterparts. This gendered nature of the istambay suggests that female Filipino youth find an alternative source of identity in "homemaking" compared to istambay males.

In presenting the YAFS findings, the conceptualization of istambay is examined relative to the definition of youth inactivity provided by the International Labour Organization (ILO) (2006) and "Not in Education, Employment and Training" (NEET) (Bynner & Parsons, 2002; Furlong, 2006). I argue that these working definitions do not capture the class-based and gendered subtleties of youth inactivity in the Philippines. In essence, the YAFS analysis indicates that conceptualizing istambay is not as simple as categorizing them as "economically inactive" (Franzén & Kassman, 2005).

a. Social Profiles of Self-reported Main Activities of Filipino Youth

Compared to other data sets, YAFS 2002 provides the most meaningful empirical data about the self-reported main activity of Filipino youth. In this nationally representative youth survey, the respondents were asked: *What was your main activity from January to March 2002?* Each respondent could choose only one response among the following items: none, unemployed (looking for work), homework, working (domestic helper included), unpaid family worker, and student.

This social profile indicates that certain socio-demographic factors are strongly associated with specific types of main activities. In so doing, the social space of Filipino youth is unearthed to bring about an empirical description of their respective locations in Philippine society. Ultimately, the goal is to examine the social characteristics of Filipino youth's self-reported main activity, and determine who among them may be considered istambays.

Table 10 reveals that the majority of YAFS respondents reported being students (42%), more than a fifth (22%) were workers, 17% were homemakers, 9% were unemployed, 7% had no main activity and 4% were unpaid family workers. Table 11 indicates that students are more likely to be younger (83%) compared to all other self-reported main activities. Conversely, the homemakers and workers belong to relatively older age groups.

Table 10: Self-reported Youth Main Activities (YAFS 2002)

Youth Main Activities	f	%
No main activity	1,425	7
Unpaid family worker	696	4
Unemployed	1,838	9
Worker	4,301	22
Homemaker	3,278	17
Student	8,189	42
Total	19,727	100

Table 11: Profiles of Self-reported Youth Main Activity by Selected Indicators (%)

	No main activity	Unpaid family worker	Unemployed	Worker	Homemaker	Student	Total	Cramer's V
Age								0.40
15-19	51	40	28	26	24	83	52	
20-24	37	41	56	48	46	16	34	
25-27	12	19	16	26	30	1	14	
N = 19,726								
Gender								0.38
Female	45	24	39	39	92	53	54	
Male	55	76	61	61	8	47	46	
N = 19,726								
Locality								0.11
Rural	47	71	40	45	51	48	48	
Urban	53	29	60	55	49	52	52	
N = 19,726								
Region								0.07
Balanced Luzon	41	35	40	37	41	41	40	
Visayas	17	26	18	21	18	20	20	
Mindanao	25	30	16	22	24	23	23	
NCR	17	8	26	20	17	15	17	
N = 19,726								
Marital status								0.60
Single	78	77	87	70	28	99	77	
Married	22	23	13	30	72	1	23	
N = 19,716								
Economic status								0.19
Non-poor	67%	45%	78%	65%	55%	75%	68%	
Poor	33%	55%	22%	35%	45%	25%	32%	
N = 18,374								

*All indicators are significant at $p < .001$.

In terms of gender, as expected, homemakers are predominantly female (92%) while 76% of unpaid family workers are males⁷. Also, unpaid family workers are more likely to be residing in rural areas (71%) and regionally, are located in Visayas (26%) and Mindanao (30%) where agriculture remains a dominant source of livelihood. When it comes to marital status, the greatest difference is between homemakers and students: students are overwhelmingly single (99%) while homemakers are married (72%). Regarding economic status, the unemployed (78%) and students (75%) are more likely belonging to

⁷ Take note of these highly gendered youth main activities, homemaking (females), and being unpaid family workers (males), as the gender dimension of these activities are reflected on other variables, which are reported and analyzed in the subsequent chapters (i.e., “going out on a date unchaperoned”; “ability to write/speak English fluently” and “having barkada (friends) at present”).

non-poor sector while higher likelihood of poverty appears to be experienced by unpaid family workers (55%) and homemakers (45%).

Table 12 reveals that in general, the educational profiles of self-reported main activities parallel the economic scenario observed in the previous table. That is, the unemployed and students appear to be more privileged educationally compared to other groups.

Table 12: Profiles of Self-reported Youth Main Activities by Selected Education Indicators (%) (YAFS 2002)

	No main activity	Unpaid family worker	Unemployed	Worker	Homemaker	Student	Total	Cramer's V
Youth's education								0.21
NS/Elementary	17	34	9	19	18	2	11	
HS Undergraduate	25	20	13	20	23	38	28	
HS grad/Vocational	39	33	39	36	40	25	32	
College/university +	19	14	40	25	19	35	29	
N = 19,644								
School type								0.12
Private	26	22	43	30	26	36	32	
Public	74	78	57	70	74	64	68	
N = 19,651								
Father's education								0.07
NS/Elementary	41	59	38	41	41	32	38	
HS Undergraduate	14	9	12	13	15	12	13	
HS grad/Vocational	26	18	30	26	29	29	28	
College/university +	18	14	20	20	15	27	22	
N = 18,884								
Mother's education								0.10
NS/Elementary	40	60	37	40	39	31	36	
HS Undergraduate	16	12	15	14	18	13	15	
HS grad/Vocational	26	19	28	25	28	26	26	
College/university +	18	9	20	21	15	30	23	
N = 19,046								

*All indicators are significant at $p < .001$.

The unemployed (40%) and the students (35%) are more likely to be college or university educated than in the other four main activity categories. Respectively, these two groups, unemployed (43%) and students (36%), have a higher likelihood of studying in private schools while the reverse, which is studying in public schools, is observed to be higher

among the unpaid family workers (78%), no main activity (74%), homemakers (74%), and workers (70%). Although the differences are not as strong as youth's own education, this same pattern is also evident for mother's education.

The strengths of association (measured by Cramer's V) reveal that the major differences among these self-reported youth main activities are apparent in the following indicators: marital status (0.60), age (0.40), gender (0.38), youth's own education (0.21), and economic status (0.19). These factors meaningfully shape the similarities and differences of social profiles among the self-reported youth main activities, which in my view, brings about the salient underlying social dynamic that is helpful in identifying who among these YAFS youth respondents may be considered istambay.

b. Potential Istambay

Relative to the concept of youth inactivity, the ILO report (2006) speculates that:

As for the question of why a young person would be neither working nor looking for work, and what that means to her/his welfare and future development, the answer depends on what the young person is doing as an alternative. A person could be inactive for any of the following reasons: (a) is attending school (and not working or looking for work while in school); (b) is engaged in household duties such as caring for children or other household members; (c) is retired; (d) is disabled or ill; or (e) other reasons including not knowing how/where to look for work or believing there is no work available (the "discouraged worker"). (International Labour Organization, 2006: 30)

Expectedly, the concern of the ILO in its analysis focuses on paid employment and youth labour participation, which is the reason why, students and homemakers as well as the unemployed were treated in the report as "inactive". A more specific concept related to youth inactivity is "NEET," meaning "Not in Education, Employment and Training" (Bynner & Parsons, 2002; Furlong, 2006, 2008). Unlike the ILO's definition, NEET takes studying as a form of youth activity and directs attention to those who are excluded from school and work. However, this concept is unclear about how it includes or excludes the homemakers in the analysis of youth data (mostly used in European countries). A more

straightforward definition is the “economically inactive” (i.e., Franzén & Kassman, 2005), which uses the length of unemployment as a measure of inactivity.

In relation to the social profiles of self-reported youth main activities from YAFS 2002, I find the ILO's definition of youth inactivity too general because of its inclusion of students and homemakers. On a slightly different dimension, implementing NEET using the YAFS does not provide a clear indication on where and how the homemaker and unpaid family worker should be included in the analysis⁸. Correspondingly, adapting the concept of “economically inactive” would oversimplify the treatment of self-reported main activity.

Another way of thinking about the *istambay* is to use the concept “idle” (Edelman, et al., 2006; Ericta, 2003). In the Philippines, both academic and government reports (Ericta, 2003; Philippine Commission on Population, 2003; Raymundo & Cruz, 2004; Raymundo, et al., 1999) define idle youth as “neither working nor studying”. In fact, reports about this group using YAFS data have been published (i.e., Philippine Commission on Population, 2003; Philippine National Youth Commission, 2004, 2005; Raymundo & Cruz, 2004). However, re-examination of the same data set for this dissertation reveals that each self-reported main activity carries unique characteristics, whose insights I utilize in hypothesizing who among these Filipino youth logically have a higher likelihood of experiencing inactivity and thus, are more likely to come close to the concept of *istambay*.

Among these types of youth, I argue that the “potential *istambay*” could also be located among three categories: the unemployed, those with no main activity, and the unpaid family workers. In this section, I pay attention to the social factors of marital status, age and gender, as well as economic status and youth’s own education in order to demonstrate differences among the self-reported youth main activities. I argue that by

⁸ This may be explained by the fact that NEET is a concept that works well in developed economies where there is a minimal or virtually no youth population may be regarded as unpaid family worker. On the other hand, homemaking, too, may not be regarded as an exclusive activity due to shift in female’s labour dynamics in developed countries.

focusing attention on these differences, various scenarios of youth inactivity are unraveled, giving context to what I refer to as potential istambay in the YAFS 2002 data.

Students (42%). This group comprises more than one-third of the sample (15-20 year old), which reflects the expected relatively high number of in-school youth in the Philippines (Population Reference Bureau, 2000, 2006). Students in this sample are overwhelmingly single and young. They are equally distributed across gender. On the other hand, economically, this group is relatively well-off and in this respect similar to the unemployed. Correspondingly, students as well as the unemployed, have a higher degree of exposure to formal schooling compared to other main activities. Conceptually, compared to other self-reported main activities, being a student is the least contentious as it directly means someone who is currently studying or engaged with some form of schooling, that is, in the Philippine context, a legitimate form of youth activity.

Workers (22%). Similar to students, this group is conceptually clear because the meaning is self-evident. “Worker” refers to those who identified themselves as actively engaged in some type of paid employment outside the home, which distinguishes them from unpaid family workers. In the YAFS sample, workers are more likely married, relatively older (belonging to the 20 and 27 age group), and are more likely to be males. In terms of economic status, poverty is prevalent among workers (35%) as those with no main activity (33%) and homemakers (45%). This suggests that those who report “working” are primarily unskilled labourers. In terms of youth’s own education, a good proportion of workers indicate having no schooling or finished elementary education and high school (19%), also comparable with the homemakers (18%) and no main activity group (17%).

The relatively poor status and low educational attainment of this working group contradicts my expectation that among the self-reported main activities, these workers were economically privileged and educated. This indicates a certain degree of vulnerability shaping this group, such as instances where youth would have left or were forced to leave school early to work due to financial difficulties; a phenomenon I

observed as more prevalent among males than females⁹. However, in relation to youth inactivity, what distinguishes this working group from the *istambay* is their paid employment.

Homemakers (17 %.) Nearly a fifth of the YAFS sample reported “doing housework” as their main activity. As expected, homemakers in this sample are more likely married, female and are relatively older. In terms of economic status, most of them belong to the poor category. Educationally, homemakers seem to share similar situations with the working group and those with no main activity.

In the Philippine context, homemaking refers to those who are engaged in domestic work centered on giving care to family members. As such, the life of homemakers is centered on “home” and in accomplishing household-related responsibilities. As a form of main activity, I find homemaking as a protective dress worn by Filipino females to highlight both their productive and reproductive roles in their respective households. Thus, it is less likely that homemakers are ever perceived to be *istambay* due to their domestic responsibilities.

Unemployed (9%). In the YAFS sample, this group could be referred to as economically inactive because they are “unemployed, but are looking for work”. Their willingness to actively participate in the labour force differentiates them from those youth who reported having “no main activity”. Hypothetically, this group is a type of Filipino *istambay* directly experiencing labour inactivity.

The unemployed in this sample are more likely to be single, male and relatively older particularly belonging to 20-24 age group. Economically, this group, similar to students, are relatively well-off reflecting their higher educational attainment. This implies that this group is more likely to be new job seekers, fresh from college/university graduates. In essence, the inactivity of this group appears to be directly related to the lack of employment opportunities in the Philippines. Despite their training and relatively high

⁹ “Reasons for leaving school” is presented in the next chapter.

educational credentials, the unemployed may be considered as the educated istambay in the YAFS sample.

No main activity (7 %). This group is drawn from those who answered “none”, the respondents with no main activity. There is no follow-up question to indicate what other minor activities this group may be involved in. This group is relatively young, single, and relatively poor. Educationally, this group shares lower educational attainment with the workers and homemakers.

Conceptually, the “none” response may mean different types of inactivity (school, domestic work or labour). Given the other five categories, “no main activity” may be understood as neither studying nor working and having no domestic responsibilities. As they are relatively young, I hypothesize this is another type of istambay who may be “waiting” not necessarily to have a paid job but the opportunity to return to school or get married. Clearly, this group directly experiences a precarious type of inactivity that is more severe than the unemployed. This type of istambay seems to be experiencing a combination of education and work inactivity that presents a double-edged crisis.

Unpaid family workers (4%). In the YAFS, “unpaid family worker” means “members of the family who assist another member in the operation of the family farm or business enterprise and who do not receive any wage or salary for their work” (Philippine National Statistics Office, 1997). Further, the room and board and any cash allowance given as incentives to these unpaid family workers are not counted as compensation (Philippine National Statistics Office, 1997). In this sample, those who self-identified as unpaid family workers are more likely older, male, from a rural area, and poor. Most of them have either no formal schooling or elementary education.

In terms of youth activity, conceptually, despite being categorized as “workers”, this group experiences inactivity leading me to perceive being an unpaid family worker as another type of istambay in the Philippines. The fact that most of them reside in rural areas indicates that the nature of their work under agricultural settings (i.e., farms or

fishing villages) is seasonal and does not entail regular working hours. This arrangement forces them to be inactive for a good number of hours each day, or longer, depending on the type of agricultural work. In addition, as most unpaid family workers are males, they are not obligated to do housework or any domestic responsibilities as these are assigned to females in Filipino households, especially in rural areas. In this context, I argue that the unpaid family workers in this YAFS sample comprise another type of istambay.

In sum, using the preliminary analysis of the self-reported main activity from the YAFS 2002 study, I hypothesize that in the Philippine context, the unemployed, those with no main activity and the unpaid family workers experience various forms of youth inactivity. Conceptually, these three categories could be considered to constitute a typology of Filipino istambay.

This question of potential istambay raises important empirical issues. Firstly, it suggests there is not one type of istambay but rather various types emerging from different contexts. Secondly, istambay is a male-centered phenomenon. Thirdly, the interacting dynamics between economic and education fields are crucial spaces in determining who among the Filipino youth would likely become istambay. In essence, the locus of concern of istambay is youth inactivity akin to the school-work transitional crisis, which has been well documented in Western literature but not in the Philippines.

In order to carefully validate my assumptions about the potential istambay in the YAFS 2002, the next section presents the social construction of the concept of istambay from a number of Filipino songs of different genres. The two-pronged foci of this presentation are: on the one hand, to describe the life of the istambay, and, on the other, to determine the social conditions that make possible the emergence of istambay youth.

3. The Social Construction of Istambay: Music and Lyrics of Inactivity in the Philippines

Over the past 50 years, since the 1963 film *Istambay*, there has been an abundance of istambay representations in various forms of the visual arts (i.e., films, photos, paintings, cartoons, sketches and graphic arts) and music. Interestingly, the mediatisation of istambay has also led to the commercialization of this concept found, for example, in t-shirts, baseball caps and bags. Public graffiti about the istambay are also prominent in various places. These observations are evident not only in public spaces in the Philippines but also over the Internet (See Appendix A).

Among these representations, the music and lyrics written about Filipino istambay are most useful in understanding the social construction of istambay from the vantage point of local artists who articulate the image, voice and challenges of inactivity in the Philippines. Results from this song analysis demonstrate the apparent association of istambay with negative individual traits (i.e. being lazy, irresponsible) and their higher likelihood of engaging in socially-problematized behaviours such as drinking, smoking, drug abuse, and gambling. This risk dynamic solidifies the negative stereotypes attached to the concept of istambay, which these songs challenge. Another dimension is that the istambay phenomenon is not exclusive to those who are economically poor and educationally limited. The themes of istambay songs clearly describe that inactivity has also permeated those who are economically well-off and well-educated. Such songs then give voice to the istambay explaining the factors that led them to this precarious state of inactivity. Also, the songs present a plea for the Filipino public to understand the vulnerable context of Filipino istambay. This is addressed to those who come in contact with them to solicit some sense of compassion, hope, and resolution relative to their inactive situation.

For the song analysis, I have chosen the local compositions that explicitly take istambay as a focus of musical interest. Interestingly, the six songs in this study are entitled, “Istambay”. For purposes of discussion, I shall refer to the respective artists of each song (see Table 13) in explaining the salient points of this analysis.

Table 13 presents summary information of selected istambay songs revealing their historical, musical and geographical contexts. Historically, various songs about the istambay have been produced by local artists in the last half century. The musical genres of these songs range from folk country to reggae and rock. Even regional compositions such as *Enchi* and *Ulihing Tubo* have prominently surfaced alongside with the mainstream Tagalog/Filipino compositions.

Table 13: Summary Information of Selected Filipino Songs Entitled "Istambay"

ID	Source information	Description	Genre	Language
Istambay film song	Joseph Ejercito Productions. (1963). Istambay. Philippines.	This song is used in the film <i>Istambay</i> (1963) to tease and taunt <i>Rolando</i> , the protagonist while borrowing food from the sari-sari store (convenient) of Ms. Rosa.	Folk/colloquial	Tagalog/ Filipino
Heber Bartolome	Heber Bartolome (composer and artist). 1992. <i>From Banyuhay Ni Heber Bartolome, Tatlong Kahig Isang Tuka</i> (CD album) Online: http://www.tagtuner.com/music/albums/Banyuhay-Ni-Heber-Bartolome/Tatlong-Kahig-Isang-Tuka/album-v2be45	The song, which became popular in the 1970s and 1980s focuses on the problem of growing-up in a dysfunctional family environment where parents are in conflict. This middle class take on istambay demonstrates how youth become disillusioned and find the street corner as an alternative space for commuting, which expose them to risks.	Folk/country	Tagalog/ Filipino
Ulihing Tubo	Ulihing Tubo (Ilongo band). Unknown release date. Hiligaynon Music Records. <i>From "Ang Ulihing Tubo"</i> (Album). Composer Danilo "Momo" Dalisay. Online: http://www.imeem.com/tagaatonkoya/music/ZyqWfcsC/ulihing-tubo-istambay/	Popular Ilongo song, a social commentary that contends that istambay should not be blamed because their poverty is not their choice. It presents istambay as talented individuals. Became popular in the mid 1980s and early 1990s, especially in the Ilongo region.	Country-rock	Ilongo
Enchi	Enchi (band) (artist). 2005. <i>From Dungagi ni...</i> (Album) Galaxy Records (Producer). Philippines.	This Visayan composition encourages istambay to keep away from street brawls and advocates non-violence.	Reggae	Visaya
Genecity	Genecity (Independent band). Unknown release date. <i>From "Jam and Trip"</i> (Album). Online posted 2008: http://genecity-trip.blogspot.com/	This song directs attention to the fact that istambay should not be undermined because there are educated istambay. It explains that these educated istambay did not choose to be inactive.	Rock/ danceable	Tagalog/ Filipino
PML band	Philippine Men's League (PML) (Independent band). 2008. Rodolfo Herrero (Composer) Rudy Herrero & A.Yumo (Lyrics). Tokyo Japan. Online posted 2008: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eYHOM3i0TqM	This narrates what is a typical day for istambay highlighting the negative stereotypes that they are popularly well-known for.	Rock	Tagalog/ Filipino

From historical perspective, the *Istambay film song* indicates that the inactivity phenomenon has been observed in the Philippines since the Second World War or possibly earlier. The 1980s and 1990s istambay songs by *Heber Bartolome* and *Ulihing Tubo* appear to coincide with local and global restructuring of the labour market, which had serious impacts, not only on the increased rate of unemployment and underemployment in the Philippines, but more so, on the taken for granted issue of inactivity. Recently, the life, state and problem of the istambay have been reinvented musically by local bands such as *Genecity*, *Enchi* and *PML*.

The musical genres of these songs also reflect the social texture of inactivity and the shifting social character of istambay. This implies the conceptual representation of istambay has taken different forms, from a folk-country tone to reggae to danceable-rock style. From the spatial point of view, it seems istambay has evolved in meaning not only in the rural areas but also in urban spaces and somewhere in between, mimicking the slow-paced, laid back tempo of folk music in the countryside in contrast to the fast, loud and lively sound of reggae and urban rock. On the other hand, *Enchi's* song written in Visayan language, as well as *Ulihing Tubo's* Ilonggo version, deepens the view that the istambay phenomenon is also salient in other regions of the Philippines.

Each song tells a specific istambay story. Each story tells about the various settings and contexts of inactivity. As these songs take istambay as a musical focus, the lyrics articulate the underlying assumption about them, their life history and their precarious state of inactivity.

a. Capturing Istambay through Music: Space and Sounds of Tensions

The main focus of the six istambay songs analyzed in this study is the problem of inactivity in the Philippines. Similar to the results of the istambay perceptual survey discussed in the first section of the chapter, the imagery portrayed in the lyrics of these songs is the sense of stigma attached to istambay. This stigma is accentuated by the stereotypes that direct attention to negative individual traits and socially-problematized

behaviours. The sound of these images relates the tensions and crises that inactivity brings into the life of istambay.

Inactivity is explicitly articulated in all the storylines of the six istambay songs.

Genecity's version illustrates the inactive situation in these lines, “Walang alam kahit among trabaho” (*Do not know anything about working*) and “Ganyan talaga ang walang magawa sa buhay” (*That is the case when there's nothing to do*). Symbolically, it is in the use of the term *kanto* (street corner) that these songs vividly capture the state of inactivity among istambay.

Kanto is the istambay's place of congregation, a space of gathering and a point of intersection between them, the bystanders, and the passersby. In these songs, *kanto* is suggested to have become the istambay's social space providing them some degree of identity and legitimacy. The use of *kanto* as a symbolic space for the istambay exposes the public's prejudice towards them as well as the precariousness of their situation. These are apparent in the following lyrics:

Istambay laging nasa kanto (*Istambay, always on street corner*)
Humihingi ng lagay sa mga tao (*Asking for doleouts from people*)

Istambay film song

Sa akong pagstambay, diri sa dalan nga agianan (*While I am standing by, in this road where people passby*)
Ila kong gkataw an (*They laugh at me*)

Enchi

O puro kalokohan ang nasa isip nila, (*They only have mischief in their minds*)
'Yan ang sabi nyo istambay sa may kanto. (*That is what you say about istambay on streetcorners.*)

Genecity

Istambay dyan sa kanto (*Istambay on street corner*)
Ako ay istambay dyan sa kanto. (*I am an istambay on streetcorner.*)
Pagala-gala sa lansangan (*Loitering on streets*)
Naglalakad akong walang pupuntahan (*Walking and not knowing where to go*)

Heber Bartolome

Istambay ang tawag (*Istambay is what we call*)
 Sa taho sa dalan (*People by the roadside*)

Ulihing Tubo

The tensions of inactivity, as narrated in the songs, are found in the lyrical phrases that depict the individual negative traits of istambay interspersed with their engagement in socially-problematized behaviours (see Table 14). In particular, the *Ulihing Tubo* and *PML* songs generally describe the idleness, easy-going, laidback, lazy attitude of istambay. One of these traits is their attitude on food and eating, whereby the istambay is described as being irresponsible such as not washing their own dishes. These are vividly described in lyrics such as “Wala pa ka tig-ang, mapuli maka-on ang pinggan baya-an” (*You have not made rice, you go home to eat and you leave the plates unwashed*)(*Ulihing Tubo*), “Sa balay salaguron” (*And in the house, you need to be fed/looked after*)(*Ulihing Tubo*) and “Tumba ang kaldero sabay tulog” (*Eat all there is in the rice pot, then sleep*)(*PML*).

Table 14: Socially-Problematized Behaviours in Selected Istambay Songs

Song	Lyrics	Socially-problematized behaviours
Istambay film song	Pautangin ng pangtoma't sigarilyo. (<i>Loan him money for his drink and cigarette.</i>)	Drinking and smoking
Heber Bartolome	Anong aking gagawin (<i>What shall I do</i>) Ako'y di pinapansin (<i>They do not have time for me</i>) Ngayo'y naririto (<i>Now am loaded</i>) Humihithit nitong damo (<i>Smoking grass - marijuana</i>). Kami ngayo'y naririto (<i>Now we are here</i>) Kaharap ay beer at rum (<i>Drinking beer and rum</i>) Huwag sanang sisihin (<i>Please don't blame us</i>) Bagkus kami'y kahabagan (<i>Instead, have pity on us.</i>)	Drug abuse Drinking
	Komento ng mga miron: Ayaw ko ng ng inuman (tawanan). (<i>Crowd comment: I do not like to drink anymore, laughter.</i>)	Drinking
Enchi	Sa akong pagstambay (<i>As istambay</i>) Ang sigarilyo nalay kalipay (<i>Smoking brings me happiness</i>) Hawid hawiran daun dila dilaan (<i>I hold and puff the cigarette</i>) Aron ang problema makalimtan (<i>To forget my problems</i>) Makainom lang gamay (<i>Just drink a little</i>) Ang katulog, kahamugaway, (<i>The future I confront</i>) Dli na madestorbo (<i>Not to disturb</i>) Inig ka ugma balik sa uno (<i>Hoping for a fresh start.</i>)	Smoking Drinking
PML	Punta sa tambayan (<i>Bound to "tambayan" (a place to hang-out)</i>) Doon sa bilyaran, pustahan na (<i>To play billiards, to place bet</i>) At sa gabi'y (<i>In the evening</i>) Aakyat ng ligaw sa kanyang chikas na si Inday (<i>He courts his chick named Inday</i>) Dala-dala'y alak at pulutan (<i>He brings alcohol and finger food</i>) Para pantagay sa Itay ni Inday (<i>To share with Inday's father</i>) Naglalasing, oras lumilipas (<i>Getting drunk, time passes by</i>) Tagay at pulutan (<i>Shots of alcohol and finger food</i>) Walang humpay (<i>Flowing</i>)	Gambling Drinking

But more pronounced with the four songs, namely, *Istambay film song*, *Heber Bartolome*, *Enchi*, and *PML*, is the istambay's visible association with socially-problematized behaviours particularly smoking, drinking, drug abuse and gambling. Table 14 identifies the specific lyrics that direct attention to these behaviours. These songs seem to suggest that this association between inactivity and their involvement with socially-problematized behaviours is either a strategy of coping or a defensive reaction toward their inactive situation.

b. Unearthing Social Structures in Istambay Lyrics

By unearthing the storylines of each song, the tensions of inactivity are situated within the specific structural features making up the istambay narratives. Using the insights from the YAFS 2002 on what major socio-demographic indicators differentiate the self-reported main activities among Filipino youth, the storyline matrix presented in Table 15 suggests that, in general, the istambay that the songs depict: single, Filipino, young, and males. The *Istambay* film (Joseph Ejercito Productions, 1963) builds its story along this demographic. In addition, all songs implicitly point to similar social characteristics whereby the istambay are portrayed to be relatively free from any domestic and familial responsibilities.

However, the main sites of differences in these songs are located in the interrelated fields of economics and education. Four songs (*Istambay film song*, *Ulihing Tubo*, *Enchi*, and *PML band*) represent the economically poor and low educated istambay, while the other two (*Heber Bartolome* and *Genecity*) tackle a different type of istambay who are non-poor and relatively better educated.

Table 15: Storyline Matrix of Selected Istambay Songs by Selected Indicators

ID	Marital Status	Age	Gender	Economic status	Educational attainment
Istambay film song	Single	Young	Male	Poor	Low
Heber Bartolome	Single	Young	Male	Non-poor	Middle/High
Ulihing Tubo	Single	Young	Male	Poor	Low
Enchi	Single	Young	Male	Poor	Low
Genecity	Single	Young	Male	Non-poor	Middle/High
PML band	Single	Young	Male	Poor	Low

The poverty in the *Istambay film song* is best illustrated in the phrase, “Humihingi ng lagay sa mga tao” (*Asking alms from people*) and in *Ulihing Tubo*’s direct depiction of istambay’s economic background:

Basulon ta ayhan (*Shall we associate*)
oh! Pasipalahan (*or blame*)
bangud kay pigado (*their poor*)
ang iya gin halinan (*family background.*)
Ulihing Tubo

Again, food is a metaphor used in depicting the poor economic status of istambay in *Enchi* and *Ulihing Tubo* while the *PML band* agonizes over the istambay’s difficult life and the lack of progress. (See quotations below.) Consequently, the poverty of this type of istambay implicitly suggests how their economic poverty reduced their chances to study.

Ang masubo sini (*The sad thing is,*)
Kung wala pa sang sud-an (*if there is no main dish*)
Matulon sang kan-on (*just swallow the rice*)
Bisan tubig pasundan (*and drink water.*)
Ano ang mahimo kay (*What can you do,*)
Wala sang kootun (*you have nothing to find.*)
Ulihing Tubo

Sa akong paglatagaw (*In my journey*)
Mokaon lang ug singkong lugaw (*All I eat is 5 cents*
of rice porridge)
Dili gud ambisyoso (*But I’m not ambitious*)
Nga mangita pa ug adobo (*To look for adobo*
[seasoned meat with soy sauce and vinegar])
Enchi

O kay hirap (*Oh how difficult*)
Buhay-istambay (*Life of a istambay*)
Walang asenso (*No progress*)
Ang buhay istambay (*The life of istambay*)
Siya’y isang istambay..hay, hay,hay...(*He is a*
istambay, hay, hay, hay...)
PML Band

On the other hand, there is another type of istambay who enjoys a better economic situation. *Heber Bartolome's* song hints towards this using the phrases, "Ako nama'y anak mayaman, Daddy ko'y businessman" (*I am a rich kid, my daddy is a businessman*). Likewise in the *Genecity* song, a vivid point is made about the fact that not all istambay on street corners are uneducated, insinuating that their credentials differentiate them from a less educated type of istambay.

Kaibigan hindi lahat ng istambay, sa may kanto ay puro loko.
(*Friend, not all the istambay that you see on street corners are fools*)

Katunayan merong tituladong istambay sa may kanto, (*In fact, there are istambay with educational credentials*)
Kayat wag mong mumurahin. (*So, do not curse them.*)

Genecity

This underlying distinction furnishes a conceptual basis on this study's attempt to produce a typology of istambay in relation to my discussion of the YAFS' potential istambay. Analysis of the songs directs attention to how inactivity seems to permeate social class distinctions. Equally important is the puzzling context of those educated youth whose inactivity appears to throw a grain of doubt on the typically expected positive relationship between education and employment.

However, in addition to economic and educational structures, the familial social field is also utilized in *Heber Bartolome's* song in order to illustrate how parental conflict could disillusion the istambays' positive disposition towards life. This apparent family dysfunction leads inactive youth to engage into socially-problematized behaviours, thus exposing them to greater risks. (See quotations below.) This gives additional cues as to how the familial context may be playing an important part in istambay's life.

Ang nanay ko'y laging wala (*My mother is always not around*)
Naroon sa kapitbahay (*She's at our neighbour's*)
Sa madyunga'y natatalo (*Losing at MahJong*)
Kaya't mainit ang ulo (*That is why her mood is foul.*)

Tatay ko'y laging lasing (*My father is always drunk*)
Umaga na kung dumating (*Arriving late at home*)
Hindi matatanong (*You cannot ask him any question*)
Baka ikaw ay sipain (*For he may kick you.*)

Lagi silang nag-aaway (*They are always fighting*)
Naririnig ng kapitbahay (*Our neighbours could hear them*)
Pati ako'y minumura (*They even curse at me*)
Ako'y anak daw ng tupa! (*That I am a "son of a sheep"!*).

Heber Bartolome

c. Istambays' Voices

Between the structure and the social fields that clarify the social locations, these songs give voices to the actual life experiences of istambay. As well as making frequent reference to the istambays' negative behaviours, each song counters stereotypes by presenting what is relatively positive about the istambay.

In this way, the songs attempt to construct the habitus of the istambay by highlighting their values and dispositions. For example, the kind and helping nature of istambay is described in *Ulihing Tubo* and *Istambay film song*. Thus:

Sa ti-on sang kalayo (*When it is far,*)
Sin-o ang mahakwat (*who will carry*)
sang tubig sa baldi (*the water in the pail*)
agud ang sunog mauntat (*so the fire can be stopped.*)
pagtabok sang tigulang (*When old people cross the street,*)
sin-o ang matoy-toy (*who will assist them.*)
bulig sang estambay (*An istambay's help*)
handa nga mag-hatag (*is always ready to be given.*)

Ulihing Tubo

Istambay huwag niyong hahamakin (*Istambay, do not belittle them,*)
Istambay ay nakakatulong din (*Istambay could sometimes be helpful.*)
Kung merong mamatay sa inyong kapitbahay (*If someone dies in your neighbourhood*)
Istambay ang mga naglalamay. (*Istambay are the ones at the wake.*)

Istambay film song

An in-depth analysis of the coded themes unravels the singers' ideas about the "positive future" of istambay (23%) relatively comparable to the combined frequencies of code occurrence of themes about negative traits (17%) and socially-problematized behaviours (11%) (see Table 16). This indicates how the songs challenge negatively-laden ideas attached to istambay by presenting alternative ideas on how negative perceptions may be reversed, which pinpoint the values of hope and optimism even in the midst of inactivity.

Table 16: Count and Percentage of Coded Themes Emerging From Istambay Songs

Themes	Film song	Heber Bartolome	Enchi	Genecity	Ulihing Tubo	PML	Total	%
Future	1	9	11	0	5	3	29	23
Negative traits	1	8	5	1	3	4	22	17
Socially-problematized behaviours	1	6	5	0	0	2	14	11
As a problem	0	3	5	3	1	1	13	10
Family	0	6	2	0	2	1	11	9
Kanto (street corner)	1	3	1	3	2	0	10	8
Happy disposition	0	0	4	1	0	4	9	7
Positive traits	3	1	1	0	1	1	7	6
Poverty and lack of resources	0	0	2	1	1	1	5	4
Barkada (friends)	0	0	2	1	0	0	3	2
Education	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	2
Religion	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
Total (Count)	7	36	39	11	16	17	126	

Enchi is the most forward-looking of the songs. The core of its discourse is to encourage the istambay to be free from the violence of street-brawls by valuing "peace not war", similar to the popular youth reactionary sentiment generated by the American-Vietnam war. This appeal is presented in a light reggae style, aimed at diffusing the problems brought by inactivity through a symbolic "dancing-out of regrets" and "up-waving of hands". Similarly, *PML*'s rock tune encourages istambay to undergo reformation.

Woh stambay dili mangita ug away (*Oh istambay do not look for a fight*)
 Woh stambay kalinaw among kalipay... (*Oh istambay our happiness is apparent*)
 Oh stambay sayaw arang way mahay (*Oh istambay, dance-out your regrets*)

Oh stambay kamot ikaway kaway (*Oh istambay, wave your hands*)

Enchi

Magbago ka! (*Reform yourself!*)

Kumilos ka! (*Move it!*)

Gising na! (*Wake up!*)

PML

Against the backdrop of the negative stereotypes, the *Heber Bartolome* version gives voice to istambay saying, “Huwag sanang sisihin, bagkus kami’y kahabagan” (*Please don’t blame us, instead, have pity on us*). This pleads the case of the istambay away from stigma and appeals that they be fully recognized as a wandering lost sector in Philippine society urgently needing a sense of direction.

Istambay dyan sa kanto (*Istambay on street corner*)

Kami ang istambay dyan sa kanto (*We are istambay on street corner.*)

Pagala-gala sa lansangan (*Loitering on streets*)

Naglalakad akong walang pupuntahan (*Walking not knowing where to go*)

Istambay dyan sa kanto (*Istambay on street corner*)

Kami ang istambay dyan sa kanto (*We are the istambay on the street corner.*)

Saan kami patutungo (*Where do we go?*)

Kaliwa ba o kanan o diretso (*Will it be left, right or straight*)

Heber Bartolome

d. Harping Note with YAFS 2002

The preceding insights provided by the song analysis complement the perceptual survey as well as the YAFS 2002 self-reported main activity variable. The in-depth examination of lyrics renders ideas that substantively clarify the concept of istambay in terms of: (a) the relations among negative traits, socially-problematized behaviours and risks; (b) the salient impact of inactivity across economic and educational status; (c) the meaningful influence of familial and religious fields as illustrated in some songs; and (d) the constitution of istambay habitus.

More importantly, taking into consideration the YAFS, the examination of selected songs explains that it is the inactivity of *istambay* that gives them a sense of identity, which differentiates them from students, homemakers and workers. To a certain degree, the song analysis affirms the notion of potential *istambay* in YAFS as being comprised of a typology that includes the unemployed, those with no main activity and the unpaid family workers.

4. Locating *Istambay* in the Field: Experiences of Inactivity from the Ground

In order to gain a deeper understanding of the complexities and dynamics of the concept of *istambay*, this section presents the research findings from my fieldwork (March 2005 – February 2006). The section highlights the experiences of inactivity among 12 selected youth participants from two case study sites. For purposes of analytical consistency, I first categorize these youth according to their main activities at the time of the fieldwork following YAFS 2002. In so doing, I am able to initially identify the potential *istambay* in the case studies. Correspondingly, given that these case studies allow for a detailed description of youth's life histories, this section illustrates an empirical grasp of how inactivity is experienced by these youth at various points of their lives.

Using life-history matrix tables, I further explore the relation between inactivity and the education-work experiences of youth as well as their relative exposure to socially-problematized behaviours. Again, this highlights the link between education and employment fields, which appear to be the core points of exclusion among these Filipino *istambay* youth. On the other hand, the association between inactivity and exposure to socially-problematized behaviours is traceable, particularly in the biographies of those respondents who, on one or two occasions in their lives, considered themselves as *istambay*. The work histories of these respondents demonstrate how “waiting” becomes deeply engrained into the employment process.

The case studies illustrate that the concept of *istambay* is socially constructed within the realm of male Filipino youth, similar to how the *istambay* are depicted in the songs. Axial

analysis of istambay codes relative to socially-problematized behaviours offers support to this observation.

a. Typology of Youth Respondents Using YAFS 2002 Self-Reported Main Activity Categories

I focus my analysis on the lives of 12 Filipino youth from two case studies, one from a rural fishing village in Talim Island, and the other from an urban-poor barangay in Manila. I have been monitoring the lives of rural respondents over the past 14 years since 1994. I established initial research relationship with the urban respondents in 2005. My selection of these respondents is based primarily on the extent of information about their lives, which they shared, clarified and validated with me over my 12-month (March 2005 – February 2006) engagements with them.

Using the YAFS self-reported main activity variables, at the time of fieldwork, Table 17 reveals that the youth case studies are composed of one student, two workers, four homemakers, two unemployed, two with no main activity and one unpaid family worker. The age range of these youth respondents is between 18 and 35 years. There are five female respondents and seven males. Seven respondents are from rural Talim and five are from urban Manila¹⁰.

Most of the respondents are single (7) and the rest are either legally married (3) or living-in (2). Educationally, seven respondents reached or finished collegiate level, two had taken vocational courses, one finished high school, one was a high school undergraduate, and one respondent did not finish elementary education. Table 17 demonstrates how the respondents are relatively distributed across age, gender, residence, civil status and education, as well as how the respondents are distributed according to their main activities according to the YAFS main activity categories.

¹⁰ At first, I intended to compare and contrast the rural-urban youth experiences of my respondents. However, as I immersed with the communities in two case study sites, I discovered that the rural-urban dichotomy is not a meaningful category to use in the present research because of the relative similarity of poor conditions in these areas. Thus, this research did not offer an extensive analysis of the impact of residence on inactivity experiences of respondents.

Table 17: Typology of Youth Case Study Respondents Using YAFS' Main Activity Categories

Main activity during fieldwork	Name	Gender	Age	Residence	Civil Status	Education
Student	Glefer	F	18	Urban	Single	2nd year college (on-going)
Worker	Ruben	M	24	Rural	Single	College Graduate
Worker	Manolet	M	32	Urban	Married	Vocational course
Homemaker	Carol	F	25	Rural	Married	College Graduate
Homemaker	Lanie	F	30	Rural	Common law	High school Graduate
Homemaker	Jacquelyn	F	22	Urban	Common law	High school undergraduate
Homemaker	Shirley	F	35	Urban	Single	College graduate
Unemployed	Chris	M	27	Rural	Married	College Graduate
Unemployed	Ryan	M	23	Rural	Single	College Graduate
No main activity	Alex	M	26	Rural	Single	College Undergraduate
No main activity	JR	M	24	Urban	Single	Vocational course
Unpaid family worker	Edgar	M	31	Rural	Single	Elementary Undergraduate

Following the notion of potential istambay, Table 17 indicates five of the 12 youth respondents could be considered istambay. These are Chris and Ryan (unemployed); Alex and JR (with no main activity); and Edgar (unpaid family worker). All of them are male. Four are single and their educational attainments vary from having primary education (Edgar), vocational course (JR) to tertiary levels (Chris and Ryan). This characterization of istambay parallels the description in the YAFS and the songs discussed in the previous sections.

b. Istambay Experiences Along the Education-Work Nexus

Interviews with youth respondents locate the concept of istambay within the interlocking fields of education and employment. This means that being istambay is not purely about “being out of work” but rather directs attention to a more general state of having no activity starting from an interruption in the respondents’ formal schooling. This is the root of the first istambay experience. Alex explains this with a sense of difficulty and

disappointment by saying that his istambay experience started when he stopped going to school:

“Para kasing mahirap ipaliwanag, e? Gawa dati kasi noong interbyuhin mo ako noong bata (pa ako), tapos natigil na ko ng pag-aaral... Tapos, natambay ako parang ganon pa rin, e.” *It seems difficult to explain, eh. Because before when you first interviewed me, I was still young, then I stopped going to school... Then, I became istambay and now it seems that nothing has changed since, eh.*

An examination of the educational experiences of respondents as illustrated in Table 18 suggests that all of them, except Glefer who was studying at the time of fieldwork, experienced some form of delay in their formal schooling. Edgar, the least educated among the respondents only finished first grade while the rest who were able to study high school have experienced in one form or another some interruption in their studies. Among these, Jacquelyn only reached second year high school during the time she joined her parents in Manila. Lanie, on the other hand, graduated from high school but immediately went to work as a fish peddler to help her family.

Table 18: Life History Matrix of Youth Respondents' Educational Experiences
(☞📖 = Delay or stop studying)

Respondents	Age at Interview	Elementary	High School	College
Glefer	18		*Age 16, graduated high school *Age 18, at second year college (Nursing), received a failing mark	
Ruben	24		☞📖 Experienced delay in studying during of high school. *Age 16, graduated high school as an honour student *Age 17, entered college (Education) *Age 18, received scholarship from a Korean missionary	*Age 20, graduated college (Secondary Education) *Age 22, passed the National Licensure Exam for Teachers (LET)
Manolet	32		☞📖 Experienced delay in studying during high school. *Age 19, graduated high school	*Vocational course (Radiologic Technology) ☞📖 Experienced delay in studying vocational course, unable to finish.
Carol	25			☞📖 Experienced delay in studying during college. *Age 21 graduated college (Elementary Education) *Did not pass her first attempt to get a teacher's license

Respondents	Age at Interview	Elementary	High School	College
Jacquelyn	22	*Studied elementary in the Batangas province.	*Age 12, transferred to Manila to study high school reached up to 2nd year 👉📖 Experienced delay in studying high school and unable to finish.	
Shirley	35		*Graduated high school *Entered college, shifted courses & degrees	👉📖 Intermittent delays in her collegiate studies due to changes in courses taken. *Age 24, graduated college (Psychology)
Lanie	30		👉📖 Experienced delay in studying during high school. *Age 19, graduated high school	
Chris	27		👉📖 Experienced delay in studying during high school. *Age 18, graduated high school. 👉📖 Experienced delay in studying at age 17 before entering college (Industrial Education). *College life as an irregular student.	👉📖 Experienced delay in studying during college. *Age 23, finished college, (Industrial Education). *Did not pass his first attempt to get a teacher's license
Ryan	23	*Age 8, during Grade II, remembered scoring low in a science exam.	*Graduated high school as "most cooperative student" 👉📖 Experienced delay in studying at age 17 before entering college. *Age 18 start college	*Age 20, joined a science quiz in college, semi-finalist *Age 21 graduated college (Secondary Education). *Age 23, passed National Licensure Exam for Teachers (LET)
Alex	26		*Age 16, graduated high school *Entered college a provincial government scholar 👉📖 Experienced delay in studying during college (Accounting); unable to finish college	
JR	24		👉📖 Experienced delay in studying during high school. *Age 19 graduated high school *Vocational course undergraduate (Computer Technology) 👉📖 Experienced delay in studying vocational course, unable to finish.	
Edgar	31	*Elementary undergraduate 👉📖 Stopped schooling after first grade.		

Even with these delays, Manolet and JR were able to extend their education beyond high school through vocational courses. However, they failed to finish them because of economic difficulties. Similarly, Alex attempted to pursue a college degree in

Accountancy but the lack of financial resources forced him to leave school. Among the respondents, Ruben, Carol, Shirley, Chris and Ryan were able to successfully gain collegiate degrees amidst interruptions in their studies.

In general, most of these educational interruptions are due to the lack of financial resources. These delays have negative impacts on the respondents. For instance, the lowering of self-esteem was narrated by Edgar, Alex, Jacquelyn, JR and Lanie, who all expressed a sense of disappointment because they were left behind by their cohorts. Others (Ruben, Carol, Shirley, Chris and Ryan) explained that to a certain degree, while they endured a sense of shame among friends while out of school, these delays motivated them to place a higher value on education, especially when they were given the chance to continue studying.

It is at these moments of educational interruptions that the respondents' use of the description "being tambay" becomes more salient. Here, istambay is constructed relative to those youth who fail to navigate the prescribed educational trajectory. This creates tension that impacts both the individual's self-esteem and his/her engagements with the social world during inactivity.

In the youth interviews, accounts about the times when they tentatively stop studying were expressed with a hint of humour by both the male and female participants. This suggests that the gendered dynamic of istambay is emasculated when it only involves educational inactivity.

However, when "being out of school" is combined with "being out of work", the istambay phenomenon presents a more male-centered characteristic. This is clearly demonstrated in Table 19, which enumerates the work experiences of respondents in a life history data context. It identifies that istambay experiences are more evident among male respondents (symbolized by "♂") than their female counterparts.

Table 19: Life History Matrix of Youth Respondents' Work Experiences

Respondents	Age at Interview	Late-teens (15-19)	Early 20s (20-24)	Late 20s to early 30s (25-35)
Glefer	18	No formal work experience yet.		
Ruben	24		*Age 21, first teaching job at a private school. *Age 23, teaching job at a public school.	
Manolet	32	*First job as a receiver at a shopping center (Landmark) for 3 months. *Next job at another shopping center (Isetann) for another 3 months. ? <i>Intermittent istambay experience.</i>	*Worked as a security guard as a contractual worker between 3-6 month period. *Worked as a porter at the domestic airport for Grand Air. ? <i>Intermittent istambay experience.</i>	*Worked as a messenger at a local hospital (Family Clinic) for 5 months. *Political volunteer in the community. *Worked as a security guard at local community. ? <i>Intermittent istambay experience.</i>
Carol	25		*Age 22, first job as a cashier job at a shopping center (SM Megamall). *Age 23, second job as a cashier at another job at a shopping center (Robinson's Galleria).	*Left work due to pregnancy. *Full-time homemaker.
Jacquelyn	22	*Helped mother in their newspaper stand & small canteen as an unpaid family worker. *Homemaker. *No formal work experience.	*Full-time homemaker. *Unpaid family worker.	
Shirley	35			*First job as a computer encoder at a shopping center (Sterling Paper) for 6 months. *Worked as a local community enforcer. ? <i>Istambay experience.</i> * Homemaker (taking care of her father and siblings)
Lanie	30	*Age 17, started fish peddling	*Work as a fish peddler *Full-time homemaker	*Work as a fish peddler *Full-time homemaker
Chris	27	*Helped father and brothers in fishing as an unpaid family worker.	*Unpaid family worker (fishing). *Worked as a draftsman at the municipal hall (part of his on the job training). *Also worked as a draftsman at another company (Grandspan).	*Failed his first attempt to get teacher's exam. ? <i>Istambay experience.</i> *Worked as a fisher for his own family.
Ryan	23		? <i>Istambay experience.</i>	
Alex	26		*Worked as a factory worker in a brewery (Tanduay) as a contractual worker (renewed) between 3-6 months period. ? <i>Intermittent istambay experience.</i> *Unpaid family worker.	? <i>Istambay experience.</i>

Respondents	Age at Interview	Late-teens (15-19)	Early 20s (20-24)	Late 20s to early 30s (25-35)
JR	24	*Unpaid family worker (laundry helper)	*Worked as a contractual worker at a food chain store (Chowking), janitorial services (CBM), supermarket (Isetann), food company (Argentina factory) & water station. ? <i>Istambay experience.</i>	
Edgar	31	*Age 15, first started working as a fisher, a farmer and construction worker. *Unpaid family worker. ? <i>Intermittent istambay experience.</i>	*Age 23, worked in a garment factory *Age 24, worked as a local community enforcer). ? <i>Intermittent istambay experience.</i>	? <i>Intermittent istambay experience.</i>

The work experiences of male respondents reflect the intense value associated with Filipino men playing the socially prescribed role of being good providers (as “breadwinners”) to their respective families (Medina, 2001). Manolet’s work history is a case in point. When his vocational studies were delayed, he sought employment with service crews in two shopping centers. The following years he combined work with vocational studies, which he was unable to complete. This did not deter him from seeking jobs, no matter how menial they were. Thus, over ten years, he gained a variety of work experiences from his first job as a service crew worker to being a messenger, porter, community enforcer, political volunteer and security guard.

The precariousness of Manolet’s work history unveils the instability of contractual employment in the Philippines. He explains that all his past jobs have been subcontracted by employment agencies lasting between three to six months where he is paid the minimum wage.

Manolet recounted in his interview some of the abuses he experienced under these agencies such as the delay in the release of his salary as well as violation of the agreed amount of his wage. He narrates:

“That time, nun huminto ako (sa pag-aaral), 1992 na nang naghanap ako ng trabaho. ‘Yung time na ‘yun eksakto naman. ‘Yun 1992 ng October, 3 months lang ‘yung kontrata sa Land Mark, Makati. Staff man, receiving

ako dun. ‘Yung mga ipo-forward sa mga department store na items. Nung natapos ‘yung kontrata ko na 3 months, pahirapan pa rin kunin ‘yung last salary.’” *That time, when I stopped schooling, it was 1992 when I looked for a job. That time I was lucky. In October of 1992, I got a three month contractual work at Land Mark (a shopping mall), Makati. I was a staff at the receiving section where I handled all the items to be forwarded to the department store. Then when my contract was up after three months, it was too difficult to get my last salary.*



“Pero ‘yung 1994 to 1995... (nag)kargado ko dun sa NAIA (Ninoy Aquino International Airport) sa Grand Air sa domestic section. Naloko naman kami ng agency, minimum na ‘yun dati...Pero sabi wala pa raw ‘yung cheque. Pababalihin kayo...hanggang maubos ‘yun.” *But between 1994 and 1995...I became a porter at NAIA for Grand Air in the domestic section. However, we were tricked by the (employment) agency; we thought we will be paid the minimum wage. Our salaries were always delayed. Then, they encouraged us to loan from them (employer) until nothing was left in our pay cheque.*

Despite these abuses, Manolet has continued to work over the years. However, because his educational credentials qualify him to do only manual jobs, he has always relied on the opportunities offered by employment agencies. In the context of Manolet’s work history, what is unseen and often taken for granted is the intermittent istambay experience, which accounts for the amount of time where one looks for a job and waits for responses from possible employers. Here, the pressure of losing one’s job after a contract is intensified by the anxiety generated by the period of waiting for another job to come by. This waiting period is the core of the istambay phenomenon, which has been similarly illustrated in the work histories of male respondents, Chris, Ryan, Alex, JR and Edgar. Although Manolet was working at the time of fieldwork, his precarious employment record illustrates how some workers who are educationally disadvantaged also experience relative spikes of inactivity, which make them experience the istambay phenomenon too. This observation is an important point that the YAFS potential istambay is unable to capture but is well-captured in the case studies.

Another salient pattern in Table 19 is the respondents’ relatively frequent experience as unpaid family workers. Early in the lives of these youth, they have been socialized into

helping their parents, particularly providing assistance to the family's own business or source of livelihood. For instance, Jacquelyn helped her mother sell newspapers and food in their small roadside canteen. JR, on the other hand, assisted his mother in her laundry business. Some of the rural respondents like Chris, Alex and Edgar were trained to be fishers since childhood while Lanie early on learned fish peddling with her mother and sisters. Respondents revealed the help that they provided to their parents and families was not compensated monetarily, nor did they expect such compensation. This dynamic revolves around the understanding that the rewards of their assistance are the home, food, protection and education their parents and families provided them.

While being an unpaid family worker seems to play a significant part in sustaining the livelihood of families among some youth respondents, it does not provide the same level of productivity compared to having compensated work. This is the reason why even while providing unpaid work to their respective families, priority interest is to find formal employment outside the homes. A paid job is always a welcome development because this indicates additional means to cover the needs of their families. This responsibility is commonly taken by males, as in the cases of Chris, Alex, JR and Edgar. Thus, failure to find a job forces them to wait and standby.

On the other hand, Jacquelyn and Lanie as females in the household learned to translate their unpaid work into a more intricate domestic responsibility – homemaking. In so doing, these female respondents are never seen as unproductive and therefore are less likely to be perceived as *istambay*. In this case, homemaking as a main activity appears to protect these females from the negative consequences of inactivity. That is, within the discourse of inactivity, the gender division of labour dynamic in Filipino families appears to explain why male Filipinos are more likely than their female counterparts to become *istambay*.

Thus, in the context of the case studies, the burden of taking the “breadwinner” responsibility still remains in the realm of the male world. Among male respondents, this expectation is successfully being navigated by Ruben, who is currently enjoying a job as

a school teacher in a private institution. Manolet, on the other hand, having been educationally disadvantaged, expresses fear because of the impending loss of his job due to his limited contract. As for the case of the educated istambay, Ryan and Chris, their expectations to land a well-paying job are higher than those of Alex and JR who know that their job choices are relatively limited. As for Edgar, the least educated, he too understands that his chances of getting a job outside the community are slim, which explains why he has spent almost all of his life as an unpaid family worker.

c. Istambay and Socially-Problematized Behaviours: Exposure, Gender and Context

Consistent with the perceptual survey and song analysis, the case studies reveal the connection between istambay and the socially-problematized behaviours of drinking, smoking, drug abuse, gambling and violence. Although for these case studies, the analysis reveals that the life of istambay is linked with drinking and smoking, and there was only passing reference to drug abuse, gambling or violence. In the interviews, all of the respondents, except for Lanie, offered one or more stories about this issue.

Table 20: Distribution of Quotations Relating Istambay with Socially-Problematized Behaviours

Respondents	Main activity during fieldwork	Frequency of coded quotations	%
Edgar	Unpaid family worker	22	25
Alex	No main activity	20	22
<i>Shirley</i>	<i>Homemaker</i>	10	11
<i>Glefer</i>	<i>Student</i>	10	11
Chris	Unemployed	6	7
<i>Jacquelyn</i>	<i>Homemaker</i>	5	6
<i>Carol</i>	<i>Homemaker</i>	4	4
JR	No main activity	4	4
Ryan	Unemployed	3	3
Manolet	Worker	3	3
Ruben	Worker	2	2
<i>Lanie</i>	<i>Homemaker</i>	0	-
TOTAL		89	100.00

**Females are italicized.*

Table 20 above rank orders the number of stories about socially-problematized behaviours told by respondents. The results indicate a total of 89 such quotations related by the respondents. Edgar (25%) and Alex (22%) narrate the most stories about their first hand experiences of drinking and smoking. While female respondents, Shirley and Glefer share similar percentage (11%) in the amount of stories shared about the istambay's connection with socially-problematized behaviours, these do not pertain to their personal stories: the information they offered in the interviews were the stories relating to the behaviours that they observed with their male istambay friends. This tone is also expressed in the narrations of other female respondents, Jacquelyn and Carol. In the context of case studies, this implies that the prevalence of engagement with socially-problematized behaviours is also gendered. That is, more male respondents have had direct exposure to these socially-problematized behaviours than their female counterparts.

This is best illustrated in one part of my interview with Jacquelyn when I asked her about what she considers as the problem of youth in her community. She explains the complex connection between socially-problematized behaviours (which she calls “vices”), friends and inactivity. She detests some istambay in her community because she always sees them drinking. She also relates that the small canteen business of her mother is not spared from the occasional borrowing that these istambay take, despite having no means of repayment.

Clarence: Sa iyong palagay ano ba talaga ang pinoproblema ng kabataan ngayon? *In your view, what do you think is the problem of youth in your community?*

Jacquelyn: Ang problema talaga ‘yung nasa nalululong sila sa masamang bisyo; ‘yung barkada hanggang magdamag... *The real problem is the deepening engagement of youth with evil vices; they hang-out with barkada (close friends) overnight.*

Clarence: Kung bibigyan kita ng pagkakataon, ano kaya ang solusyon dito? Ano ang dapat ginagawa nila? *If you were given the chance, what could be the solution? What could they be doing?*

Jacquelyn: Ang gawin nila magpakatino muna sila ... buhay nila magtatambay sila magdamag, wala naman nangyayari. Puro bisyo, inom. ‘Yun ang nakikita sa paligid namin... *First, they*

should straighten their ways...their life is to standby overnight, and so nothing good is happening. All they know is vice, drinking. That is what we are witnessing in our community.

Clarence: Nalulungkot ka? *Are you sad with this situation?*

Jacquelyn: Nalulungkot ako minsan, sa ano namin ... sa amin puro kabataan na mangungutang (ng pagkain sa aming karinderya). Wala naman pambayad. Malakas ang loob nila wala namang trabaho... *Sometimes I am sad, in our...in our place there are lots of young people who buy food for credit from our canteen. They do not have money to pay back. They are confident to borrow but they do not have work...*

“Drinking”, in combination with smoking, appeals to most of the male respondents, particularly Edgar and Alex. Both of them stress that drinking provides them a sense of community with their “barkada” (close friends), who share a similar state of inactivity. The role of barkada in the lives of istambay was also described in the songs as another legitimate space where they could express themselves and show camaraderie. Here, drinking is viewed by the istambay as a form of social identity rather than a problem. A segment of my interview with Alex captures this dynamic:

Clarence: May nakukuha ka ba talagang kasiyahan habang naninigarilyo at nag-iinom? *Do you derive any happiness from smoking and drinking?*

Alex: Minsan kasi pag nagkikita-kita (kasama ang barkada). Parang masaya, nagkukwentuhan. Kasi pagkanalalasing ka, nagshe-share ng ano eh... *Sometimes, when there's gathering with close friends. It is sometimes enjoyable, sharing stories. You see, when you are drunk, you open-up, share (stories)...*

Clarence: May iyakan din ba? *Do some of your friends cry?*

Alex: Meron pagka kunyari na-busted ka ng babae, sasabihin, “Kay bigat!”. Sabi niya ano gusto ko nang mamatay ayaw nyang umibig! *Yes, there are, say someone who got busted by the girl he is courting, he'll complain, “The feeling is too heavy!” He even wants to die so as not to love again!*

Clarence: Talaga? Hindi ka naman nagkaganon? *Really? Have you been in that situation?*

Alex: Hindi naman. Kasi pagnalalasing ako ayokong mag-share, gusto ko natutulog na lang ako. *Oh no, not me. You see when I am drunk, I do not want to share, I just want to go to sleep.*

Clarence: Ah, bakit? *Ah, why?*

Alex: Wala. *Nothing.*

Clarence: ‘Di ba mas maganda ‘yun kasi nawawalan ka ng (bigat ng loob)...*Isn't it better to share because you will be able to unload your burden?*

Alex: Kinukwento ko lang kasi pag masaya, pagka malungkot, di ko ikinukwento. *I prefer to share happy stories; when it's sad, I do not share.*

Clarence: Ah, ok, so gusto (mo) palaging masaya? Hmm, syempre mayroon ka rin naman natututunan sa mga kaibigan mo di ba? Ano sa palagay mo ang mga natutunan mo sa mga kaibigan mo? *Oh so you prefer to be happy? Hmm, I believe that you learn something from your friends, right? What do you think are some lessons you learned from them?*

Alex: ‘Yun bale, kasi minsan meron kang mga kaibigan di ka satisfied sa mga ugali nila... ‘Yun ang tinutularan ko ok ang ugali. *You see, sometimes I have friends that I am not satisfied with the ways they conduct themselves...But I choose to follow those with good values.*

Clarence: Tulad ng? *Just like?*

Alex: Kasi ‘yung ibang mga kaibigan pag nalasing parang gustong mang-away, mag trip. *You see, I have friends that when they get drunk, they want a fight; that is their trip.*

Clarence: Ah, talaga? *Oh, really?*

Alex: ‘Yung iba kong mga kaibigan, ano, tahimik lang sila, pag nalasing uwi lang tulog lang...Meron talagang kaibigang na (pasaway)... *Some of my friends are good, when they are drunk, they go home and sleep...However some of my friends are uncontrollable...*

Alex’s account of his close interaction with friends during drinking sessions reveals the quality of his relations with fellow istambay. Drinking provides an alternative space for istambay youth to share their varied stories as a strategy of coping in their state of

inactivity. Other male respondents like Edgar, JR and to a certain degree, Manolet, describe similar intense relations with their barkada.

In view of this insight, focusing on male respondents, Table 16 also provides an interesting pattern that demonstrates how the differing levels of engagement with socially-problematized behaviours are grouped with particular types of istambay. It suggests, for instance, that unpaid family worker (Edgar) and those with no main activity (Alex and JR) may be regarded as more vulnerable than the unemployed (Ryan and Chris).

d. Inactivity of Male Youth Respondents: Constituting the Istambay Phenomenon

In sum, the varying experiences of inactivity derived from the thematic analysis of the life histories of the 12 youth convey that the concept of istambay is fundamentally male-centered. This finding was initially shown using the YAFS self-reported main activity as a framework in categorizing the distribution of respondents across different indicators. A closer examination of the educational and work histories of respondents further illustrates the point that a combination of “being out of school” and “being out of work” among male respondents generates their istambay status apart from female respondents whose domestic responsibilities protect them somewhat from being perceived as istambay. This is traced to the social expectation on males in the Filipino household to be the main providers (breadwinners), while females are still expected to be homemakers. More so, the association between socially-problematized behaviours with male respondents, such as drinking and smoking, affirms what the perceptual survey and songs endeavour to describe about istambay.

However, in addition to clarifying the gender dimension of the istambay phenomenon, what the case studies contribute to the concept of istambay are the following: (a) the perspective of how the phenomenon of istambay is rooted in the educational histories of respondents; (b) the occurrence of labour inactivity especially for those who were educationally disadvantaged; and (c) the view that the different types of istambay

demonstrate varied responses to socially-problematized behaviours, which explains what among these types of istambay are most vulnerable to social risks.

C. Towards a Sociological Understanding of the Filipino Istambay

Exploring the concept of “istambay” is both fascinating and challenging. The fascination stems from the representations of istambay in varied media forms reflecting, and sometimes challenging, the public perception of a group of mostly young male Filipinos who usually congregate at street corners (kanto). In the Philippines, they are known as the istambay akin to the English idiom “on standby” because literally and figuratively, they are “waiting” for something “good” to happen in their lives. It was only in recent years that academic and policy discussions on youth inactivity relative to unemployment has emerged as a problem of substance in youth discourse (Bynner & Parsons, 2002; Furlong, 2006, 2008; International Labour Organization, 2006; United Nations, 2004, 2005, 2007). This conceptual gap is what this chapter has attempted to address.

In exploratory studies, the primary research task entails a careful choice and sorting-out of related information that provides the empirical base for analysis. In this study, I utilized various sources (namely, local dictionaries, istambay perceptual survey, YAFS, popular songs, and case studies), in order to creatively and critically examine from different perspective, the underlying dimensions of istambay as a concept. As one insight from one source was built upon another, the concept of istambay was constituted and examined.

The most important research insight provided in this chapter was the intertwining of the private-public nature of the istambay concept. This theme is salient in all the data sources suggesting, for example, how the perception of istambay among university students, local definitions, and the lyrics of istambay songs mutually articulate, on the one hand, the negative traits of these inactive youth and on the other hand the social contexts that possibly cause their inactivity. This conceptual tension rests between seeing istambay as deficient individuals versus perceiving them as social beings coping with the structural

opportunities and restrictions of their environment. Correspondingly, istambay accounts for both the individual and the social, which makes it sociologically appropriate to study.

Analyses of various data sources suggest the concept of istambay may be understood in terms of two interlocking and intertwined themes, namely, (a) problematic istambay; and (b) istambay as problematique. The former accounts for the negative stereotypes attached to istambay. This view leads the istambay to be perceived as a problem likened to “troubled youth” (Bradley, 1996; Wyn & White, 1997) whose individual deficiencies are seen as major factors making up their inactivity. The latter theme unravels the “social” permeating inactivity by articulating the underlying social dynamics constituting the lives of istambay.

1. Problematic Istambay

The online visual representations of istambay presented in Appendix A indicate the degree to which the concept of istambay is entrenched in Philippine society. Over the years, istambay has been represented in various media forms such as films (e.g., Cabreira, 1979; Joseph Ejercito Productions, 1963) and songs (e.g., Bartolome, 1992; Joseph Ejercito Productions, 1963), which articulate more what I consider to be the problematic features of the istambay phenomenon. These features include negative individual traits such as being lazy and idle, and having low self-esteem. In addition, such istambays are presented as being susceptible to engage in socially-problematized behaviours such as drinking, smoking, drug abuse, gambling, and violence. All these constitute the generalized stereotypes attached to the notion of istambay, which data sources from the perceptual survey, song analysis and case studies somewhat confirm. However, analyses also suggest that istambay exhibit positive traits. In the perceptual survey, this is represented by the descriptor “happy disposition” while the analysis of songs suggests that there are also situations where istambay demonstrate their kind and helping character. Thus, the problematic istambay is not just about what is negative but also refers to what untapped potential may have been thwarted by their inactivity. This conceptual dynamic was fully explored when I introduced the notion of potential

istambay using the YAFS. After examining the social profiles of youth according to the self-reported main activity, I suggested *there were not one but rather various types of istambay* emerging from different contexts. Using the YAFS, I hypothesized that the unemployed, those with no main activity, and the unpaid family workers constitute what may be considered istambay in this youth sample. This view gave more theoretical grounding to the istambay described in the songs and the case studies. For instance, the songs portray two types of istambay, the less educated and the educated; both are suffering from stigma but the latter's educational capital is expected to play a significant role in reversing their inactivity status. The case studies, on the other hand, were more lucid in showing there is a connection between the various types of inactivity with the extent of engagements, to socially-problematized behaviours. In such context, among the istambay types, it seems that the unpaid family workers and those with no main activity are most vulnerable to social risks compared to the unemployed.

Conceptually, the problematic istambay entails the careful understanding of the impact of inactivity on individual traits, dispositions and values. It allows critical assessment of the tensions and crises that inactivity brings into the life of istambay; to see if their negative traits are purely intentional and determine if their relative engagement with socially-problematized behaviours is a coping strategy or a form of resistance. This theoretical dimension contextualizes the generalized negative view of istambay within inactivity experiences, bringing forth a more-balanced examination of the istambay phenomenon.

2. Istambay Problematique

Another theme that emerged in the process of exploring the concept of istambay directs attention toward the social dimensions of inactivity. Drawing inspiration from Durkheim's works (1964/1895, 1984/1893), I call this theme the "problematique" in the study of istambay, which allows the articulation of the embedded social dynamics underlying experiences of inactivity in the Philippines.

One local dictionary definition underscores this theme by pointing out that "an istambay is a person who does not have work" (Almario, 2001: 385). Unemployment is a social

feature that consistently comes up in all data sources. At first, it seems labour inactivity is the only relevant dimension constituting the concept of istambay. However, the perceptual survey and YAFS indicated how various social indicators demonstrate relative impact on the main activities of Filipino youth, including various forms of inactivity.

The perceptual survey suggested that istambay may be regarded as a youth phenomenon, which brings forth the relevance of “age” (as a variable) in understanding the inactivity experiences of youth in the Philippines. It suggests that the istambay phenomenon peaks between the ages of 16 and 35. This insight validates my assumption that a sample of youth istambay may be available in the YAFS data set.

The social profiling of the YAFS’ youth sample according to the self-reported main activity variable furnished a socio-demographic blueprint that illustrated the relative impact of age, civil status, gender, economic status and educational attainment on these activities. Using different conceptions of youth inactivity (Bynner & Parsons, 2002; Edelman, et al., 2006; Ericta, 2003; Franzén & Kassman, 2005; International Labour Organization, 2006; Philippine Commission on Population, 2003), I suggested the utilization of the notion of potential istambay in order to bring attention to the differing social characteristics comprising each youth main activity. Here, I argued that, conceptually, the istambay youth may be located in three activity categories, namely, the unemployed, those with no main activity, and the unpaid family workers. In this context, I regarded studying, homemaking, and working as socially valued activities. The analysis of YAFS data revealed two critical social dimensions of the istambay phenomenon. These were the following: (a) that istambay is male-centered; and (b) that the economic status and educational attainment of youth show a relative influence on the extent of inactivity experiences among istambay.

The research insights provided by the istambay songs complemented the YAFS findings. The concept of istambay was again seen as differing significantly across economic and educational realms; thus supporting the finding that, indeed, there are different types of istambay.

The case studies imparted more detailed evidence on the gender dimension of the istambay phenomenon. The life-history matrices of male respondents illustrated the prevalence of their istambay experiences, which were intricately connected with their educational histories. Here, the problematique appeared to have its root in the gendered dynamic of the division of labour in Filipino households with males being expected to take the breadwinner responsibility while females remained at home to carry out domestic responsibilities. In addition, using the analytical frame of education-work nexus, the case studies also emphasized how vicious the occurrence of inactivity becomes, particularly for those istambay who were marginalized educationally early on.

The istambay problematique brought forth the salience of traditional factors such as age, gender and social class on inactivity experiences. It also presented how specific social fields (i.e., economic, education and labour) and forms of capitals (i.e., economic capital, educational credentials) are exchanged and negotiated by different types of istambay. Theoretically, this unravels the “social” in the istambay phenomenon.

3. And the Sociology of Filipino Istambay Begins

In sum, this chapter illustrated that the concept of istambay pertained to a form of inactivity in the Philippines that was more likely experienced by young Filipino males. The state of inactivity was negotiated within the traditional social indicators such as age, gender and social class. Inactivity experiences traversed along the education-work nexus to varying degrees. While negative stereotypes had traditionally been attached to the term istambay, a closer examination of media representations and empirical data sources revealed its positive social aspects. The main point, however, is that it demonstrated empirically the intertwining connection between what appeared to be the personal/private troubles of istambay male youth and the public/social issues generated by inactivity in Philippine society. This is where the meaningful task of explaining the sociology of Filipino istambay begins.

Chapter V

The Istambay Problematic and Problematique: Dispositions and Life Vignettes

This chapter explores the interlocking individual-social dynamics of the istambay phenomenon. Guided by Bourdieu's theory of practice (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984), the chapter examines four dimensions: the dispositions, values, and aspirations of youth respondents from the Young Adult Fertility and Sexuality Study (YAFS) 2002, and case studies in three social fields namely, familial, educational-peer, and work contexts, and the youth's engagement in two socially-problematized behaviours, smoking and drinking, which have been directly associated with the istambay phenomenon as illustrated in Chapter 4.

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first part continues the secondary analysis of the YAFS 2002 data by examining selected variables that illustrate the similarities and differences of habitus among youth main activity categories. Considering the empirical pattern found in YAFS 2002, the second part presents the life vignettes of 12 youth respondents. It narrates critical life events of these case study youth respondents leading to their inactivity status; the high value they give education and work; and their hopes and aspirations. These life vignettes demonstrate how varying levels of youth inactivity are embedded in economic, cultural and social dimensions of their lives, which relatively impacted their transition into adulthood.

A. Individual Dispositions: Findings from YAFS 2002

1. Making Sense of Habitus, Social Fields and Capitals from YAFS 2002

In order to have a better understanding of the dispositions of youth, particularly of the potential istambay in the YAFS 2002 data, I used Bourdieu's notion of "habitus" as a guide. According to Richard Nice in his English translation of Bourdieu's *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977), the closest English term that captures Bourdieu's "habitus" is

the term “disposition”. Nice explains that habitus designates “a way of being, a habitual state (especially of the body) and, in particular, a predisposition, tendency, propensity, or inclination” (Bourdieu, 1977). In the Philippine context, the closest Filipino terms that captures the concept of “habitus” are “ugali” and “asal”, which means “a habit, practice, and manner”¹¹. Considering these broad definitions, I examined the list of variables in the YAFS to identify what among them directly or indirectly measure the habitus of respondents relative to particular social fields.

Utilizing the preliminary insights generated from the conceptualization of istambay in Chapter 4, I selected a number of variables that measure the respondents’ habitus relative to four social dimensions, which the YAFS 2002 addressed. These are composed of three social fields – familial, educational-peer, and work contexts. The fourth aspect is the respondents’ smoking and drinking behaviours, which have been discussed in Chapter 4 as two socially-problematized behaviours associated with istambays.

Focusing on the youth main activity variable, this section examines the similarities and differences among the habitus of those youth who, to a certain degree, enjoy the socially-accepted status of being students, homemakers and workers, compared to potential istambays, that is, those with no main activity, unemployed and unpaid family workers. It reflects how inactivity experiences construct and condition the attitude and dispositions of youth respondents towards specific situations. Particularly on smoking and drinking, this part demonstrates how inactivity in conjunction with gender and other contextual factors, predicts the relatively higher odds of being a smoker and a drinker among potential istambays.

a. Familial Context

The Filipino family has been described in various literatures as closely-knit and collective (Church & Katigbak, 2000; Medina, 2001; Miralao, 1997; Ramirez, 1993) compared to Western countries. In this context, as shown in local studies (Cruz, et al., 2002; Lamug,

¹¹ <http://www.wattpad.com/189884-tagalog-english-dictionary-u-y>

1989; Miralao, 1997, 2004), parental influences loom large in the shaping of dispositions and values among Filipino youth.

One of the features of this Filipino parent-child relation is the extent of parental permissiveness, which might reflect Filipino parents' level of trust and protection of children. In this study, my interest is to establish the relationship between youth's report of parental permissiveness and their main activity. I do this in order to identify which youth report experiencing a relatively higher level of parental protection. In so doing, I will be able to illustrate the connection between parents' protection and their children's types of engagements.

In YAFS 2002, I found three variables that capture this parent-child relation under the general theme on family socialization. Here, the respondents were asked to assess the level of permissiveness of their primary caregivers (who in this sample are commonly the biological parents) in particular situations. These situations are: (a) going out on a date unchaperoned; (b) going to a party at short notice; and (c) spending overnight at a friends' house. Respondents were asked whether their parents approve or disapprove these situations. In the Philippine context, as observed in my case studies, approval to participate in these activities are generally viewed as potentially exposing these youth to risks, particularly those who are young and female.

Table 21 reveals that consistently, the least likely to report being given parental approval in three situations – “going out on a date unchaperoned”, “going to a party at short notice”, and “spending overnight at a friends' house” – were homemakers and students. Conversely, higher levels of parental permissiveness were reported by the other four categories – the unemployed, those with no main activity, unpaid family workers, and paid worker. Among these three situations, “going out on a date unchaperoned” indicates a stronger association with the self-reported main activity (Cramer's $V = 0.24$) than the other two situations, suggesting that the level of self-reported approval in this specific situation is more differentiated between the homemakers and students versus the other four categories.

This finding suggests that students and homemakers enjoy greater parental protection, which reflects the Filipino society's expectations for these youth statuses. That is, in the Philippines, female children are generally more protected by parents than their male siblings (Santa Maria, 2002), which might explain why homemakers in the sample, the majority of whom are females, reported the lowest parental approval rating of these three risk situations¹². Similarly, students, besides being on average younger than the other main statuses, are expected to focus more on their education. This may be why students were less likely to report being given parental approval for situations that may jeopardize their studies.

Table 21: Approval of First Person Who Raised Youth Respondents (%)

Going out on a date unchaperoned***								
	No main activity	Unpaid family worker	Unemployed	Worker	Homemaker	Student	Total	Cramer's V
No	44	38	35	37	69	58	52	0.24
Yes	56	62	65	63	31	42	48	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Going to a party at a short notice***								
No	28	27	23	26	41	33	31	0.12
Yes	72	73	77	74	59	67	69	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Spending overnight at friends' house***								
No	48	51	44	44	66	59	54	0.16
Yes	52	49	56	56	34	41	46	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	

***All indicators are significant at $p < .001$.

In contrast, the relatively high perceived parental approval rating among the working group and the potential istambays (unemployed, unpaid family workers and those with no main activity) may be interpreted as a loosening of protective parental restriction. For the working group, it may mean a higher level of parental trust due to their productive status.

¹² While attention on the effect of gender is important on these variables, for consistency purposes of analyzing the similarities and differences across youth main activity categories, I present Table 21 without differentiating between genders. For future research, the gendered dimension of these variables in YAFS 2002 data merits further consideration. As indicated previously, unpaid work and homemaking are particularly gendered activities. Hence, their association with other variables often reflects these gendered dimensions.

However, for the potential istambays, the loosening of protective parental restriction may be related to their failure to achieve socially-valued statuses (Dechman, 2008) compared to the socially-acceptable statuses enjoyed by the students, homemakers and workers.

In the context of istambay discourse, this pattern shows how inactivity, to a certain degree, influences, or is influenced by, the amount of parental protection given to children. This loosening of parental protection was observed in the case studies to sometimes stimulate tension between parents and istambay; details of which are described in the case study life vignettes.

b. Education-peer Realm

In the Philippines, school experiences and relations with peers, locally known as “barkada”, have long been observed to mold the values and dispositions of Filipino youth (Castillo, 1979; Jocano, 1969; Miralao, 2004; Natividad, 2004; Raymundo & Cruz, 2004; Raymundo, et al., 1999). In YAFS 2002, a number of variables address this education-peer dimension, which provides a glimpse of the similarities and differences in the habitus of respondents across self-reported main statuses.

Four indicators are available for the educational realm: (a) reasons for leaving school; (b) suspension from classes, (c) membership in academic clubs; and (d) respondents’ assessment of their fluency in spoken and written English. The last variable may be a proxy for cultural capital. To assess peer-relations, I selected two indicators: (a) if the respondents have any barkada/friends at the time of the survey; and (b) if the respondents and his/her barkada/friends have ever been involved in a violent incident. Together, these variables comprise the education-peer realm that is examined in this section.

In general, the education indicators demonstrate that the unemployed and students, and to a certain degree, the workers, had relatively good school experiences compared to those with no main activity, unpaid family workers, and homemakers. This difference arguably reflects the precarious economic status of these latter three youth statuses, which

disadvantaged them educationally. This can be clearly observed in Table 22 which shows the reasons for leaving school among those who are not studying at the time of the survey. It reveals that, in general, four out of ten youth report having left school due to the lack of necessary funds. However, major differences across self-reported main activities are observable in the category, “education completed/graduated”. That is, more than two-fifths of the unemployed, and about a quarter of workers and students, reported having completed their studies compared to less than a fifth of homemakers, those with no main activity and unpaid family workers.

Table 22: Reasons for Leaving School (%)

Reasons***	No main activity	Unpaid family worker	Unemployed	Worker	Homemaker	Student	Total
Education completed/graduated	16	14	42	27	17	28	24
School-related problems	23	20	13	13	13	19	15
To help home	8	16	5	11	10	8	10
Lack of necessary funds	41	40	33	41	43	37	40
Family/personal related problems	12	9	6	8	18	7	11
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Cramer's V = 0.14							
n = 10, 772							

***Significant at $p < .001$

Another indicator that measures the educational experiences of respondents is suspension from school (Pallas, 1993; Santa Maria, 2002). In YAFS 2002 data, this measure is culled from the question, “Have you been suspended from attending classes?” Response to this question was either “Yes” or “No”.

Table 23 indicates one out of ten respondents reported suspension from school. The respondents’ experience of being suspended from school is lower among students, unpaid family workers and homemakers than those with no main activity, workers and the unemployed.

Table 23: Selected Educational Experiences (%)

Ever been suspended from attending classes? ***								
	No main activity	Unpaid family worker	Unemployed	Worker	Homemaker	Student	Total	Cramer's V
No	85	93	88	87	93	93	90	0.10
Yes	15	7	12	13	7	7	10	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
n = 19,648								
Ever been a member of academic clubs? ***								
No	79	82	71	72	77	61	69	0.16
Yes	21	18	29	28	23	39	31	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
n = 19, 601								

***All indicators are significant at $p < .001$.

Among the self-reported main statuses, I expected those with no main activity to report a higher level of school suspension because this group closely resembles what we know in the Philippines as the “out-of-school youth”, a group observed to show less interest in studying. This observation is corroborated in Table 22 where this no main activity group, compared to other youth groups, reported the highest percentage (23%) of school-related problems as the primary reason for leaving school. This high level of school suspension also characterized workers and the unemployed, which suggests less favourable school experiences compared to the other three youth groups. I expected students to have the lowest likelihood of being suspended from classes because compared to the other main activity categories, studying appears to be a more privileged status in this age group.

Another indicator that captures the educational disposition of respondents is membership in academic clubs (also found in Table 23). Here, the YAFS’ respondents were asked to, “Please tell whether you are/were a member of the following organizations,” with “academic clubs” being one item in the list of organizations. Response to this question was either “Yes” or “No”.

Table 23 reports more students, unemployed and workers participating in these academic clubs than homemakers, those with no main activity, and unpaid family workers. This

demonstrates how students, the unemployed and workers, experienced greater academic inclusion in school compared to the homemakers, those with no main activity and unpaid family workers. The latter groups' relatively low level of participation in academic clubs seems to reflect some degree of school exclusion among them.

This high level of school exclusion, especially among unpaid family workers, is captured in the self-assessment of English fluency both in its spoken and written forms (see Table 24). I consider these variables as cultural capital indicators (Andres (Bellamy), 1994; Bourdieu, 1986) because in the Philippine context, proficiency in the English language is taken as a dominant form of capital that privileges entry to job markets. That is, local employers prefer applicants who are proficient in English, who are more likely those who come from economically well-off and educated families. Results in Table 24 show that, as expected, students and the unemployed rated their English fluency the highest, followed by those with no main activity, workers and homemakers. The lowest assessment was given by unpaid family workers, which significantly differentiates them from the other five categories.

Table 24: Self-assessed of English Fluency (cultural capital indicators) (%)

Ability to write English fluently***								
	No main activity	Unpaid family worker	Unemployed	Worker	Homemaker	Student	Total	Cramer's V
No	6	14	2	6	6	1	4	0.17
Yes	94	86	98	94	94	99	96	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
n = 19,707								
Ability to speak English fluently***								
No	9	20	4	9	9	2	6	0.18
Yes	91	80	96	91	91	98	94	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
n = 19,706								

***All indicators are significant at $p < .001$.

This result is of special interest because it reflects how among the potential istambays in the YAFS, the unpaid family workers, fully recognized their lack of facility in the English language. This indicates that they have the lowest cultural capital among the

youth respondents, which might have consequences in the way they see themselves, and their potentials leading to having low self-esteem or limited occupational aspirations.

Two questions were available regarding peer relations: (a) “At present, do you have a barkada?”, and (b) “Have you and your barkada/friends ever been involved in a violent incident?” Both required either “Yes” or “No” responses.

In Table 25, about one in three homemakers reported having no friends at present, compared to roughly one in ten youth in the other categories. This is expected because homemakers spend most of their time at home, which gives them less time to socialize with friends or maintain any friendship. However, when it comes to the respondents’ and his/her barkada’s experience of being involved in a violent incident, a different pattern emerges; although the differences are not strong. That is, those with no main activity, unemployed and workers seem somewhat above average to have been involved in a violent incident with friends while the unpaid family workers and students are above average. Again, the homemakers, possibly because of their limited relations with friends, reported the lowest percentage of exposure to violence with friends.

Table 25: Selected Peer-relations Indicators (%)

At present, do you have a barkada?								
	No main activity	Unpaid family worker	Unemployed	Worker	Homemaker	Student	Total	Cramer's V
No	12	13	9	12	32	4	12	0.30
Yes	88	87	91	88	68	96	88	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
n = 19, 163								
Have you and your barkada ever been involved in a violent incident?								
No	76	82	76	78	92	81	81	0.13
Yes	24	18	24	22	8	19	19	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
n = 19,139								

***All indicators are significant at $p < .001$.

This section has shown that in the educational realm, as expected, students appear to have the most positive habitus in school; a disposition they share with another economically well-off group, the unemployed. This conclusion is reinforced in these two groups' high assessment of their English fluency, a reflection of their high cultural capital (see Table 24). Thus, among the six youth groups, students and the unemployed possess a higher volume of human capital than the other four statuses, making them the most qualified youth group in the job market. This pattern is also reflected in the high level of participation of students and the unemployed in academic clubs, showing their favourable disposition towards the school system. In contrast, the unpaid family workers exhibited the lowest cultural capital, which can be traced to their limited and exclusionary engagement in school.

The varying experiences of school suspension between the main activity statuses give another view of the habitus of respondents. Again, students confirmed their good relations with school, being the group least likely to have experienced school suspension. In contrast, school tensions appear to have been experienced by those who have no main activity, workers, and the unemployed. For those with no main activity and workers, it appears that the experience of being suspended from school is a manifestation of school exclusion.

In the social world of peer relations, the homemakers appear to have the least time to engage with barkada, which to a certain degree, protects them from experiencing violence. Among the self-reported main activities, higher exposure to violence with friends was shared by those with no main activity, unemployed and workers, which suggest that negative peer influence, may be impacting the well-being of these groups. This observation coincides with what was observed in Chapter 4, where the likelihood of istambay to have barkada involved in precarious situations such as in violent incidences is typical. In this context, two potential istambay types in the YAFS data, those with no main activity and the unemployed, emerged as having friends that may negatively influence their positive dispositions in life.

c. Disposition towards Work

The social field of work and employment is a critical factor in the study of istambay. Recent youth inactivity reports and studies (Edelman, et al., 2006; Franzén & Kassman, 2005; International Labour Organization, 2006; United Nations, 2004, 2005, 2007) point to “lack of employment” as the heart of this issue. Youth unemployment, underemployment and idleness in the Philippines have recently been a recurring theme in local policy reports and studies (Ericeta, 2003; Philippine Commission on Population, 2003; Philippine National Youth Commission, 1998c, 2004, 2005). Fortunately, the YAFS 2002 allocated a series of work-related questions which, although limited, provides a descriptive sketch of the respondents’ disposition towards work.

Seven work indicators were available in the present study. The first four are interrelated questions about the respondents’: (a) past work experience; (b) work experience in the last two weeks; (c) willingness to work; and (d) experience of looking for work. The next three are confirmatory questions that indicate the respondents’ (a) place of work; (b) reasons for working; and (c) conditions that prompted them to work. Consistent with this study’s analytical strategy, I used these indicators to measure and describe the respondents’ work experiences, orientations and life conditions relative to self-reported main activities.

Table 26 enumerates the first four work-related indicators by self-reported main activities. These four indicators are interrelated, composed of follow-up questions, which build on the responses to the preceding questions. The first indicator was derived from the question: (1) “Have you ever worked?” If the respondent answered “Yes”, then, s/he proceeds to answer the next question: (2) “Have you ever worked for at least one hour in the past two weeks?” If “No”, the respondent skipped the second question, and s/he is then asked to answer the third indicator question: (3) “Are you willing to work?” This question 3 was also answered by those who responded “No” in question 2; and those who reported not working in the last two weeks.

If the respondent answered, “Yes” to question 3, then, s/he was asked the fourth work indicator question: “Have you looked for work during the past week?” For those who answered, “Yes” in the second question, understandably, they were not asked questions 3 and 4. The nature of these four questions explains the varying number of respondents (n) in Table 26.

Table 26: Selected Work Indicators (%)

1. Have you ever worked? *** (All respondents)								
	No main activity	Unpaid family worker	Unemployed	Worker	Homemaker	Student	Total	Cramer's V
No	47	18	30	2	29	70	41	0.55
Yes	53	82	70	98	71	30	59	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
n = 19,725								
2. Have you ever worked for at least one hour in the past two weeks? *** (Responses from those who answered “Yes” in question 1)								
No	78	23	79	13	89	57	49	0.63
Yes	22	77	21	87	11	43	51	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
n = 11,631								
3. Are you willing to work? *** (Responses from those who answered either “Yes” or “No” in questions 1 & “No” in question 2.)								
No	14	12	5	7	14	17	14	0.11
Yes	86	88	95	93	86	83	86	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
n = 13,776								
4. Have you looked for worked during the past week? *** (Responses from those who answered “Yes” in question 3.)								
No	74	76	41	57	80	81	74	0.30
Yes	26	24	59	43	20	19	26	
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
n = 11,836								

***All indicators are significant at $p < .001$.

The four selected work indicators reveal the following: First, six out of every ten respondents reported having work experience. Among the main activity groups, expectedly, students were least likely to have work experience. Second, of those who had work experience, only half of the respondents reported working at least an hour in the past two weeks.

This finding highlights the precariousness and the ambiguity of the self-reported main activity variable relative to actual work experiences. Recall that the basis of categorization of youth activity was their “main activity” in the past three months (from January – March 2002), and these puzzling percentages (in Table 26, question 2) direct attention to the problems of what the respondents perceived as their main activity versus their actual work involvements (in the last two weeks at the time of the survey). For instance, in the working group, although they identified themselves as mainly working, 13% of them reported being out of work in the past two weeks. In contrast, among the unemployed, 21% reported having worked in the past two weeks, and yet, still identified themselves as mainly “unemployed”. It would be informative to know if this puzzling observation relates to the issue of underemployment among these unemployed; unfortunately, YAFS 2002 did not ask questions related to this issue. However, this finding highlights the precariousness of job placements and employment situations of youth in the Philippines.

The third work indicator relates the work disposition of those respondents with or without work experience and those who did not work in the last two weeks (also in Table 26). The data show that more than eight in ten youth showed willingness to work and there are no striking differences across self-reported main activity statuses. This implies that almost all these youth have a positive disposition towards working.

The fourth question was answered by respondents who indicated willingness to work. These respondents were asked if they actually looked for work in the past two weeks. Interestingly, this question again, draws attention to the ambiguity of the youth main activity variable. The data indicate that among these respondents (who are willing to work) only about a quarter have looked for work in the past two weeks. It is easy to imagine that students, homemakers and unpaid family workers may have delayed looking for work because of their primary responsibilities (e.g., education for students; and domestic and family responsibilities for homemakers and unpaid family workers). It is more puzzling to understand why about two-thirds of those with no main activity; more than a third of the unemployed; and, more than half in the working group were not

looking for work. If these youth are indeed not looking for work, what are they doing? Have these youth lost interest in looking for work? Why are they on standby? The fourth work indicator raises interesting questions, which cannot be further examined because no information regarding these issues is available in the YAFS 2002 data. Yet, Table 26 provides a glimpse of the work disposition of different main activity categories, and the tensions that may influence the labour habitus of youth.

The next three work indicators are confirmatory variables. That is, I used these variables to better understand the nature of main activity categories by examining the (a) place of work, (b) reasons for working and (c) home conditions that prompted the respondent to work. For the “place of work” variable, only those respondents who reported having worked at least an hour in the last two weeks answered this question. The actual question was: “Where do you work?” and respondents were asked to choose only one item in the list of work places provided in the questionnaire.

Table 27 reveals that, consistent with the operational definition of unpaid family workers, this group works mainly in family-based businesses (44%) and farm work (37%). On the other hand, the workers and the unemployed report having been employed as semi-skilled workers in factory and stores; and as professionals in private companies, government, or with private individual employers. These data situate the unpaid family workers as primarily manual/agricultural workers versus the semi-skilled and professional jobs held by workers and the unemployed.

Despite the minimal differences across self-reported main activity, I present the last two work indicators to clearly demonstrate the precarious economic conditions of youth respondents during their first job experience. These questions were only answered by those who reported having work experience. Relative to the respondents’ first job experience, they were asked an open-ended question: “What was your main reason for working?” Table 28 indicates that almost half of the respondents worked in order to provide financial assistance to families, while three in ten youth worked to provide for their personal needs. This finding suggests how, to a certain extent, the first job

experience of youth is related to a familial orientation that reflects a disposition towards the care and welfare of their respective families. Sensitive to this Filipino familial dynamic, the YAFS 2002 further inquired by asking a follow-up question: “Was there a condition at home that prompted you to work?” Table 29 enumerates the list of home conditions that prompted these respondents to work their first job.

Table 27: Place of Work (%)

Place of work***	No main activity	Unpaid family worker	Unemployed	Worker	Homemaker	Student	Total
Family business/helped family	24	44	14	18	20	25	21
Farm work	14	37	7	10	9	12	13
Factory	4	3	7	8	4	3	7
Street (peddling, etc.)	4	2	3	2	4	2	2
Store (incl. market)	6	3	10	9	16	9	9
Private company/cooperative	23	5	35	30	21	20	26
Government	7	1	8	7	2	8	7
Private residence	6	1	2	6	12	9	6
Private individual	11	3	12	6	9	9	7
Others	1	1	3	3	2	2	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
n = 5,763							
Cramer's V	0.16						

***Significant at $p < .001$.

Table 28: First Job Experience: Reasons for Working (%)

Reasons***	No main activity	Unpaid family worker	Unemployed	Worker	Homemaker	Student	Total
No reason (Wala lang)	2	1	1	1	2	1	1
Earn money for studies	6	3	6	6	6	18	8
Financial assistance to family	41	58	45	51	47	30	45
Earn money for personal needs	35	23	32	29	28	28	29
For experience/OJT	7	7	8	6	8	11	8
To use time wisely/time management	6	3	5	4	5	6	5
Influenced by barkada/friend	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Combination of studies, family & personal needs	3	3	2	2	3	2	2
Others	0	2	1	1	1	2	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
n = 10,770							
Cramer's V	0.11						

***Significant at $p < .001$.

In Table 29, six in ten youth who expressed a home condition that prompted them to work their first job identified “to help contribute to family income” as the fundamental reason for working. Nearly a quarter (22%) of these respondents expressed “there’s not enough money for basic necessities”, and only about a tenth responded an individualized reason of “proving economic independence”. This finding corroborates the earlier observed familial orientation relative to the respondents’ work disposition and experiences in Table 28.

Table 29: Home Conditions That Prompted Respondents to Work (%)

Home Conditions	No main activity	Unpaid family worker	Unemployed	Worker	Homemaker	Student	Total
Parents were unemployed/not earning enough/have irregular jobs	2	4	4	4	3	4	4
To help contribute to family income	65	65	63	64	62	53	62
There's not enough money for basic necessities (food, clothing, shelter, schooling)	18	20	18	19	26	27	22
To prove that R can be economically independent	13	9	14	11	8	14	12
Others	1	2	2	2	1	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
n = 7,494							
Cramer's V	0.12						

***Significant at $p < .001$.

This suggests that the labour habitus of Filipino youth appears to be oriented around families rather than the individual. Against the backdrop of poor employment conditions in the Philippines, the majority of youth respondents seem to exhibit an ethic of obligation to help their respective families than to achieve a more individualized, personal development. Given this orientation, unemployment or being istambay becomes more problematic because the Filipino youth’s labour habitus appears to work and impact not merely the person, but more so, the welfare of the family. Generally, the disposition towards work among respondents is depicted here as deeply entangled with precarious

economic conditions, especially the lack of employment opportunities even for those who are qualified.

d. The Realm of Socially-problematized Behaviours

In Chapter 4, one of the features constituting the negative stereotypes of istambay reported in the perceptual survey, song analysis, and preliminary analysis of case studies, was the apparent engagement of istambay in socially-problematized behaviours, smoking and drinking. Even films and other media representations (cartoons, paintings, and photographs) depict istambay as chronic smokers and drinkers, which solidify the negative perception about them (See Appendix A).

Fortunately, YAFS 2002 included a set of questions about the smoking and drinking behaviours of respondents, which allows their examination relative to the main variable of interest in this study, the self-reported main activity. In this section, I illustrate the extent to which the self-reported main activity variable, as a categorical predictor, with other salient factors, impacts the higher odds of smoking and drinking among YAFS' respondents.

First, I give a brief description of the dependent variable used in the analysis, that is, the measures of smoking and drinking behaviours of respondents. Second, I present a number of independent variables, which initially demonstrate relative association with smoking and drinking variables through bivariate analyses. Finally, I conduct a multivariate analysis in order to determine the extent to which independent predictors influence the odds of smoking and drinking among respondents. Multinomial logistic regression was the statistical tool used in this analysis because the categorical dependent outcomes, which in this study are the extent of smoking and drinking, have more than two levels (Borooah, 2002; Chan, 2005).

d.1 Dependent Variables: Extent of Smoking and Drinking

The dependent variables used in the analysis were derived from the following questions: For smoking, the questions were, “Have you ever tried smoking?”, and “Are you currently smoking cigarettes regularly?”; and for drinking, the questions were, “Have you every tried drinking (alcoholic beverages)?”, and “Are you currently drinking alcoholic beverages regularly?”.

I combined the dichotomous responses (“Yes” = 1 and “No” = 0) of two smoking questions into one variable by computing the extent of engagement in smoking into three categories, non-smoker, transient smoker and regular smoker. I treated the drinking variables the same way, which also allowed me to have three categories, non-drinker, transient drinker, and current drinker. In so doing, I created a measure of the extent of engagement of youth respondents in socially-problematized behaviours, smoking and drinking, which I examine relative to selected indicators.

d.2 Independent Variables: Possible Factors Influencing Smoking and Drinking

The independent variables were carefully selected from the list of YAFS 2002 variables presented in the preceding sections of this chapter. These factors were relatively expected to influence the smoking and drinking behaviours of respondents based on the preliminary descriptive YAFS analysis. These variables initially showed moderate to strong association with the dependent variables.

Of special interest to the present istambay study, is the self-reported main activity variable, used in this analysis as one of the categorical predictors. Here I expect that, the three categories of potential istambays, those with no main activity, unpaid family workers and the unemployed, will show relative and significant impact in predicting the higher odds of smoking and drinking among respondents, compared to the other three categories – workers, homemakers and students.

Gender, another categorical predictor, and age are two major socio-demographic indicators included in this analysis. For descriptive purposes, the variable “age” is

initially presented in this section in terms of “age groups”, but for the multinomial logistic regression modeling, actual age was used as a quantitative predictor. In addition, three contextual factors were also considered. These are: (a) parental approval to go out on a date without a chaperon (familial); (b) involvement of respondent and friends in a violent incident (peer); and (c) suspension from attending classes. Both Table 30 and Table 31 present the bivariate analyses of selected factors related to smoking and drinking variables.

With respect to smoking, Table 30 reveals that variations of experiences across self-reported main activities occur in two extreme categories, the non-smokers and current smokers. That is, unpaid family workers, workers, unemployed and those with no main activity compared to homemakers and students were more likely to report as regular smokers. The reverse is observed among the non-smoking group. More importantly, the data suggest that smoking, as a socially-problematized behaviour in the Philippine context, is gendered. Correspondingly, males were six times more likely to be current smokers than their female counterparts. Relative to age groups, especially among transient smokers, there is a slight increase in the middle age group 20-24, compared to the younger (15-19) and older (25-27) age groups, suggesting a curvilinear relationship between the age variable and smoking behaviour.

In the familial context, parental permissiveness, measured by the extent of allowing the respondent to go out on a date without a chaperon, demonstrates that those given permission are thrice more likely to report as being current smokers than their counterparts who were restricted on dates. In addition, precarious peer-relations measured by the respondent and his/her friends' involvement in a violent incident reveal a similar pattern. That is, those respondents who with their friends were exposed to a violent incident are twice more likely to smoke regularly than those who reported no violent exposure at all. This reflects the positive association of violent exposure with smoking behaviour. A similar trend is observed with a precarious educational indicator, suspension from classes relative to smoking behaviour, which indicate that those who

were suspended from classes were twice more likely to be regular smokers than those who did not experience suspension.

Table 30: Selected Indicators by Levels of Engagement in Smoking (%)

Indicators	Non-smoker	Transient smoker	Current smoker	Total	Cramer's V
<i>Self-reported main activity</i>					
No main activity	44	26	30	100	0.21
Unpaid family worker	33	26	41	100	
Unemployed	41	26	33	100	
Worker	40	23	37	100	
Homemaker	64	27	9	100	
Student	62	25	13	100	
Total	53	25	22	100	
n = 19,689					
<i>Gender</i>					
female	70	24	6	100	0.44
male	33	27	40	100	
Total	53	25	22	100	
n = 19,690					
<i>Age groups</i>					
15-19	59	24	17	100	0.10
20-24	45	27	27	100	
25-27	49	24	27	100	
Total	53	25	22	100	
n = 19,689					
<i>Approval of first person who raised R to go out on an date unchaperoned</i>					
No	66	22	11	100	0.30
Yes	39	28	33	100	
Total	53	25	22	100	
n = 19,449					
<i>R and friends have been involved in violent incident</i>					
No	57	25	18	100	0.23
Yes	33	27	40	100	
Total	52	26	22	100	
n = 19,114					
<i>Suspension from classes</i>					
No	56	25	19	100	0.23
Yes	23	28	49	100	
Total	53	25	22	100	
n = 19,621					

***All indicators are significant at $p < .001$.

Table 31: Selected Indicators by Levels of Engagement in Drinking (%)

Indicators	Non-drinker	Transient drinker	Current drinker	Total	Cramer's V
<i>Self-reported main activity</i>					
No main activity	26	26	47	100	0.19
Unpaid family worker	19	23	58	100	
Unemployed	16	25	60	100	
Worker	19	24	56	100	
Homemaker	36	41	24	100	
Student	37	28	35	100	
Total	29	29	42	100	
n = 19,695					
<i>Gender</i>					
female	40	37	24	100	0.40
male	18	19	63	100	
Total	29	29	42	100	
n = 19,696					
<i>Age groups</i>					
15-19	38	27	35	100	0.14
20-24	20	29	51	100	
25-27	23	31	46	100	
Total	29	29	42	100	
n = 19,694					
<i>Approval of first person who raised R to go on an date unchaperoned</i>					
No	41	32	27	100	0.33
Yes	17	25	58	100	
Total	29	29	42	100	
n = 19,454					
<i>R and friends have been involved in violent incident</i>					
No	31	30	39	100	0.18
Yes	16	23	61	100	
Total	29	29	43	100	
n = 19,120					
<i>Suspension from classes</i>					
No	31	29	39	100	0.18
Yes	11	22	67	100	
Total	29	29	42	100	
n = 19,627					

***All indicators are significant at $p < .001$.

In general, similar patterns are observed with respect to the relationship between the independent variables and drinking behaviour (see Table 31). That is, homemakers and students were least likely to drink regularly compared to the other four categories. Drinking, similar to smoking, is gendered, which indicates that males are three times

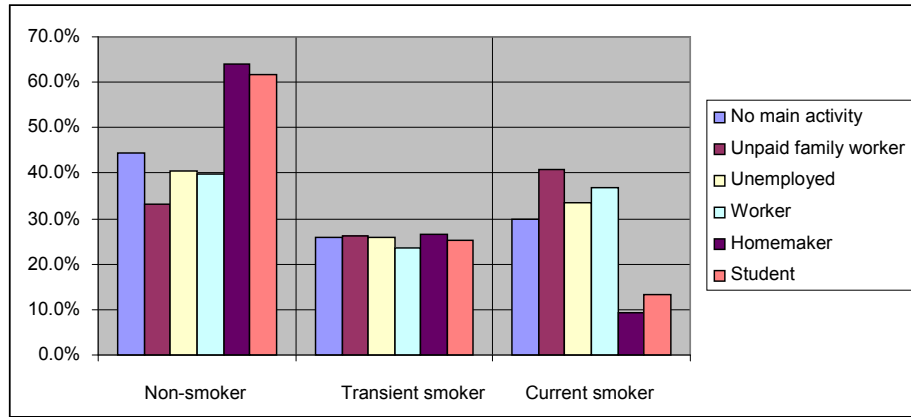
more likely to report as regular drinkers than their female counterparts. When it comes to contextual factors, those whose parents are permissive were twice as likely to be regular drinkers compared to those who were restricted. On the other hand, those who had no violent exposure with friends were two times more likely to be non-drinkers compared to those with violent exposure. Correspondingly, those who experienced being suspended from attending classes were twice more likely to regularly drink than their counterparts who did not experience any suspension.

d.3 Multinomial Logistic Regression Analysis

In order to determine if the effects of self-reported main activity and selected indicators on smoking and drinking variables are warranted, I performed parallel multinomial logistic regression analyses, one for smoking, and the other for drinking. The dependent variable for smoking contains three categories, and non-smoker (NS) is used as a reference group. Likewise, the dependent variable for drinking contains three categories, and non-drinker (ND) is used as a reference group. I constructed two multinomial logistic regression models predicting for smoking, the odds of being transient smoker, and current smoker versus non-smoker; and for drinking, the odds of being transient drinker and current drinker versus non-drinker.

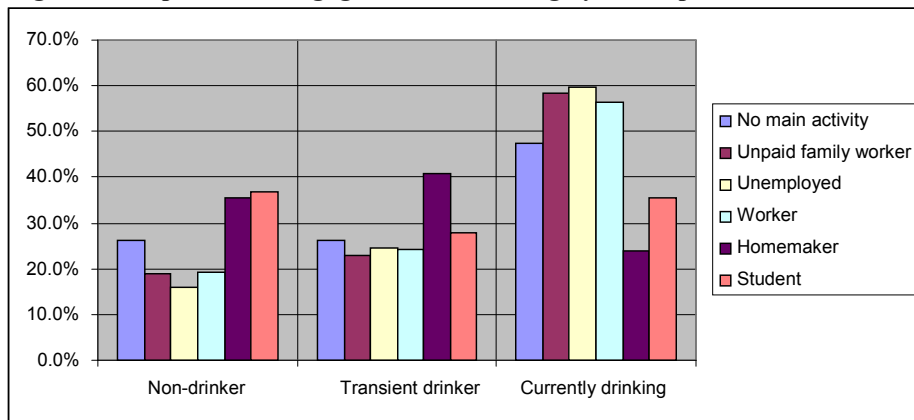
The association between the self-reported main activity variable and the two indicators of socially-problematized behaviours, smoking and drinking, as shown in Figure 5 and Figure 6, respectively, is moderate. The differences across self-reported main activity categories are more observable in two extreme categories, and only minimal variation is seen in the middle range category, especially for smoking. However, I did not combine the middle range category with any of the extreme categories in order to clearly illustrate this relative difference across these categories.

Figure 5: Respondents' Engagement in Smoking by Self-reported Main Activities



n = 19,689; Cramer's V = 0.21

Figure 6: Respondents' Engagement in Drinking by Self-reported Main Activities



n = 19,695; Cramer's V = 0.19

Another important aspect of the multivariate analysis is the correlations among variables that were included in the regression models. Table 32 indicates that the two-socially problematized behaviours, smoking and drinking, are strongly correlated (0.515). Smoking and drinking are also positively correlated with being male and being older (measure by age in actual years). Other than age and gender, which are generally expected to impact the odds of smoking and drinking, I included three factors to take into account the familial, peer and educational contexts. In so doing, I could ascertain that the models logically capture the smoking and drinking habitus and dispositions of youth respondents. Similarly, these two socially-problematized behaviours are positively

correlated with the contextual indicators: parental permission to go out on a date without a chaperon, the respondent and friends' exposure to a violent incident, and being suspended from classes.

Table 32: Pearson's Correlations among Selected Indicators Used in Multinomial Logistic Regression

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
(1) Smoking	1						
(2) Drinking	0.515***	1					
(3) Age (in years)	0.153***	0.205***	1				
(4) Male	0.438***	0.365***	-0.057***	1			
(5) Parental permission to out on a date unchaperoned	0.304***	0.325***	0.178***	0.421***	1		
(6) Respondent and friends' exposure to a violent incident	0.223***	0.176***	-0.054***	0.236***	0.142***	1	
(7) Suspension from classes	0.232***	0.171***	0.015	0.180***	0.106***	0.216***	1

N ranges from 19,114 to 19,648 due to missing cases; *p < .01; ** p < .001; *** p < .0001

Bivariate (see Figure 5 and Figure 6) and correlation (see Table 32) analyses suggest that there is a substantial reason to expect that each of these factors demonstrates the relative impact on the smoking and drinking behaviour of respondents. In order to determine the relative amount of its impact on the smoking and drinking behaviours of respondents, I analyzed these data using multinomial logistic regression.

For this multinomial logistic regression analysis, the baseline model includes self-reported main activity (six categories, students as a reference group) and control factors, age and gender, a dummy variable (male = 1 and female = 0) (see Model A in Table 33 and Table 34). In order to account for the earlier observed curvilinear relationship of age with smoking and drinking behaviours, age for these multinomial logistic regression analyses was measured in two ways, age centered and age squared. In so doing, for the regression models, the curvilinear effect of age is minimized. The final model adds contextual variables (familial, peer and educational) to assess if the impact of the self-reported main activity variable is increased or decreased with the introduction of these factors (see Model B in Table 33 and Table 34).

Each model predicts the likelihood of being transient smoker/drinker versus non-smoker/drinker, and the likelihood of being current smoker/drinker versus non-smoker/drinker. In reading the regression results in Table 33 and Table 34, an odds ratio of 1 means that no effect is impacted by the predictor; a value greater than one means an increased probability of being transient smoker/drinker or current smoker/drinker; a value of less than one indicates a smaller probability of engaging in smoking/drinking.

Table 33: Multinomial Regression Analyses of Engagements in Smoking, Transient Smoker (TS) and Current Smoker (CS) Versus Non-smoker (NS)

Predictors	<i>Model A</i> Self-reported main activity (ref: student) + Control factors: gender + age ¹³		<i>Model B</i> + Familial/peer/education factors	
	TS vs NS	CS vs NS	TS vs NS	CS vs NS
No main activity	1.134	2.234***	1.097	2.058***
Unpaid family worker	1.249	2.568***	1.379**	3.072***
Unemployed	1.075	2.024***	1.038	1.878***
Worker	1.024	2.381***	1.012	2.294***
Homemaker	1.053	1.564***	1.085	1.527***
Male	2.575***	15.484***	2.005***	10.366***
Parental permission to go out on a date without a chaperon (Familial context)			1.489***	1.632***
Respondent & friends exposure to a violent incident (Peer context)			1.482***	2.106***
Suspension from attending classes (Education context)			2.109***	3.552***
Constant	-.926***	-2.690***	-1.125***	-3.010***
Pseudo R-square (Nagelkerke)	0.281		.317	
Degrees of freedom	16		22	
n	19,688		18,847	

*p < .01 **p < .001 *** p < .0001

Table 33 presents the results of multinomial logistic regression models for engagement in smoking by youth respondents. Model A shows that, after controlling for age and gender, no significant impacts are accounted for by the predictors in this first model, when comparing between transient smokers and non-smokers in all youth main activity

¹³ Although not reported in the table, age, as a control variable, was included to account for the effect of respondents' age on smoking and drinking regression models.

categories compared to students. However, the comparison between current smokers and non-smokers indicate that compared to students, all youth main activity categories indicate relatively higher odds of smoking. The four categories, unpaid family worker (2.568), workers (2.381), those with no main activity (2.234) and unemployed (2.024), are more than twice more likely to be current smokers compared to students. Compared to these four categories, the homemakers are only 1.564 times more likely than students to currently smoke. Overwhelmingly, this model shows that males are 15 times more likely to be current smokers compared to female non-smokers.

With the introduction of familial, peer and educational factors in Model B, the effects on predicting the odds of being transient smokers versus non-smokers remain insignificant, except among the unpaid family workers. However, all five categories of the self-reported main activity variable in comparison to students remain relatively salient in predicting the odds of being current smokers versus non-smokers. Compared to students, minimal decreases of impacts are observed in three categories (workers (from 2.381 decreases to 2.294), no main activity (from 2.234 decreases to 2.058), and unemployed (from 2.024 decreases to 1.878)), while the odds of smoking regularly versus non-smoking among unpaid family workers significantly increases from 2.5 times to three times. But more salient is the strong impact of gender (10.366) combined with the educational factor, suspension from attending classes (3.552), and the peer factor, the respondent and his/her friends' exposure to a violent incident (2.106) in predicting the odds of being current smokers compared to non-smokers. However, the evidence in Model B suggests that despite the introduction of additional control variables that considered the familial, peer and educational contexts, the potential istambay, those with no main activity, unpaid family workers and unemployed, with the working group, indicate a relative propensity of being current smokers compared to students. Of special interest here is the smoking habitus of unpaid family workers whose odds of being current smokers versus non-smokers increases with the introduction of contextual factors. This suggests that, to a certain extent, gender and precarious contextual factors combined with a state of inactivity, as experienced by the potential istambay in the YAFS 2002, are

significantly associated with the odds of smoking regularly versus the non-smoking group.

On the other hand, Table 34 shows the regression analysis of the drinking behaviour among youth respondents, which generally relates a different scenario. Model A indicates that unlike smoking, not all youth main activity categories significantly influence the odds of predicting transient drinkers and current drinkers compared to the non-drinking group. Among the potential istambays, only the unemployed compared to students, shows a significant, positive and relatively minimal impact, that is, 1.3 times higher odds of being current drinkers than non-drinkers. Model A also indicates that the homemakers are significantly less likely (1.00 - .549) to regularly drink compared to students. In this model, gender remains the driving force in predicting the odds of being current drinkers versus non-drinkers, that is, males are six times more likely to drink regularly compared to female non-drinkers.

In Model B, with the introduction of contextual factors, the impact of self-reported main activity on predicting the odds of being transient drinkers versus non-drinkers is totally wiped-out. Although, comparing between current drinkers and non-drinkers, three categories in the youth main activity variable remained significant. Compared to students, only the very minimal positive decreasing effect among the unemployed (from 1.352 decreases to 1.080) influences the prediction of the odds of being current drinkers versus non-drinkers. While in comparison with the students, the reverse is observed among those with no main activity (.695), and homemakers wherein the decreased odds of being current drinkers compared to non-drinkers has remained significant (from .549 to .486).

In this model, what appears to be the salient predictors of youth's drinking behaviour, in the context of comparing between current drinkers and non-drinkers, are once again, gender (3.832) and suspension in from attending classes (2.533) with level of parental permissiveness (going out in a date without a chaperon) (1.903), and the peer factor (1.709). This model only minimally accounts for the drinking habitus of one potential istambay, the unemployed compared to students. Overall, Model B of Table 34 suggests

that when it comes to the respondent youth's drinking behaviour, gender, educational, familial and peer indicators are more critical factors that predict the higher likelihood of youth to drink regularly than the self-reported main activity.

Table 34: Multinomial Regression Analyses of Engagements in Drinking, Transient Drinker (TD) and Current Drinker (CD) versus Non-drinker (ND)

Predictors	<i>Model A</i> Self-reported main activity (ref: student) + Control factors: gender + age ¹⁴		<i>Model B</i> + Familial/peer/education factors	
	TD vs ND	CD vs ND	TD vs ND	CD vs ND
No main activity	.858	.888	.870	.695*
Unpaid family worker	.951	1.028	1.159	1.019
Unemployed	1.120	1.352***	1.101	1.080**
Worker	.916	1.045	.905	.868
Homemaker	.869	.549***	.903	.486***
Male	1.345***	6.525***	1.058	3.832***
Parental permission to go out on a date without a chaperon (Familial context)			1.559***	1.903***
Respondent & friends exposure to a violent incident (Peer context)			1.473***	1.709***
Suspension from attending classes (Education context)			1.900***	2.533***
Constant	.281***	.079***	.101	-.236***
Pseudo R-square (Nagelkerke)	.264		.295	
Degrees of freedom	16		22	
n	19,694		18,854	

*p < .01 **p < .001 *** p < .0001

In the context of understanding the smoking and drinking habitus of youth in the YAFS 2002 data, results from the multinomial logistic regression analyses demonstrate that the self-reported main activity is not the strongest factor that has the power to predict the odds of smoking and drinking among respondents. Research findings suggest that in the Philippines, these two socially-problematized behaviours are gendered. Also, suspension from school is a predictor of the odds of Filipino youth to smoking and drinking. To a certain extent, the respondent and his/her friends' exposure to a violent incident also

¹⁴ Although not reported in the table, age, as a control variable, was included to account for the effect of respondents' age on smoking and drinking regression models.

significantly contributes to predicting the higher odds of smoking among respondent youth, while the level of parental permissiveness also considerably contributes to increasing the likelihood of respondent youth to drink.

However, this multivariate analysis somewhat confirms some assumptions about the potential istambay. Correspondingly, this multivariate analysis of engagements in smoking in Table 33 clearly illustrates that after controlling for age, gender, and contextual factors, the potential istambays (those with no main activity, unpaid family workers and unemployed) still demonstrated a relatively higher likelihood to smoke compared to students. On the other hand, regarding the drinking behaviour models as shown in Table 34, with the exception of the unemployed, the results did not fulfil the expectations that compared to students potential istambays are more likely to be regular drinkers. That is, the popular image of istambays as regular drinkers is only weakly supported in this analysis. A plausible explanation of this finding may be traced to the fact that smoking is relatively cheaper than drinking, therefore, even youth could engage in this behaviour more easily.

In sum, the preceding YAFS multivariate analysis was able to empirically illustrate the direct association between istambay and smoking. On the other hand, the results are inconclusive with respect to the direct association between istambay and drinking behaviour. Conversely, the multivariate analysis brings attention to the larger, contextual features of smoking and drinking behaviours among Filipino youth. The multivariate analyses suggest that the higher odds of smoking and drinking is not directly explained by the state of inactivity among these youth, but rather, by other more salient factors. In this analysis, gender, experience of being suspended from attending class, having been exposed to violence with friends, and level of parental permissiveness significantly impact the higher odds of smoking and drinking among youth respondents. In the context of istambay discourse, what seems critical is when inactivity is combined with these factors, which reflects the conditions where smoking and drinking habitus become a manifestation of exclusion and marginalization, especially among young Filipinos. While the multivariate analysis of YAFS data could only provide a glimpse of how this dynamic

works, the interconnections among inactivity, contextual factors, and the relative engagements with smoking-drinking habitus are more articulated in the life histories of case study respondents.

B. Living by Standing-By: Life Vignettes of 12 Youth

Building from the research insights learned from the YAFS 2002 secondary analysis, this next section presents the life vignettes of 12 case study respondents. Using a narrative style, it follows the individual-social framework used in analyzing the YAFS 2002 data, that is, to describe and explain the habitus of case study respondents mainly in four dimensions: (a) familial; (b) educational-peer, and (c) work contexts; and (d) the respondents' extent of engagement in socially-problematized behaviours, particularly in smoking and drinking. In so doing, it narrates both the problematic and problematique of the istambay phenomenon, which I argue are negotiated by the case study respondents in the midst of limited capital and resources provided to them by their respective families and communities. Thus, this section describes the dispositions and life contexts of case study youth beyond the YAFS 2002 data, and examines the istambay phenomenon as a lived experience.

The life vignettes of 12 case study youth respondents were carefully reconstructed from my personal, one-on-one interviews and close interactions with them in various activities. This part introduces the respondents' dispositions and personal values relative to specific social contexts. It relates critical life events that highlights how inactivity, from being out of school, and being out of work, has impacted not only the respondents' individual identities but more so, their relations with their barkada, family and community. This underscores the precarious state of being and becoming istambay in the Philippines. "Being istambay" generates tensions, which were salient in some respondents' problematic relations, especially with parents, and relative engagement with socially-problematized behaviours, an experience they share with their barkada.

Another salient aspect discussed in this section is the respondents' narratives of aspirations and hope. This highlights the significance of family and faith in the lives of youth respondents. I contend that this familial-faith dynamic helps in explaining the *hopeful istambay habitus*, which appears to provide some degree of resilience among respondents during the times of inactivity. However, this disposition also unravels these youth's apparent disconnect with the state, and their aspiration to finding a better future "abroad" through overseas employment. Thus, *istambay habitus* is seen as operating not only as an individualized-lived experience but also as a socially-shared one.

I present the life stories of 12 case study youth respondents in a narrative style. The life vignettes are a summary of their lives where I am the primary narrator. For consistency purposes, the order of presentation follows Table 17: Typology of Youth Case Study Respondents Using YAFS' Main Activity Categories. The focus of discussion is centered on understanding the narratives of youth in/activity among respondents. `

1. Student: Glefer

Glefer, female, 18 years old, was beaming with self-esteem and confidence as she expressed her gratitude to her parents because she was able to study Bachelor of Arts in Nursing, although this was not her first preference. She explained that her nursing degree promised a better chance to get employment abroad in the United States or Canada. Being the youngest in the family, she felt pressured because all her older siblings had college degrees. She considered herself as having a highly religious Catholic family. Glefer's mother was instrumental in their frequent attendance at Sunday masses and in active involvement in religious organizations. Glefer sung and played guitar in the local chapel, which according to her, was a form of ministry and service to God. Her mother encouraged her musical talent since she was a child. She explained that her mother was always happy whenever she saw her singing and playing guitar during church activities.

Her parents did not finish tertiary education but this did not deter them from sending all of their children to college. Glefer explained that her parents had always been determined to have all their children finish collegiate education and they have been successful so far

with her five siblings. She was the only one left studying at college, which was why she felt the pressure of her parents' high expectations. Glefer's father was a real state agent and her mother was a beautician/business person.

Glefer recalled with fondness her experiences during high school of being a lead singer in a local band that she organized with friends. In those times, she had fun attending rock band concerts around Metro Manila. Eventually this fascination wore off because her mother made sure that she focused more on her studies. She narrated that her actions in school were being closely monitored by her mother who communicated with her teachers regularly. She admitted that she felt uncomfortable with her mother's nosiness, but she realized that her mother just wanted her to do well in school. Unfortunately, Glefer's mother perceived Glefer's barkada as a bad influence. She explained that her mother thought that her barkada were taking their studies for granted because of their easy-go-lucky attitudes. Her mother feared that spending more time with her barkada would affect her motivation to study. But Glefer valued her barkada because they provided her space to be herself, and she was able to share her aspirations and dreams with them (i.e., having her own home, driving her own car, etc.). These occasions made her feel that her barkada were like her second family. She admitted that some of her friends were regular smokers and drinkers, and knew one close friend who underwent rehabilitation due to drug addiction. But Glefer only admitted to trying out a puff or two of cigarettes, and to drinking only a bottle of beer due to peer pressure. She was proud to say that smoking, drinking and especially drug substance abuse, were never, and would not be part of her lifestyle.

While she had tensions with school staff (i.e., tardiness, coloring of her hair, wearing a longer skirt), generally, she was an above-average student. Fortunately, she did not experience any delay in studying high school and entry to college because she had the full support of her parents and siblings. When she finished her nursing studies, she dreamed of first serving a public hospital, then seeking employment abroad. She wanted to take her mother with her overseas so that they would both experience a "good life".

Also, as a nurse abroad, she planned to give support to any of her siblings who might need help.

Glefer was also an active volunteer in church and civic-related activities in her barangay. However, she observed that, these past few years, her community had become a haven for criminal activities such as snatching, hold-ups, stealing and drug dealing. She thought that the people in her barangay should strive to overcome the “kanya-kanya system” (lack of sense of community) so that her community would be safer and more secured.

When I asked her why she intended to go abroad to work as a nurse, she articulated her awareness of the corruption in the government, and explained the dismal issue of unemployment in the country. She knew that her chances to get a secured job in the Philippines were slim, and thus, similar to her friends, she was convinced that overseas employment was her ticket to a good future.

She always enjoyed being a student and highly valued education. Although, she complained that her parents were strict, especially with her barkada, she understood them. Glefer knew that her parents wanted her to become a professional nurse because this would benefit herself, and the entire family.

2. Paid Workers: Ruben and Manolet

During fieldwork, I was fortunate to interview two working youth respondents. The first one was Ruben who was a teacher, and Manolet, a security guard. Ruben had a secure professional job while Manolet’s work was contractual. Both lived in semi-depressed communities but the major difference between these two was their educational attainments. Manolet was not able to complete his vocational course (Radiologic Technology) while Ruben, despite the delays in his studies, was able to finish an education degree, and successfully passed the licensure exam for teachers. This license gave Ruben an opportunity to get a tenured job in a local school.

During my interview with Ruben, 24, I felt his self-confidence, which was underscored by his humility and a deep sense of religiosity. He was an achiever and loved studying. He cared for his parents and siblings. While there were tensions in his family such as the chronic disagreements of his parents and what he saw as the persistent nagging of his mother, he has maintained good relations with his younger siblings whom he intended to assist especially in sending them to school.

During high school, despite showing great educational interest, he became istambay for more than a year due to poverty. During those times, the fish harvest in the lake plummeted, and the resources of his family were only sufficient to send one of his siblings to school. He took a year off, totally understanding the limited situation of his family. This experience motivated him to study harder when he returned to school, and he was proud to graduate second best in his high school class. Studying college away from Talim Island was another big challenge that Ruben was able to overcome. For about four years, he travelled back and forth from Talim to the mainland to train as a teacher. Because of his natural love for studying, his academic life was smooth. His only recurrent problem was the money he needed to pay for his tuition and daily allowance.

Ruben revealed that it was his Methodist Church, through one Korean sponsor, that facilitated the completion of his college education. His active involvement in this church strengthened his faith, and solidified his values. He thought his religiosity protected him from becoming a smoker and drinker, which was relatively common among male Talim youth. His churchmates were his barkada. He explained that he was faithful to the teaching of his church and thus tried to lead a fairly simple life without any vice.

He continued to draw inspiration from his family. Now that he was enjoying a regular teaching job, he made sure that every pay day he gave a part of his earnings to his parents and siblings. His happiness was seeing his parents fulfilled.

Interestingly, Ruben also expressed his intention to work abroad. While he liked his job as a teacher, Ruben articulated that working abroad would be financially better for his

family because teaching in the Philippines was not well paid. He added that the national government did not effectively protect the welfare of Filipino teachers. Thus, if he was given an opportunity, he wanted to work abroad for ten years, and then return home and work again as a teacher in the Philippines.

Ruben knew that his chances to get work abroad were relatively high because he finished college education and he had a teacher's license. However, he was also aware that he might not work as a teacher overseas. To Ruben, this concern was secondary; what was more important was that he found a job abroad so that he could earn more for his family. In the meantime, he considered himself fortunate for working as a regular teacher on the mainland, which meant that most of the week, he was away from his family, and Talim, which was the island he considered home.

On the other hand, the story of Manolet as a worker was more precarious than Ruben. Manolet, 32, was married, and had a child. His family lived at her parental home. He had a sister. As revealed in Chapter 4, over the years, he had gained a variety of work experiences from his first job as a service crew to being a messenger, porter, community enforcer, political volunteer and security guard. But all these jobs were contractual, usually lasting between three and six months. In between these contracts, he would be an istambay patiently waiting and looking for another job to become available. This had been his working life since he started a family. Manolet lamented that he could not return to school to finish his vocational course on Radiologic Technology because his limited seasonal earnings could only cover the basic needs of his wife and child. Because of his irregular work, he could not even give regular financial assistance to his mother. In contrast, his mother helped his family by allowing them to stay at his parental home, and she even offered to baby sit their child whenever needed.

My interview with Manolet started with the narrative of the death of his father during his final year of high school. He was closer to his father than his mother, and his father's death brought him deep sadness. During those days, he chose to spend more time with his barkada. This led him to chronic engagements with smoking, drinking and even taking

illegal drug substances. He was a rebel in his home; he talked back and disrespected his mother. He sadly narrated that these moments hurt his mother, and for this, he was very sorry.

Manolet related that he was able to cope up with his depression through what he called as a “religious conversion”. It started when his school counsellor encouraged him to attend a *Life in the Spirit Seminar*, through *Loveflock*, a popular Catholic Charismatic Movement. This religious experience taught him how to accept the death of his father and encouraged him to ask forgiveness for his wrongdoings to his mother. Since then, he discovered God and his faith increased.

The death of Manolet’s father seriously impacted his prospects to study college. Unlike his father, his mother was a fulltime housewife and did not have a paid job. Despite this, she was able to solicit help to further his high school education even if it was just a vocational course. Manolet took Radiologic Technology (RT) so that he could become an x-ray technician in a nearby hospital. However, his family did not have enough funding to support his studies. Thus, once again, similar to his high school days, he was forced to suspend his vocational training.

It was during these first years of istambay experience that he became active in a religious organization and met his future wife. He admitted that he was highly motivated to attend these religious services because he wanted to spend more time with his girlfriend, who was an active choir member of this religious organization. His persistence paid off and they were married on March 18, 1999, a four-fold celebration – the birthday of his late father, the birthday of his wife, the wedding anniversary of their parents, and his wedding day. The following year, he had his first child and since then, the main focus of his life was to find a secured and well-paying job in order to fulfil the basic needs of his own family.

Over the years, his employment history had been limited to contractual jobs. From 2000 – 2005, he renewed his contract as a security guard intermittently. In between these

contracts, he had to wait, on standby. According to him, the employment agency wanted to give other applicants the chance to have his job. Usually, he would go from one employment agency to another to facilitate his contractual employment. For Manolet, having a contractual job was so important that he would do whatever it took just to be employed even for a limited number of months. There were, however, as told by Manolet, abusive employment agencies. He experienced not being paid on time and not being paid at all, and other employment malpractices that he personally witnessed but could not complain about out of fear that he might lose his job.

Manolet's wife had undergone a similar work experience as a promo-girl in a shopping centre. She worked as contractual worker in the same company for five years but was never tenured. According to Manolet, in all those years, she renewed her contract every five months, and she was allowed to do so because of her good performance. She wanted to be a regular employee but the employment agency only operated at a contractual basis. Just like Manolet, she could not complain because this job was essential to the welfare and well-being of her child.

A critical family dynamic that further complicated the situation of Manolet and his wife was the support (mainly financial) that each of them give to their respective families. Manolet, because he lived at his parental home, was obligated to share in paying the house bills. On rare occasions, he also gave his mother some extra allowance for taking care of his child. On the other hand, his wife also shared some of her earnings with her family and siblings who needed support. Manolet related that this matter had always been one of the major themes of the confrontations with his wife.

Having had the first-hand experience of being abused and maltreated by various employment agencies, Manolet thought that the government had a lot to do with the worsening unemployment problem in the Philippines; he could not imagine how insensitive the government was in allowing work-related abuses to happen, especially to poor people like him. Instead of complaining, he accepted his unsteady work situation as something beyond his control. For his family, especially for his child, he was willing to

sacrifice provided that he had a job to support them. Unfortunately, the recent manual jobs he had such as being security guard, which required long hours of works (overnight) had taken a toll on his health. He revealed that he had been suffering from high blood pressure and had had a mild stroke. But Manolet considered these health problems secondary. What was more important was having a job, even if he was underpaid or maltreated. Because he was left with no choice, he thought that working under these precarious conditions was better than not having work at all. He could only hope that the Philippine government would pay attention to manual workers' conditions, and the labour unions' requests to increase the minimum wage.

The focus of Manolet's life was his child. With the help of his wife, mother and other family members, he sent his child to a private primary school even though it was relatively expensive. He did not trust the public school system because he personally experienced its low quality of education. Manolet narrated that there were occasions when his child cried to him as though feeling the difficulties of their life. These brought back memories of a rare opportunity he had had in the past, when one of his cousins in the United States, a US citizen, offered to help him seek employment abroad. He did not seriously consider his offer and for this, Manolet felt sorry for missing out the economic benefit that his family could have enjoyed if he had taken the risk of being away from them to work abroad.

Amidst all these difficulties, Manolet remained hopeful that God would continue to help him find a more secured job in the future. He found that being out of a job, which usually happened in between his contracts, was so disappointing to face. This was the reason why he considered every job a blessing from God. Manolet dreamt that his child would have a future that was free from the difficulties of his present life.

3. Homemakers: Lanie, Carol, Jacquelyn and Shirley

During the fieldwork, four female case study respondents were homemakers: Lanie, Carol, and Jacquelyn were married and had children, while Shirley was single and took

over the homemaking tasks of her mother who worked abroad. All of them spent most of their time at home, fulfilling their domestic responsibilities. Interestingly, all of them had had some degree of inactivity experiences. Yet, life contexts, such as the gender role expectations that Philippine society has on women, had averted these homemakers from the consequences of inactivity. Thus, the lives of these four women might be different in other aspects (i.e., educational attainment, work experiences) but they shared a similar disposition of caring for their family members.

Lanie, 30, represented the typical rural woman, who early in her life was an unpaid family worker. She peddled fish with her mother on the mainland. She sold the fish caught by her brothers and took pride in their earnings that enabled her to build concrete houses that showed family success. The first home was built with the help of her first husband who unexpectedly died from a wound infection after only two years of marriage. For three years Lanie mourned his death until she fell in love with another man and had a child.

Lanie always cared for her parents and 13 siblings. As soon as her elder brothers and sisters got married and left home, she took over the responsibility of taking care of her parents, especially her sickly father until he passed away. She had always been industrious and conscientious of her domestic responsibilities like cleaning the house, cooking, washing clothes, etc. During the time I spent with Lanie, I saw her doing endless household chores without complaint. She was always happy and had a positive disposition in life.

She expressed to me that she enjoyed studying high school, although it took her a number of years to finish. Similar to her siblings, she had to stop going to school on several occasions because her family did not have enough financial resources. While most of her siblings finished elementary education, only a few of them graduated from high school. Lanie explained that she wanted to become a teacher just like her elder sister but her family did not have any money to send her to college. She recalled how these difficult times were brought about by the decrease in the fish harvest.

Lanie showed full awareness of her family's poverty. She shared that as soon as she realized that she would not go to college, she knew she would become a full-time fish peddler just like her mother. Although she envied seeing her high school classmates study college, Lanie learned to accept her situation and focused her energies on managing her earnings for her future needs. This sense of responsibility and positive attitude towards life earned the love and respect of her first husband, whom she married at the age of 21. Together, their biggest accomplishment was establishing their own concrete house from working hard; her husband was a fisher and Lanie was a fish peddler. From this accomplishment, they enjoyed the trust and admiration of her community. Unfortunately, after two years of marriage, Lanie's husband died, and she returned to her family of orientation to cope with this loss. She left her concrete house with her in-laws.

Lanie continued peddling fish on the mainland and after three years, she found another man with whom she had her first child. With the same work ethic and commitment towards fulfilling her dreams, again, Lanie, with the help of her new husband, was able to build her second concrete house. She explained that the key to this accomplishment was her skill in managing the limited money she earned from fish peddling. According to her, it was a good division of labour; her husband managed their fish cages well, and she sold the fish that he harvested.

Lanie derived special inspiration from her only child. Her aspiration, which she shared with her husband, was for her child to be educated and become professional. She articulated that she was willing to sacrifice and work hard in order to provide a good education for her son. She expressed her happiness with her second husband because he was a responsible father.

Carol, 25, married to Chris (another respondent), also exhibited an overflowing care for her own family. Unlike Lanie, Carol was one of the fortunate rural women who successfully finished college education. She had a degree in Elementary Education but unfortunately, she did not pass the licensure exam for teachers. Her college education

helped her to get employed as a cashier for more than a year in a shopping centre in Metro Manila. However, her pregnancy forced her to leave this work to become a full time homemaker.

Carol belongs to a large family. As the only daughter, her parents as well as her brothers were very protective of her. In fact, all activities she went on such as parties and dates were monitored. She complained that when she was younger, her parents scolded her because she spent too much time with her friends. Her parents always reminded her that women are expected to be home before sunset. Carol expressed that this was too conservative but she did not blame her parents for being protective. Her parents feared that she might go astray and become pregnant, which has happened to some of Carol's contemporaries in the island. Carol further explained that her parents were strict because they wanted her to finish college in order to have a secure future, especially if she got married. Her parents also encouraged her to help with the costs of college education for her younger brother.

Carol's barkada were mainly her female cohorts in the community. The limited recreational activities among females in rural Talim involved sharing stories and watching television. Unlike their male counterparts, rural women were not allowed to smoke or drink, or they would be stigmatized and looked down on. Because of this Carol, along with her close female friends, did not learn to smoke and drink.

In a big way, Carol followed her parents' advice to focus her attention on her studies. Although she found studying challenging, due to the chronic lack of funds and intermittent delays, she finished her education degree with the help of her family and relatives. Interestingly, she revealed that becoming a teacher was not her dream. She would have preferred taking a course in computer technology or business management. It was her parents who encouraged her to take up an education degree because they believed that she could be a successful teacher just like her elder brother. But the ticket to a teacher's success in the Philippines is earned by passing the national licensure exam.

Although Carol did not get this license, she was not discouraged. Her college education was enough to secure her a contractual job as a cashier in a furniture shop in one of the malls in Metro Manila. She narrated that she enjoyed this cashier work because she got to travel to the mainland almost everyday. More importantly, she expressed her happiness in having the means to support her parents and younger sibling who was still studying. It was difficult to travel to and from Talim but Carol considered having a paid job, fulfilling.

According to Carol, her decision to marry Chris was a reaction to community gossip that she was pregnant. Being pregnant and not being married was going to bring embarrassment to her family. She related that Chris used to meet and fetch her from work especially when she had late afternoon and evening work schedules. But she insisted that at that time, she did not have sexual relations with him. The problem was that their relationship was a secret. That is, they agreed not to tell anyone including their parents to avoid complications. But when their closeness became obvious, gossip about her pregnancy circulated around the community, and Carol's conservative parents and family elders confronted Chris and his family to discuss the issue. Carol narrated that the meeting between their parents and elders resulted in a civil marriage agreement, which transpired months after. She did not have an issue marrying Chris but she thought that it was too soon because she was focused on her work in Metro Manila.

Before giving birth to her first child, Carol gave up her cashier job. Since then, she embraced her role as a full time homemaker but she admitted that she truly missed her work in the shopping centre. In rural Talim, mothers were expected to personally take good care of their children. Hence, Carol left her job to fulfil her obligation as a mother to her child, and as a wife to Chris. With this arrangement, Chris took the breadwinner role in the family.

Similar to Carol, Chris also finished an education degree but unfortunately, he failed the civil service exam. Thus, to provide for his family, Chris reverted to his self-taught skill

as a fisher, and made fishing as their primary source of livelihood. Accordingly, Carol on some occasions, sold Chris' harvest on the mainland.

Life in Talim is tough, and it is tougher when one has a child to feed. This was how Carol described her life as a new wife and mother. She was thankful that her parents allowed her family to stay in their house, which made their life less burdensome. Carol explained that she felt that her family was more protected when they were living with her parents.

At the time of the fieldwork, Carol was pregnant with her second child. She knew that having another child would bring additional challenges in their life. However, she remained optimistic that as soon as her children were five or six years old, she would seek employment again on the mainland. Also, if she found time to review, she might take the teacher's licensure exam again, with the hope of passing this time around.

The focus of Carol's life and dreams was her family. She prayed that God would give her and Chris good jobs so that they could have a house of their own, and send their children to good schools, and to college.

If homemaking, in the cases of rural youth respondents, Lanie and Carol, appeared to be less problematic, Jacquelyn's case, on the contrary, was full of tensions and crises. Jacquelyn did not have a good relationship with her parents, especially with her mother. She did not finish high school, and she got pregnant at an early age of 15. At 22 years old, she already had three children. She complained about the abuses of her husband, but admitted that she remained in love with him. She did not have paid work but helped-out as a server in her mother's small roadside canteen and newspaper stand. Her mother took care of her children's needs because Jacquelyn's partner was an irresponsible father. Jacquelyn felt powerless and exuded low self-esteem. She did not have self-confidence and yet, because of her children, she remained optimistic about the future.

The parents of Jacquelyn migrated to Manila to seek better employment. Jacquelyn was born in Manila but she was sent to the province to study elementary under the care of her

grandmother. When she graduated from elementary, her father decided that it would be good for her to study high school in Manila. Jacquelyn revealed that over the years, her family was living as illegal squatters in the city. She explained that it was difficult to be squatting in the city but in the province, a job was more difficult to find. At least in urban Manila, her mother was able to maintain a small canteen and a newspaper stand, which sustained their daily subsistence.

Jacquelyn narrated that her father was an alcoholic and a drug addict. She admired her mother for being a strong person who did not tolerate the abuses of her father. She knew that the relationship between her parents was severed by pain and distrust, which for many years created tensions in their house.

Jacquelyn blamed herself for a number of things. First, for not taking her high school studies seriously, and second, for allowing herself to get pregnant when she was 15 years old. She explained that those days were difficult times, not only because they were poor, but more so, because her parents were not in good terms, which eventually led to their separation. She then sought social support from her barkada from whom she learned how to smoke and drink.

Despite her mother's disapproval with her relationship with one of her newspaper vendors, Jacquelyn decided to continue her relationship. They lived together in her mother's small squatter's house, and had three children. Her relationship with her partner had always been tumultuous because of his chronic smoking, drinking, drug substance abuse, and philandering. Jacquelyn lamented her deep sorrow in witnessing the many occasions that her husband cheated on her. But for reasons that Jacquelyn could not explain, she said she remained in love with him and she expressed a sense of powerlessness. They have been separated many times but whenever he returned and begged for forgiveness, she always thought of the children and accepted him back.

Although Jacquelyn had shown an irresponsible attitude towards herself and her children, she was fortunate to have a mother who, despite living in blatant poverty, managed to

find ways to support the children. For this reason, it was not difficult to understand why Jacquelyn did not enjoy the trust and respect of her mother. Jacquelyn understood that her work as a server in her mother's canteen was not enough to pay the daily needs of her children.

She explained that she attempted to apply as a factory worker, but because she lacked education and training, she failed the interview. She was unhappy that she still depended on her mother to support her children. Jacquelyn's powerlessness was evident when she asked herself the question, "What can I do?". She revealed that for the longest time, she had been searching for the right answer to this question.

In spite of the apparent crises in Jacquelyn's life, she articulated that although she failed in fulfilling her dream to become a nurse, she hoped that her children will have the opportunity of going to college. Jacquelyn did not know how this aspiration could be fulfilled, but she knew that if there's one thing that was free in life, it was for one to have a dream.

The last female youth respondent whose main activity was homemaking had also spent most of her life in urban Manila. But unlike Jacquelyn, Shirley was a responsible daughter to her parents and a good sister to her brothers. She was single but took the role as the family's homemaker when her mother, at the age of 60, decided to illegally stay in the United States to work as a primary care giver. Shirley explained that her mother made this difficult decision for their economic benefit. She, too, also looked forward to migrating to the United States when her mother became a citizen.

Shirley, 35, grew-up in Manila. She has three male siblings, and because she was the only daughter in the family, she helped her mother with domestic responsibilities. She was only 13 years old when her father died, which adversely affected their economic resources. Shirley recalled that when she was a child, they enjoyed a good life because her father worked as a mechanic at a car company (Ford Philippines) while her mother was a government employee at the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) until she

retired and decided to work in the United States as a caregiver. She narrated that her parents were strict but fair, and made sure that all of them went to school. Her mother was a college graduate while her father only finished high school.

Shirley's completion of college education was delayed many times because of her decisions to change course several times. She first majored in Mathematics, then in Nursing, and finally, she earned a degree in Psychology. Those years were also economically difficult because her mother was the sole breadwinner in the family, but with the help of some relatives abroad, she graduated from college. After being in and out of school for a number of years, she narrated that after graduation, she was excited to enter the workforce and expected that she would land a good job. However, after years of applying for various types of jobs related to Psychology and not finding anything, she realized that her college education was useless and she was very disappointed. She then decided to apply for other types of work, even for jobs that she was overqualified for.

Shirley related that her first contract work was being a computer encoder in a local paper company. It did not last long because she did not like the job. She also had a brief experience of working in Singapore as a domestic helper. She narrated that one of her cousins encouraged her to take her chances overseas so that she would not experience the consequences of being istambay. Sadly, after three months, homesickness struck her and she went into depression. She lied to her Singaporean employer and to her cousin in order to go home. She told them that she urgently needed to go back to the Philippines for a medical operation. Shirley noted that her cousin was still angry with her because she wasted a large amount of money that was used in processing her employment papers and more importantly, the opportunity to earn good money abroad.

However, for Shirley, being with her family was most important. She expressed that when she was in Singapore, the only thing that prevented her from becoming insane was her frequent attendance in a local Catholic church. She saw her Singapore work sojourn as a religious experience that drew her closer to God. It was at this lowest point in her life that she felt she realized God's presence. Thus, when she returned home, she renewed her

practice of faith, and became an active member of a local charismatic Catholic organization.

Shirley admitted that she tried smoking and drinking when she was in high school but these were never a regular part of her life. In fact, after she returned from Singapore, she was an active civic leader who organized a series of youth-related and religious projects in the community. She was a role model in the barangay, especially for local youth. She was known as the community's "Ate" (elder sister), a term of endearment and respect for authority as a local leader. She thought of her community as being safe and orderly compared to other barangays. However, she admitted that she knew people in the community who were drug pushers. This was the reason why she insisted that the government implement projects that targeted youth who were involved in drug addiction. But Shirley lamented that projects like this were always ignored because of the rampant corruption in government. However, even with this negative view of the national government, she remained active in all community activities, as a security officer and local organizer, especially when it involved delivering social services for the young people in the barangay.

In the last two years, Shirley took the responsibility of being the primary caregiver of her three male siblings. As the only female and the oldest in the family, she was expected to carry on the task of homemaking. Shirley mainly prepared their food and cleaned the house. She also managed the remitted allowance from her mother for their daily subsistence. Recently, her youngest brother had a child out of wedlock, which resulted in having his partner and child move in with them. Shirley further revealed that she would like to have a family of her own. In spite of a number of failed relationships, she had decided to maintain a romantic relationship.

Working in Singapore might not have lasted long for Shirley, but given another chance, she saw herself successfully working abroad again in the near future. She explained that as the economy of the Philippines worsens, more and more Filipinos were being driven out of the country. Her situation was no different. Shirley aspired to become part of a

human resources department in a mental hospital where she could practice what she learned from studying Psychology in college. Shirley was convinced that she would not be able to find this job opportunity in the Philippines and thus, she was looking elsewhere.

4. Unemployed: Chris and Ryan

Two rural youth respondents represent the unemployed main activity category in the case studies. They are Chris, husband of Carol, and Ryan. Both of them graduated with a degree in Education. Upon completion, they immediately took the licensure exams but failed. Without a teacher's licence, they sought employment on the mainland but were unsuccessful. In Talim, Ryan helped his family in household chores while his older brothers fished. While Chris, who is married to Carol and had a child, decided to return to fishing, a skill he learned since childhood. Ryan believed that he would eventually get a teacher's license and thus, he was motivated to review well for his second exam. Chris, on the other hand, did not plan to take the teacher's exam because he needed to find a stable job, other than fishing, in order to provide for the basic needs of his own family.

Ryan, 23, projected a happy, positive outlook in life. He belonged to a closely-knit family and had four siblings. His parents were fishers, and he recognized that his family benefited from the fruits of the lake. He narrated that his parents were never strict, except with his older sister. He explained that his father instructed him and all of his brothers to be protective of their sister to make sure that she was never disrespected in the community. Ryan clearly loved and respected his parents and siblings.

Like his sister, Ryan loved studying. While most of his brothers did not study beyond high school, and instead became fishers like his parents, Ryan followed the lead of his sister. He saw his sister as a role model because she finished college, passed the teacher's exam, and enjoyed a regular job in a local elementary school. Since elementary, Ryan demonstrated his love for learning and was an academic achiever. He also showed leadership potential. He was friendly and his barkada, like him, were interested in

studying. Ryan explained that he chose his friends carefully, and only drank on rare occasions. He did not smoke, and like his close friends had never been involved in a fight or any violence in the community. Ryan was motivated to fulfill his educational aspirations because of his family.

His parents and siblings tried to support his studies, but like his rural contemporaries in Talim, his college education was delayed because of economic difficulties. Ryan considered those times when he was forced to discontinue college as a difficult moment of his life. He explained that his family could not do anything about it because the lake did not produce a good fish harvest. At that time, he considered himself as *istambay* because most of the time he was unproductive. He helped in doing household chores and sometimes in fishing, but Ryan complained that his time should have been spent in school so that he could finish college. Thankfully, he got some funding assistance from a friend and some relatives, which allowed him to resume his education. Ryan was proud and happy that, after several years of hard work, he finally graduated from college in 2004.

Immediately after graduation, Ryan applied to work as a substitute teacher in private schools. However, no school accepted him because he did not have a license. He failed in his first attempt to get a teacher's license, and he lamented that once more, he experienced being *istambay* for more than a year. He spent most of his time at home doing household chores because his brothers would not allow him to go fishing. He explained that because he was educated, his family expected that he would have a professional job. At that time, his sister, who was also a teacher, encouraged him to consider going abroad to find alternative employment. He liked the idea in theory but he did not see himself migrating to another country in practice. Ryan expressed that he loved his family and his Talim community very much and wanted to spend his life there.

Ryan's civic consciousness was clearly manifested in his active involvement in the chapel and barangay youth activities. He volunteered in the local church organization, usually arranging the materials to be used in rituals and mass. Although he did not have a

political position in the youth council, his leadership was being acknowledged in the community during sports and education-related activities. Ryan, for most of the young people in his community, was a model youth for a number of reasons: for having no vices, for being a good son, for being a good student, and for finishing college. Indeed, Ryan enjoyed the respect of his family and community.

Ryan firmly believed that when he took the teacher's licensure exam for the second time, he would pass. If that happened, he looked forward to having a regular job as a teacher. He wanted to make sure that he secured a job before having his own family. Like his parents, he wanted to become a responsible father to his future children.

Similar to Ryan, Chris shared the same educational experience. His collegiate studies were delayed many times because of the lack of financial support. Unlike Ryan's lively personality, Chris was shy. Chris saw himself as an average student and admitted that he found studying difficult. However, he was industrious and persistent, which helped him complete his college education. He and his family considered his collegiate degree a great accomplishment.

Chris had seven siblings and only his eldest sister graduated from college. His parents only had elementary education but they made sure that everyone in his family attained elementary and high school education. Chris was fortunate because during his college days, one of his brothers found employment abroad and offered to support him. While there were years that funds from his brother and parents were insufficient, which forced him to standby, he was still able to fulfil all the academic requirements needed to complete his education degree. According to him, his college education was a family project. For this accomplishment, he was grateful to his parents, especially for his brother's sacrifice.

Since childhood, Chris was trained as a fisher just like his brothers. At a young age, he had served as an unpaid family worker. He related that it was a division of labour between the males in the family, who harvested fish from their fish pens and cages, and

the females, who sold them on the mainland. Over the years, fishing sustained Chris' family.

Chris was always a good and obedient son. He respected his parents and elders. He smoked and drank but only occasionally during parties and other celebrations. He saw himself as a team player and never sought attention. He actively participated in community activities and showed a deep compassion towards those in need. He was generally kind as evidenced by the many friends he had.

Aside from fishing, Chris, whose major was Industrial Education, also worked as a draftsman in local companies during and after his college days. Unfortunately, these jobs were contractual, which did not provide him an opportunity to get tenured. Instead of the teacher's licensure exam, he took the civil service exam for government work but was unsuccessful. While being out of work, he unexpectedly decided to marry Carol.

Chris explained that his marriage to Carol came a year earlier. He did not expect that their secret relationship would be tainted by a pregnancy gossip, which shamed Carol's family. To protect Carol's name, Chris agreed to the marriage eventhough he knew that the gossip was untrue. Chris admitted that he felt a sense of hesitation, not because he did not love Carol, but he was worried about their future. Both of them were not yet fully licensed teachers, and he did not have a paid job, so right after marriage, Chris returned to fishing.

In the first year of their marriage, Chris agreed to stay at Carol's parental home. After a year, Carol gave birth to their first child. This familial responsibility encouraged Chris to seriously consider investing in fish pens but he did not have enough capital. He narrated that whenever he needed additional support, he asked help from his own parents and siblings, while Carol asked for help from her family, too. He was thankful to God that their respective families were always there to give a helping hand.

With his college degree, Chris intended to seek employment abroad. He explained that it did not matter what type of work he had overseas, as long as it paid good salary. Chris' plan was to save enough money in order to buy fish gear and a new banca (boat). This would be an investment for his family's fishing livelihood, which according to Chris, would secure his family's future in Talim Island. He aspired to be a good provider to his own family and also to his parents and siblings who always supported him. He also dreamt of having his own house for his children.

Chris loved his family and his Talim community. He observed that compared to the generation of his parents, most young people in the community were able to study beyond high school. Although it was expected that these students may be delayed a year or two because of the unstable fish harvest in the lake, more and more were able to finish college despite financial difficulties. However, Chris noted that in the past, his community had many poor istambays who were forced to leave school – the out-of-school youth. Now, he witnessed an increase in the number of college educated youth in his community who were unemployed. These individuals were willing to work but could not find employment. Chris considered them as the new istambays of his time – a category that also best described his current status in life.

5. No Main Activity: Alex and JR

Intermittent, long-term inactivity best describes the youth life histories of Alex and JR, who both self-identified as istambays. Alex and JR were not proud of, nor did they enjoy being istambay. They knew the negative stereotypes attached to istambay, and aspired to reverse their inactivity by finding regular jobs. Over the years, they applied to many jobs but were rejected. Discouraged, Alex and JR tentatively ceased searching for work because they could not compete with other applicants who were more educated and qualified than they were. They understood the impact of inactivity in their personal lives, which started from the point where they were forced to stop studying due to poverty. Their inactivity created tensions in their families, especially with their parents and siblings. Because of these tensions, they sought attention from their barkada with whom

they shared similar status of being istambay. Both Alex and JR considered their barkada important parts of their lives because they shared the crises of inactivity. However, Alex and JR sadly admitted that it was also through their barkada that they were regularly exposed to smoking and drinking. Inactivity for both Alex and JR delayed their decisions to get married because they did not want their future families, especially their children to suffer.

Alex, 26, was from rural Talim, and spent these past eight years in the island, idle, unproductive – istambay. I knew him since he was in high school in 1994. In 1997, during my first research interview with him, he was full of enthusiasm and optimism. At that time, he studied at college to be an accountant. He was highly optimistic that as soon as he completed his studies, he would have a regular job on the mainland or abroad. In 2005, I saw a different Alex. He had low self-esteem, and was unhappy and discontented with his life. Alex narrated that his crisis started when he was asked by his mother to temporarily stop studying because she could no longer support him. But years went by, and he was unable to return to school. Over those years, he was employed for two contractual jobs; the longest lasted only six months, and the rest of the time, Alex was inactive.

Similar to a number of his fellow Talim youth respondents, Alex came from a large family. When he was a child, he father died from illness, which adversely affected the resources of their family. Since then, his widowed mother single-handedly provided their needs through fish peddling. She managed to send everyone to study elementary but high school completion for Alex and his siblings was difficult. Thus, when Alex entered college, he felt privileged. Initially, Alex got a one-time government scholarship that facilitated his entry to college. Then, his mother asked for help from relatives, which lasted only a year. The following year, Alex stopped studying because his mother could only support his younger sisters who were studying in elementary and high school. His mother promised Alex that the delay would only be temporary. Alex tried asking for some help from relatives but was unable to find any support. According to him, that was his first istambay experience.

Alex had female siblings so he was not used to doing household chores. He knew how to fish but did not like it. Alex explained that he would do more fishing but did not have the gear and was reluctant to borrow it from relatives. He narrated that when he was a child, he was diagnosed with asthma and weak lungs, which prevented him from physically strenuous work, like fishing. Alex explained that he compensated for this weakness by studying hard. He was an academic achiever when he was in high school, which motivated him to want to become an accountant instead of a teacher, the most popular course in Talim because it was perceived as easy, manageable and affordable. Most successful professionals in Talim were teachers who enjoyed high status in the community. But Alex wanted to be different. He knew of a distant relative who became rich as an accountant and with his talent in science and mathematics, Alex was determined to follow his uncle's footsteps. All these huge aspirations turned into discouragement when Alex realized that his family's poverty was all encompassing and persistent. He explained that the only way to resume his collegiate studies was by seeking help from other relatives. Unfortunately, Alex had yet to receive educational assistance from them.

Alex revealed that being istambay gained him a lot of good friends in the community, but strained his relationship with his mother. He knew that sometimes his actions appeared disrespectful to his mother and siblings, and explained that although he never intended to pick a fight with them, he felt that they did not understand his situation. That is, he wanted to return to school or work, but things went beyond his control. Alex shared these tensions with his barkada who were also istambays. He narrated that because he spent most of his time with them, chatting, smoking and drinking, his relationship with his mother was severed. Alex understood that his mother only wanted the best for him but he found nothing productive to do at his house. So, he turned to his barkada, jamming on street corners, to pass time. He explained that drinking among fellow istambays occurred when one of them earned some money from occasional work. Alex related that they commonly shared cheap bottles of gin or rum with cold water or juice as chasers; making them last for a number of hours while singing and sharing happy and sad stories.

According to Alex, he felt a sense of relief during these moments; that even for a short time, he could forget his problems.

Alex recalled that during two times that he found contractual work as a factory worker in a beer/rum company, he remitted some of his earnings to his mother. His mother was thankful and pleased. He also shared some of his earnings with his barkada as it was his turn to pay for their drinks. Alex considered those days as good times.

When asked about his future, Alex spoke with caution. He explained that he still wanted to resume his college studies but no longer want to become an accountant. He thought that teaching would be good for him because he witnessed a lot of his contemporaries successfully finishing education degrees. If they could do it, he knew that he could do it too. Alex was aware that if he were not able to study again, he would never find a good paying job. He also expressed that he would delay marriage until his istambay life was reversed, because he did not want his family and children to experience poverty. This comment reminded me of the responsible, forward-looking Alex that I first knew in 1994.

JR, on the other hand, was an urban-bred istambay. He was shy and unassuming, yet good natured. Just like Alex, he suffered from health problems, which made it more difficult for him to get a job. He was an average student who after high school, tried to become a computer technician. He was not able to complete this vocational course because of economic difficulties. JR's family lived as squatters in one of the semi-depressed areas in urban Manila.

JR came from a family of five. He had two brothers, and was the middle child. His father was an ice-cream street vendor while his mother was employed as a seamstress in a local home-based garment industry. JR related that his mother took other menial jobs like laundry and ironing, just to make ends meet. He narrated that there were times when he helped his mother with her laundry jobs because he knew that just like him, his mother had some health issues.

Inactivity was a big part of JR's young adult life, especially when he stopped schooling. He expressed his discontentment whenever he was laid off from contractual work. Unlike Alex, JR's work experience was more extensive. JR narrated that when he stopped training for his vocational studies in computer technology, he worked in various establishments, as part of a food crew, sales representative, janitor, service crew, and factory worker. He explained that it was advantageous to be young and he performed well as this helped him land a series of paid job. However, he lamented that because he was not highly educated, even if he was a good worker, he was not qualified to be considered for a regular position. Thus, all the work that he had was contractual jobs, which usually lasted between three and six months only. JR narrated that the most difficult part was what transpired in between these jobs. He described it as a depressing waiting period of being istambay where he experienced a state of idleness. JR did not like the feeling of being unproductive and not having work because he did not want to be a burden to his family.

When JR was an istambay in the community, he could not resist the temptation of spending time chatting, smoking and drinking with his fellow istambays. Similar to Alex, JR enjoyed being with his barkada but had some sense of control. He revealed that he drank with them but he detested taking drugs, which some of his friends did. He expressed that he did not want to add to the litany of problems that his parents had, especially his mother whom he loved so much. He explained that his younger brother had a new born out of wedlock, and, even if their make-shift house was small, JR's family welcomed two more mouths to feed into their home. He wanted to help his parents and his nephew meet their daily subsistence needs; JR was determined to delay marriage.

JR showed deep love for his family. Despite the poverty, tensions and complications, he expressed that he would not leave them. Even if he got married, he planned to live with them because he could not imagine life without them. He feared going abroad to work and hoped for a chance to finish his vocational course as a computer technician in the future. JR believed that if he was certified, he had a higher chance of getting a permanent, stable job.

6. Unpaid Family Worker: Edgar

Amongst the case study respondents, Edgar, an unpaid family worker, appeared to be the most vulnerable. He was an unpaid family worker for most of his life. In return for his menial works around the community, he was usually compensated in kind through food and other goods. He only had a first grade education, and because of this, he found it difficult to read and write. He had two older siblings, who just like him, were not able to complete elementary education. But when it came to telling stories, Edgar was very articulate. He sang and played the guitar. He was humorous and easy to be with. Unfortunately, there were some people in his community who made fun of him because of his odd ways of dressing, talking and interacting. He always joked around and showed off a happy side, but deep within, he was sad and worried. Everyday, Edgar struggled to eat a decent meal.

Edgar, 31, was born in Talim Island. He narrated that his childhood was difficult. Early in his life, he questioned God about his lack of parents. He grew up under the care of his grandmother, who took good care of him until she died. If it was not for his grandmother, Edgar explained, he and his siblings could have died from hunger. They survived through the support of their relatives and other community members.

When his grandmother died, Edgar, even with his two older siblings around, learned to live by himself. He was in his first grade when he lost his grandmother, the only person who cared for him. Edgar explained that no one among his relatives was prepared to support his studies because they had their own children to look after. Because he was not in school, Edgar recalled feeling envious seeing his friends walk to school, carrying their school bags and books. But he defended himself by enumerating the many manual skills he learned on his own as a student of life: fishing, carpentry and construction work, charcoal making, farming, and sewing.

Edgar's services were sought not only by his relatives but also by other members in the community. But these works were only occasional, which left him standing-by most of

the time. He wanted to have a well paying job but knew that no one would trust him given his low educational qualifications.

Edgar related that he worked on two occasions in recent years: once as a construction worker and once as a sewer in a garment factory on the mainland. Both of these contractual jobs lasted three months. He was underpaid and had altercations with his immediate supervisors. Edgar complained that he did not like the way they treated him and his fellow workers and as a consequence, he lost these jobs.

Having a firm sense of conviction and a stubborn belief in some principles in life have gotten Edgar into troubles, especially with fellow istambays in the community. He explained that even if he was uneducated, it did not mean that he was stupid. Edgar was part of street brawls, which usually occurred after excessive drinking with fellow istambays. Edgar admitted that drinking and smoking were his vices. But, he also recognized that these vices were wrong and evil. He tried many times to straighten his ways, and asked God for help and forgiveness. Yet Edgar confessed that he was too weak to resist temptation, especially keeping himself away from cigarettes and alcohol.

Edgar further related that because of these vices, local church organizations have been interested in offering him help. For instance, the local Methodist Church at one point in his life encouraged him to join the church services and to volunteer as a choir guitarist. This church also provided Edgar some fishing gear for his livelihood. Edgar expressed that at that time, he felt like he found a new family in the church. However, his membership in this church did not last long because he was reminded by older relatives that he should return to Catholic faith, the religion of his clan. He then attended Catholic mass and rituals, but soon returned to his old ways.

Despite Edgar's poverty, he remained optimistic about the future. To earn a decent living, he aspired to own a tricycle, a passenger vehicle, which could be a good source of livelihood or he hoped he could buy a new set of fishing gear. With good source of earnings, he could have his own family and children. But Edgar's everyday struggles

appeared to quash his aspirations. According to him, his best strategy in dealing with the challenges of his life is captured by a local idiom, “Bathala na!” which means, “Letting God”.



These life vignettes of 12 case study youth illustrate the various ways in which their lives were affected by inactivity. In the next chapter, an in-depth analysis of these life contexts and crises, meaningfully mixed with other data sources and literature, is presented to depict the dynamics of the istambay phenomenon in the Philippines.

Chapter VI

The Istambay Phenomenon: Analysis of Contexts and Crises

The chapter interweaves the research findings from the YAFS and case studies through a discussion of the social mechanisms that sustain the istambay phenomenon in the Philippines. This highlights the central roles that family and faith play in the value formation and negotiation of transition crises among istambay youth. It also examines the constitution of istambays' optimistic aspirations for their future, which relates, on the one hand, the istambays' disconnection and distrust on the Philippine state, and on the other, their dreams to go "abroad", that is, to find overseas employment, which is believed to be the best solution to reverse their istambay status. The main argument focuses on understanding the istambay phenomenon as situated within this familial-faith dynamic, which on the one hand, demonstrates the collective disposition and culture of care in Philippine society, and on the other, illustrates the deepening state of istambays' marginalization, articulated in the youth respondents' apparent disconnect with the Philippine state.

A. Imagining the Istambay Phenomenon

Fifty years ago, C. Wright Mills introduced the idea of "sociological imagination" through this thought-provoking observation:

Nowadays men often feel that their private lives are a series of traps. They sense that within their everyday worlds, they cannot overcome their troubles, and in this feeling, they are often quite correct: What ordinary men are directly aware of and what they try to do are bounded by the private orbits in which they live; their visions and their powers are limited to the close-up scenes of job, family, neighborhood; in other milieux, they move vicariously and remain spectators. And the more aware they become, however vaguely, of ambitions and of threats which transcend their immediate locales, the more trapped they seem to feel. (Mills, 1959: 1)

There is an apparent resemblance between Mills' observation and the istambay phenomenon. From the examination of "istambay" as a concept in Chapter 4, to the YAFS secondary analysis of youth main statuses and the narratives of the life vignettes of case study respondents in Chapter 5, it seems that Mills is speaking directly to the realities of istambays in the Philippines on the following grounds: First, the precarious inactivity of istambays is commonly perceived to be a private trouble that poses a series of crises, which may be likened to Mills' notion of "traps". Second, the sense that these crises or traps are difficult to overcome, thus, engendering a feeling of powerlessness. To a certain extent, some case study respondents expressed this sentiment particularly on their failure to find work, emphasizing that their inactivity was not due to choice but by necessity; something that is beyond their control. Third, the negotiations of inactivity are observed to be bounded by what Mills calls the "private orbits" of their lives. Among the istambays, these private orbits are the family, barkada, church, community, and the jobs that they aspire to. And fourth, Mills is probably correct to assume that when these troubled individuals become aware "of ambitions and of threats which transcend their immediate locales, the more trapped they seem to feel" (Mills, 1959: 1). In the case of istambays, the awareness of inactivity disconnects them from the state, which is seen as corrupt and futile relative to the actual creation and provision of jobs. As such, there is a deepening sense of social entrapment and marginalization among them.

These broad strokes paint two themes of the istambay phenomenon in the Philippines. The first one is the "problematic istambay", which directs attention to youth inactivity in the Philippines as a "personal trouble". Second, is "istambay as problematique", which examines inactivity of Filipino youth in its broader context as a "social problem".

This chapter articulates these two broad themes around four important findings of this study:

- a) Istambay experiences among Filipino youth vary across social milieus, which are better understood in terms of a typology according to the extent of their vulnerability;

- b) The analysis of problematic istambay leads to understanding the crisis of identity that inactivity brings into the growing-up process of Filipino youth;
- c) The social problematique of youth inactivity in the Philippines is not solely about the issue of unemployment in the country, but rather, is interwoven in a complex web of transition crises (economic, educational, and social); and
- d) These interlocking individual and social crises are mitigated by a hopeful disposition reflecting on the one hand, the salient role of families and church especially during the times of inactivity, and on the other, the istambays' disconnection with the state.

This analysis of contexts and crises interweaves the research findings in previous chapters including the multiple voices of their parents and teachers as well as fellow youth (from focus groups). Here, the social construction of the istambay concept is further examined relative to the research insights generated from the empirical data presented earlier. In so doing, this part communicates some theoretical and social issues that the istambay phenomenon brings to understanding the challenges of growing-up in a marginalized position of inactivity.

B. A Typology of Istambay Experiences by Vulnerability

As an analytical strategy, the use of typology in sociological research has been employed in classical studies (i.e., Berger & Luckmann, 1966; E. Durkheim, 1956, 1984; É. Durkheim, 1952/1896, 1964/1895; Weber, 1925, 1947, 1949) as well as in various youth ethnographies. For instance, in Whyte's *Street Corner Society* (1981/1943), he introduced two distinct groups, "corner boys" and "college boys". The corner boys spent most of their time on street corners while the college boys were described as highly motivated to use education for their own social mobility. On the other hand, Willis' *Learning to Labour* (1977) explored the lives of the "lads" and "ear'oles" to illustrate the construction of youth subculture and resistance in an English working class context. Similarly, MacLeod's (1987) American-based youth ethnography differentiated between a black minority group called "The Brothers" and a group of white youth hanging-out in the

hallways called “Hallway Hangers” in order to explain subcultures and social reproduction in a low-income American housing environment. Other youth studies utilized cross-national comparison (Lehmann, 2007) and descriptors such as “status-zero” (Williamson, 1997), “NEET” (Bynner & Parsons, 2002; Furlong, 2006), “idle” (Edelman, et al., 2006), “economically inactive” (Franzén & Kassman, 2005), and “disconnected” (MacDonald & Marsh, 2005), to typify what may be specific to a group of young people who experienced marginalization and social exclusion.

To a certain degree, “istambay” as a concept may be a good descriptor representing those Filipino youth who are out-of-school and out-of-work. However, in this study, a consistent finding that thread across different data sets (perceptual survey, song analysis, YAFS 2002, and youth case studies) clearly illustrate that istambay experiences vary across social milieus. That is, the earlier representation of istambay in films (e.g., Joseph Ejercito Productions, 1963) as pertaining to the poor, early school-leavers has been expanded to include new forms of istambay including those who are educated, such as the unemployed as represented in songs (Bartolome, 1992; Genecity, no date) and YAFS 2002 survey. While this observation may be used to categorize between the less educated and more educated istambays similar to Whyte (1981/1943) and MacLeod (1987), in the context of 12 case study youth respondents, choosing to do so would mute the impact of gender role and work expectations that are closely interwoven in the inactivity experiences of these youth. Although the general conceptual representation of istambay is highly gendered towards males, the inactivity experiences of female case study respondents also merit attention to reflect the equally salient precarious state of their roles as women in the contemporary Filipino society.

In this context, I find the notion of “vulnerability scale” (International Labour Organization, 2006: 35) a meaningful conceptual apparatus to categorize the inactivity experiences of 12 case study youth. Here, “vulnerability” is operationalized relative to the notion of education and work nexus, which has been found in earlier sections to define and differentiate across the inactivity experiences of youth respondents. Thus, I argue that the relative degree of vulnerability among case study respondents is more or less defined

The meso-vulnerable group are the educated istambay. All of them (Carol, Chris, Ryan and Shirley) are college graduates. They, too, experienced delays in schooling, however, with the help of their families, they successfully finished tertiary education. They are vulnerable because of their inability to translate education into employment and they represent the classic case of youth facing school-to-work transition problems.

The last group is least vulnerable because, despite being relatively poor in resources, they have not experienced long spikes of inactivity. Glefer is fortunate to continue studying without any delay through the help of her family and relatives. Even though Ruben's education was delayed once, he was fortunate to finish his teacher education, pass the teachers' board exam, and immediately get employed. On the other hand, Lanie, knowing that she would not be able to pursue college personally worked her way to her own fishing livelihood. She worked as a fish peddler and invested in her own fish ponds since graduating from high school.

The vulnerability of this group, although minimal, stems from several factors. Glefer feared experiencing inactivity after college because of the high unemployment rate in the country. Ruben was not immune from the effects of low wage and little job security, and Lanie continued to face the financial instability of working in the informal sector of the economy.

I submit that this typology allows for a more powerful analysis of youth inactivity experiences compared to the YAFS 2002's youth main activity variable, which was initially used to categorize the case study respondents in presenting their life vignettes. This typology takes inactivity as situated in a fluid and transitory state that respondents negotiate with, in a non-linear manner relative to other activities.

Thus, in the following sections, I shall use this typology to demonstrate how these vulnerable states of inactivity are differentiated in the context of viewing istambay as a personal trouble (problematic) and as a social problem (problematique). In so doing, the varying istambay experiences of case study respondents are better understood as being

constituted by a complex interplay of factors that reflect the series of transition crises that challenge istambay youth.

C. The Problematic Istambay: Self, Dispositions and the Crisis of Identity

Viewing istambay as mere personal trouble is tempting because the most vulnerable among them are visible in public spaces such as in the kanto (street corners), and various media representations, as observed in Chapter 4, which emphasize the istambays' negative traits. My initial field note description of the istambay below also fell under this individualized view, which primarily illustrates the possible tensions impacting their self identities:

One could usually see them hanging out in the kanto (streets corners), or in “sari-sari stores” (convenient stores). They have no formal domestic responsibilities at home but if there is a need, they render some help in their household. They are totally dependent on their parents or relatives, especially those who are working abroad (migrant workers). Their lives revolve around watching television, or hanging out with the barkada, who are more likely engaged in some form of risk behaviours such as smoking, drinking and drug addiction. Almost all have experienced looking for a job but for the longest time, did not find one. Thus, they have given up. The crux of the matter is that they are simply out there, unproductive.

Field note, October 2005

This preliminary field note contains sketches of what constitutes the problematic istambay. It hints to the apparent idleness of this inactive group of young people who were hanging out on streets. It highlights their dependence from their respective families for support and their relative lack of initiative around household chores. It emphasizes the istambays' interest on spending more of their time on leisure activities with friends combined with a high propensity to engage with socially-problematized behaviours. My initial observation also gives logic to their apparent idleness by stressing that key to their inactivity was their disillusionment with the job market.

Although detailed, this ethnographic description is infused with my own prejudices, similar to the negative stereotypes that have floundered the perceptual survey and songs

written about the istambay. Reflecting on the research process (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Geertz, 1973), I discovered that I started this project with a set of blinders that limited my view of the real problematique in the istambay phenomenon. That is, I started studying istambay with the assumption that there is a strong relationship between inactivity and problematic behaviours (i.e., idleness, laziness, low self-esteem, high propensity to smoke and drink). Thus, in Bourdieu's term (1977, 1984), I expected to find a unique *istambay habitus* working as an individualized mechanism that cements identities among these inactive Filipino youth.

However, this research did not find a distinctive istambay habitus. What this study found was that inactivity contributes to the shaping of the dispositions of youth relative to specific contexts, which highlights the structural features and defects of their marginality. I argue that inactivity generates an individual crisis of identity powered by their failure to attain a legitimate and socially-acceptable status. The istambays' failure to fulfil Filipino society's expectations leads them to behave differently at home or to be more expressive of their disappointment towards life, but in general, this does not account for a different habitus.

Let us now consider the individual habitus of 12 case study youth respondents in relation to YAFS 2002 findings considering, but not limited to, the four contextual dimensions (familial, educational-peer, work, and socially-problematized behavioural contexts) analyzed in this chapter. In this section, I shall illustrate the habitus of case study respondents using the notion of "disposition" (Nice cited in Bourdieu, 1977) as a guide.

In the Philippines, the term "disposition" is locally expressed in a variety of words such as "hilig" (*inclination*); "loob" (*mood*); "katangian" (*character*); "pagkatao" (*personality*); "kakaniyahan" (*individuality*); "ugali" (*manner*); and "takbo ng isip" (*prevailing tendency of mind*) (Commission on the Filipino Language (1992), 1991: 114; Pineda & Angeles, 1988: 225; Sagalongos, 1968: 146). In essence, this variety of local meanings closely represents the complexity of Bourdieu's habitus. To deal with this complexity, I treated habitus by presenting the dispositions of case study respondents

using Bourdieu’s relational perspective, which is, discussing habitus in the context of specific situations (Bourdieu, 1984, 1990; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Hennig, 1983).

1. Familial Context

Recall that the YAFS 2002 findings suggest that, among the self-reported main activity categories, the students and homemakers were more likely to report having more protective parents than the other main activity categories. This protective parenting is primarily experienced by young females such as in the case of Glefer. This gender dynamic is an important component that still defines the growing-up process of females in the Philippines.

Table 36: Selected Familial Disposition Descriptors

Typology	Respondents	Generally experienced high level of parental protection	Constant tensions with parents/guardian
Least vulnerable	Glefer	Yes	
	Ruben		
Meso vulnerable	Lanie	Yes	
	Ryan		
	Carol	Yes	
	Chris		
Most vulnerable	Shirley	Yes	
	Manolet		Yes
	Alex		Yes
	JR		Yes
	Edgar		Yes
	Jacquelyn	Yes	

As narrated by all female respondents, Glefer, Lanie, Carol, Shirley, and Jacquelyn, as well as the females in the focus groups, parents, particularly their fathers, were more protective of females than of their male siblings. This protection meant that these female respondents were restricted from activities outside home like spending too much time with friends, or, having early romantic relationships. According to respondents, the primary reason was to protect them from being exposed to sexual risks that might lead to early pregnancy.

Jacquelyn's life is a case in point. She was pregnant at the early age of 15, which greatly disappointed her parents, particularly her mother, Nanay¹⁵ Upeng, who amidst this crisis, questioned what has gone wrong with the upbringing of her second daughter. Nanay Upeng thought that Jacquelyn inherited her father's irresponsible attitude that led her to make a series of wrong decisions in life. As a conscientious mother, Nanay Upeng, out of necessity, absorbed the consequences of her child's mistakes by allowing Jacquelyn's husband and child to stay at her home and take good care of them. It was interesting to see how in relatively extreme cases like this, mothers like Nanay Upeng, demonstrate a level of care and tolerance despite the apparent negligence and immaturity of children. This situation also breeds abuse and sense of powerlessness felt by parents like Nanay Upeng, who felt responsible for supporting their children. Here is a segment of my interview with Nanay Upeng that illustrates this point:

Clarence: Ilarawan n'yo nga po sa akin, sino po si Jacquelyn para sa inyo? *Can you please describe Jacquelyn to me?*

Nanay Upeng: Kasi kasabihan nga ng Tatay ko, pag ang anak mo sampu, sampu din ang ugali... Parang totoo 'yun dahil tatlo ang anak ko, iba-iba talaga ang ugali. Bale, ang panganay ko parang nagmana sa akin, tapos ito naman parang (si Jacquelyn) dun sa Tatay n'ya dahil 'yan. E, di tatlo na ang anak n'ya parang bale, hindi ba marunong mag-ano sa pamilya n'ya. Kasi bata pa, hindi marunong mag-asikaso sa mga anak, sa asawa, ganyan kaya tuloy, 'yung parang nagkahiwalay na rin silang mag-asawa. *You see, my father used to say that if you have ten children, expect that you'll deal with ten different persons. I think he was right because I have three children, and they are different from each other. Say, my eldest daughter behaves more like me, but Jacquelyn seems to inherit her father's irresponsible trait. She already has three children but up to now, she does not know how to take care of them. I think she is still too young; she does not know how to take care of her children and husband. So now, they are separated.*

Clarence: Naikwento nga po niya sa'kin. *Yes, she told me this story (about separation).*

Nanay Upeng: E, sabi ko, inaano ko sa kanya, sabi ko, 'wag ka nang hahabol-habol pa kasi lalo nga mag-aano 'yang asawa mo, mawiwili... Nagpunta rito kesyo magbabago na raw, kasi nakiusap na naman sakin. E, ako naman si ina, e ang ano ko naman, sabi ko, mamaya ako

¹⁵ "Nanay" refers to "mother". In the Philippines, mothers are called "nanay" before their given names as a form of respect and courtesy. Thus, in the subsequent interviews with mothers, I attached the term "nanay" to highlight this cultural feature in the Filipino society.

na naman ang masisisi kung ‘di ko rin sila pagsamahin. Ok naman, tumino naman. Tapos inaano ko nga sa kanya, sabi ko nga nandyan na yan, tatlo na anak n’ya. Sabi ko inaano ko, mag-ipon s’ya habang bata pa, s’ya magtipid s’ya sa pangangailangan...Mahirap lang kako tayo ‘di syempre pag emergency na kailangan... Tapos ay...alam mo ‘yun parang bale wala sa kanya, ‘yung buhay n’ya, parang walang isip ba. ‘Yun ang ugali n’ya. *I told her that she should not be too accepting of her husband because she is being abused...Her husband returned here in my house, he promised that he will try to change (his bad ways), and pleaded (to give him another chance.). I am a mother, and I do not want to be blamed for my daughter’s misery so I allowed them to be together again. For a while, the situation was good. Then, I told Jacquelyn, what else could we do, she already has three children. I encouraged her to learn saving money, start now while she is still young; she needs to know how to save. I reminded her that we are poor, and that we have to have something to spend during emergency. Then, you know it seems this is nothing for her; she does not think about these things. That is the way she is.*

Clarence: Balikan po natin ‘yung mga unang pangyayari. Naalala n’yo pa po ba nung araw na umuwi s’ya dito na sinabi n’ya na nagsasama na sila, ‘yung 15 yrs. old pa lang s’ya? *Let us recall the moment...do you still remember the day when she returned home and told you that she has been living with her boyfriend, she was only 15 years old, then right?*

Nanay Upeng: Noong una paanong, ah...nandoon kaming lahat... ‘Tapos nung naano naman yan na buntis s’ya, ginulpi s’ya ng Tatay n’ya, kasi nga kala namin pumapasok. ‘Yun pala, nandun sa lalaki! Kaya ‘yun parang nag-ano na dahil pumunta sa ‘min ‘yung lalaki, kaya ano pang magagawa ko? *That time...everybody was home...Then, we discovered that she was pregnant; her father hurt her because we thought she was going to school. Instead, she has gone with her boyfriend! But, her boyfriend took her back home, so what am I expected to do?*

Clarence: ...Si Jacquelyn ay hindi natapos ng high school? *So, Jacquelyn did not finish high school?*

Nanay Upeng: Hindi s’ya natapos, lalo na ‘yun dun pumasok sa lalaki. *She did not finish, she chose to go with her boyfriend.*

Clarence: Ano po ang naramdaman n’yo? *What did you feel?*

Nanay Upeng: Kaya nga ay naku! Tapos ‘yung Tatay n’ya ganun, dun pareho mas malapit yata sa problema. E, kaya lang ewan ko, hindi rin naman ako nawalan ng (paalala)...*I cannot explain it! Then, you see her father, too, is difficult; both of them seem to pull problems closer to them. I do not know; I have always tried giving her advice.*

There was a deep sense of disappointment in the voice of Nanay Upeng while she was narrating this incident. She felt burdened not only by her husband's abuses but also by Jacquelyn's immaturity. Nanay Upeng took on what should have been the primary parental responsibility of Jacquelyn towards her three young children. This is a classic case of how Filipino parents extend care and assistance not only to their children, but also to their grandchildren, especially in situations when the new young parents are unable to carry out the responsibility. With the exception of Lanie, all married respondents, Carol, Chris, and Manolet, live in their parental homes because this is the most economical arrangement to secure the good welfare of their children.

However, in this familial set-up, gender roles mirror the differentiated social expectations between the males and the females in the Philippines, as can be seen in the case of Jacquelyn who was expected to take the reproductive role in the household and be the primary care-giver of her children, and Carol, who left her work as a cashier in a shopping mall, as soon as she learned about her pregnancy. On the other hand, males like married Chris and Manolet, are expected to be the "breadwinners" to provide for the daily subsistence of their families. This gender dynamic illustrates how homemaking among the married female respondents, relatively protects them from seeing themselves as inactive. On the contrary, when there is no work available for married males, a *crisis of identity* is generated. Because they are expected to be outside the home "earning a living", their inactivity is seen as a failure to fulfill their familial responsibilities. In the Philippine context, a manifestation of this tension is the *istambay* phenomenon, which appears to aptly capture the failure of Filipino males to attain a legitimate status. In the case of married males Chris and Manolet, this is to become worthy "breadwinners" to their respective families.

While a general habitus of "helping the family" was articulated by most of the respondents, a relatively higher level of constant tensions with parents/guardians was narrated by the most vulnerable group compared to other vulnerable groups. As narrated by Manolet, Alex, JR, and Edgar, their chronic inactivity experiences not only made them

personally insecure, but more so, being istambay, commonly becomes a heated topic of conflict in the family, especially with their parents.

As narrated by Alex, his mother demands that he should do some household chores because he is not earning anything to help the family:

Sabi niya gumawa ka naman sa gawaing-bahay at 'di ka kumikita...Kaya minsan pag kumikita ako di na ako nagbibigay...*My mother told me, I should do some household chores because I am not earning...So sometimes, when I earn something, I do not give anymore...*

Alex expressed to me that it was not that he did not want to do household chores; what he wanted to do is to have a job. He felt helpless that, sometimes, he was being blamed by his mother for being lazy because he could not find work. This irritation sometimes made him ungenerous to his family.

Similarly, JR's mother, Nanay Elsa, narrates the tension between JR and his father as directly associated with inactivity. In this interview exchange, I asked about the state of the relationship between JR and his father, and what Nanay Elsa narrated cut across JR's failure to attain a legitimate status. This supports the argument that indeed, istambay articulates a crisis of identity:

Clarence: Kamusta po ang relasyon ni JR sa kanyang tatay? *How is JR's relationship with his father?*

Nanay Elsa: Ah, 'yun ang magkaaway kung minsan. Nasasabihan kasi may dahilan naman. 'Yun naman kasing mga magulang kung minsan may dahilan sa mga anak para tratuhin na... pero hindi naman ganun sana kagrabe 'yung nangyayari sa asawa ko, sa Tatay n'ya at sa kanya. *Ah, sometimes they fight. His father scolds him. You see there are parents who scold their children for a reason...but the misunderstanding between my husband and my child is not too much.*

Clarence: Opo. *Yes.*

Nanay Elsa: May time na nasasabi ng Tatay na umalis ka na nga dito! Hindi ka lang marunong pakinabangan wala kang kwenta, at hindi ka man lamang tumulong! Ganun ang nasasabi ng Tatay n'ya. May time naman na sabi ko mag-usap kaming mag-asawa. Sabi ko sa Tatay namin, bakit naman ganun

ang salita mo sa anak mo, eh, anak mo ‘yun? Saan pupunta yan, alangan naman sa ibang tao? Alam mo napakalawak ng pang-unawa ng anak kong ‘yun. Alam n’yo Nanay pinapasok ko lang dito, nilalabas ko lang ‘yun kasi tatay ko ‘yun, eh, mainit lang ang ulo pagod na rin ‘yun. *There were times when his father will say, “Get out of this house! You are not doing anything; you are worthless; you do not even help (the family)!” Those were the words of his father. There were times that I discuss this thing with my husband. I told him, “Why do you speak that way to our child? Where do you expect him to go, to other people?” You know, my child (JR) is broadminded. He said to me that, “You know, Nanay, my father’s insulting words just entered in one of my ears, and these words pass through the other ear. Whatever happens, he is my father. He was ill-tempered because, I know, he was tired.”*

The crisis of identity generated by being istambay, other than being powered by gendered roles and expectations, appears to be associated with the notion of *idleness*. The istambay concept, as articulated in Chapter 4, is socially constructed around this negative stereotype.

“Idle youth” as a category has been employed in some studies (Edelman, et al., 2006) and Philippine-based reports (Erica, 2003; Philippine Commission on Population, 2003; Raymundo & Cruz, 2004). For lack of a better term, “idle youth” was used in these local reports to describe those Filipino youth who are out-of-school and out-of-work. The analysis of istambay experiences of case study respondents directs attention to the dangers of this category.

I argue that “idleness” in the context of istambay discourse, exists mainly in the perceptions of the observers. During my fieldwork, I noticed that whenever I saw a group of istambay, laughing and having fun in the kanto, my prejudice of seeing them as “lazy”, “dumb”, and “bum” (using the North American lingo), automatically kicked in. I believe that this happens because my view was easily influenced by my interest to differentiate myself from them. This notion of differentiation is situated in the complex process of social positioning, which in my mind, placed istambay on the margins relative to my privileged position as a researcher. This perspective suggests that in the perception of the observer, including myself, the problem with the istambays is that they lack a legitimate

status in the Philippine society. This is the main reason why the observers – the people seeing the istambays – almost immediately attach negative stereotypes of idleness among them.

But do the case study respondents who experienced being istambay at some point in their lives see themselves as idle? The answer is unequivocally, “No”. In the familial context, the habitus of case study respondents illustrate their relatively high respect for parents, which translates into their high regard towards contributing to the welfare of their families. These respondents, including the most vulnerable, narrated their sense of obligation to their respective families, which constitutes the cultural practice of care among them. In this context, idleness is not an option.

This brings into attention an important point about the istambay experiences of case study respondents. That is, they become istambays due to the lack of education and work opportunities. They did not choose to be istambays and more importantly, they did not choose to be idle. Thus, being istambay, among the case study respondents, is not a matter of choice, but of necessity.

Thus, I contend that “idle youth”, as a concept, when used in understanding the istambay phenomenon blinds us to the serious effects of institutions structuring the life courses of youth. The istambay experiences of case study respondents illustrates that the perceived notion of idleness is best explained by the defective educational and work structures in the Philippines, and not by the respondents’ personal dispositions to be inactive. The crux of the matter is that, as in the observed state of idleness of Alex and JR, their inactivity is directly related to their disadvantaged social locations. That is, as emphasized in the ILO report (2006: 29): “inactivity is not an option for youth in poor countries”.

2. Education and Work Contexts

In a society like the Philippines, where formal education is highly valued (Gonzalez, 1998; International Development Research Centre, 2000; Sutaria, 1992), it is expected that for those young Filipinos who were forced to leave school due to reasons other than their own (e.g., lack of resources, poverty), their sense of self, identity, and self-worth are expected to be adversely affected. As indicated in YAFS 2002 (see Table 22), four out of ten left school due to the lack of necessary funds.

Educational completion as a reason for leaving school also suggested a relative difference between the unemployed, working and students, versus homemakers, those with no main activity, and unpaid family workers. That is, the former is relatively more successful in completing education than the latter group. Regarding the experiences of being suspended from classes and joining academic clubs (see Table 23), the students and unemployed, and to a certain degree, those working, exhibited a relatively higher degree of positive school experience and school inclusion, compared to those with no main activity, homemakers and unpaid family workers. This confirms the privileged educational advantage of students and the unemployed in contrast to the other four self-reported main activity categories. Also, the YAFS 2002 findings offered a glimpse of the self-assessed cultural capital of respondents (Table 24), measured in terms of their ability to speak and write English. Here, unpaid family workers registered the relatively lowest level of self-assessment of their English ability compared to the five youth main statuses.

To a certain extent, the narratives of youth case study respondents reflect the YAFS 2002 findings in terms of educational indicators. As Table 37 indicates, I observed a relatively low education ethic with two respondents under the most vulnerable group, Edgar, an unpaid family worker, and Jacquelyn, a homemaker. Likewise, Edgar and Jacquelyn, have the lowest educational attainment compared to other respondents, which suggest their low level of institutionalized cultural capital.

Table 37: Selected Educational Disposition Descriptors

Typology	Respondents	Education ethic	Level of institutionalized cultural capital
Least vulnerable	Glefer	High	High
	Ruben	High	High
	Lanie	High	Low
Meso vulnerable	Ryan	High	High
	Carol	High	High
	Chris	High	High
	Shirley	High	High
Most vulnerable	Manolet	Medium	Medium
	Alex	High	Medium
	JR	Medium	Medium
	Edgar	Low	Low
	Jacquelyn	Low	Low

However, their apparent low education ethic, which accounts for their lowered educational aspirations, and their low institutionalized cultural capital, which refers to their actual completed education, was not solely shaped by their personal decision to leave school but more so, by critical events in their lives. Edgar, was orphaned early, and did not have any familial support to help with his studies; Jacquelyn’s relationship with her boyfriend severed her father’s trust, which eventually affected the continuance of her studies. The interview excerpts below illustrate how Edgar and Jacquelyn’s willingness to study was impacted by critical life events that educationally disadvantaged them.

Clarence: ...A, hindi mo na binabalak pumunta sa eskwelahan? *Ah, don’t you wish to go back to school?*

Edgar: Wala ng balak. Kasi, alam mo minsan, talaga maiisip mo rin iyon, na kasi malaking bagay rin talaga ‘yung aral, hane, kaya lang talaga. *I don’t plan anymore. You see, sometimes, I still consider it, because it is really important to be educated, but you know...*

Clarence: ...Sa palagay mo hindi mo ba talaga kaya? *Do you think you do not have the talent to study?*

Edgar: Hindi kaya talaga. Di tingnan mo, minsan inisip ko rin mag-aral wala rin, wala ring magpapaaral. Kasi importante ‘yun, kailangan din natin ‘yung pang-araw-araw, hane. Kasi...sa buhay natin hirap tayo syempre, ay ‘yun pang araw-araw, syempre (kailangan ng) mga baon iyan; mga bayad sa eskwelahan. Di ko kaya yon, wala na! *I really think I can’t. You see, there were times that I want to study but nothing, no one will help me in my studies. You see, it is important to have educational support, but it is also*

important to provide for daily subsistence. You see...our life is poor so we think of everyday life, of course, we need daily school allowance, payment for tuition fees. I cannot provide for those, I have nothing!



Clarence: Ano ang naging dahilan at natigil ka sa pag-aaral? *What is the reason why you stopped studying?*

Jacquelyn: Kasi ‘di naman dapat ako matitigil sa pag-aaral, eh kasi “yung ano, bale nakita kami ng Tatay sa bahay ng asawa ko...Tapos ano daw ginagawa ko?...Pagkatapos nun pinaghihila ko ng Tatay ko papunta dun sa kalsada....Napahiya...ako...*You see, I should not have left school, but you know, my father saw me in the house of my husband (who at that time was my boyfriend) ...Then, he asked, what was I doing in his house?... Then, my father dragged me out of my boyfriend’s house up to the streets ...I felt ashamed of myself...*

Clearly, even in the extreme cases of Edgar and Jacquelyn, the high education ethic of young Filipinos is evident. “Willingness to study” among youth respondents in my two case study sites was not an issue. As aptly articulated by teacher Hermosa, what appears to be a larger concern was the lack of means to study. There is no doubt that most Filipino parents in Talim community see education as valuable in one’s life and an important tool to combat poverty. Teacher Hermosa explained that her father believed in the value of education, thus, despite their limited family resources, she was inspired to complete her studies. She shared that her father perceived education as more important than money; more valuable than any wealth. She explained:

...Napakaganda kasi noong nakita ko sa Tatay ko na, ano talagang edukasyon ang ibinigay n’ya sa mga anak. Kasi sabi niya, “Nauubos iyang pera, ang edukasyon hindi mauubos. Makukuha sa iyo, maaagaw ang kayamanan mo, pagka halimbawa hindi ka mautak... Pero ‘yung karunungan hindi...” *The most beautiful thing that I saw in my father was education; he sent us all to school. You see, he once explained, “You could consume all your money but not education. No one can take away education from you but your wealth could be stolen from you, especially if you are stupid. Knowledge cannot be taken away from you.”*

This positive disposition towards education was shared by most case study respondents and their fellow youth in the focus groups. The slight observable difference among the most vulnerable group relative to what I categorized as the *medium* education ethic of urban youth respondents, Manolet and JR, was mainly due to the self-conscious knowledge of their economic situation (see Table 37). This meant that their economic poverty restricted their aspirations for a collegiate degree because “wala silang perang pang-aral” (*they do not have money for studies*). But in this most vulnerable group, Alex is an exemption who remains highly optimistic. His enthusiasm to study is rooted in his belief that college education ensures one will have a stable job. Alex’s educational disposition is related to his high occupational aspiration: to become a professional compared to doing manual work, for Alex, is tantamount to having a secured, regular job:

Clarence: Ok, so, if I’m not mistaken, gusto mo pa rin...makatapos ng college?
Ok, so, if I am not mistaken, you still want to finish college?

Alex: Oo. *Yes.*

Clarence: Bakit gusto mong makatapos ng college? *Why do you want to finish college?*

Alex: Parang mas maganda ‘yung talagang, tapos ka eh. *It is better that one has completed education.*

Clarence: Bakit? *Why?*

Alex: Parang maging professional ba. Para syempre parang maganda ‘yung may propesyon para magkaroon ka ng stable na trabaho. *So that one becomes a professional. Of course, it is better to have a profession so that you could have a stable job.*

In general, Filipino youth have comparable high level of educational and occupational aspirations with Western youth (Furlong, et al., 1998; Hogan & Astone, 1986; Lehmann, 2003; Lowe & Krahn, 2000; MacLeod, 1987; Thiessen & Blasius, 2002; Thiessen & Looker, 2003; Thiessen & Looker, 1999). Recent Philippine-based studies (Miralao, 2004; Natividad, 2004; Parel, no date; Social Weather Stations, 1996, 1997) point to the persistent interest of Filipino youth to finish college, and have professional jobs.

This combined college education-professional work disposition is perceived as a typical ideal life trajectory in the Philippines. Related to this, Table 38 identifies the educational and occupational aspirations of case study respondents relative to their educational attainments and actual work experiences. It illustrates the differing life trajectories of respondents in terms of the difficulty of some respondents to: (a) complete college education; and (b) translate their high occupational aspirations into actual professional work.

Table 38: Life Trajectory Nexus: Educational and Occupational Aspirations versus Actual Work Experiences

Typology	Respondents	Level of educational aspiration	Actual educational attainment	Type of occupational aspiration	Actual work experiences
Least vulnerable	Glefer	High	College (on-going)	Professional	None
	Ruben	High	College (completed)	Professional	Professional
	Lanie	Medium	High school (completed)	Manual	Manual
Meso vulnerable	Ryan	High	College (completed)	Professional	Manual
	Carol	High	College (completed)	Professional	Semi-skilled
	Chris	High	College (completed)	Professional	Semi-skilled/Manual
	Shirley	High	College (completed)	Professional	Semi-skilled
Most vulnerable	Manolet	Medium	Vocational (undergraduate)	Manual	Manual
	Alex	High	College (undergraduate)	Professional	Manual
	JR	Medium	Vocational (undergraduate)	Manual	Manual
	Edgar	Low	Elementary (undergraduate)	Manual	Manual
	Jacquelyn	Low	High school (undergraduate)	Manual	Manual

At the time of fieldwork, among the respondents, only Ruben was currently enjoying the successful translation of his college education into the actual professional practice of teaching. Glefer was still studying her college degree with high hopes of becoming a nurse in the future. While Ryan, Carol, Chris, and Shirley had already completed college education, they had yet to obtain professional jobs. On the other hand, the medium and

lower degrees of educational aspirations of Manolet, JR, Edgar and Jacquelyn led to their expected lowered occupational aspirations and actual manual jobs. Notice that two respondents, Lanie and Alex, had relatively distinct life trajectories relative to the typology of vulnerability. Lanie belonged to the least vulnerable group because she generally related contentment and success in her life, despite having a medium degree of educational aspiration, completed only high school, and was working a manual job as a fish peddler. This positive disposition in life made her less vulnerable, which is a view that runs contrary to the notion that manual labour does not lead to an ideal result.

As appropriately explained by Lehmann (2003: 20):

...Even the most well-intended and critical research tends to walk into a “hegemonic trap” that takes for granted certain capitalist relations of production and ideologies in which participation in manual labour has to be considered “problematic”. Thus, we need to ask ourselves if we can reduce social inequality by promoting upward social mobility, or would it not first be necessary to look at the ways in which different forms of work receive such different social and economic recognition?

In contrast, Alex’s life trajectory of aspiring beyond what his family could provide, led him to disappointment that adversely impacted his self-esteem. This painful dimension in Alex’s life was captured in my interviews with both Alex and her mother, Nanay Luming. This recounts the moment when Alex had to face the realities of his family’s economic poverty, which forced him to leave collegiate school. At that time, he thought that it was temporary, but unfortunately, he had not returned to school since. The interviews revealed how Alex’s mother, Nanay Luming, equally felt the pain of her son’s disappointment, even to the extent of blaming herself for not being able to provide well for her son’s education.

Clarence: Ano ‘yung naalala mong minsan na inilapit mong problema sa Nanay?
Can you recall a problem that you shared with your mother?

Alex: Naalala ko, noon pong ano, nag-e-exam kami ng finals noon. Kaya ako’y nagdesisyon, kasi kapag ako’y di kayang pag-aralin, sabi ko, tigil muna

ako... Magpa-finals kami noon tapos ano, ang Nanay ko kasi kumo may pension kami, mangungutang siya. Manghihiram siya ng pera tapos papalitan na lang pagkaano... Tapos noon wala siyang mahiraman...nagmukmok ako sa isang tabi...Tapos hayun, hindi ako nakapag-finals noon...Ano, umiyak na lang ako. Ah bale, hindi ako pumasok. Mula noon, hindi na ako pumasok...Kaya sabi ko, hindi muna ako papasok, pag hindi niyo ako kayang pag-aralin, hindi muna ako papasok...*I remembered that time when I am about to take the final exam. I remembered making a decision; if I cannot be supported, then, I will temporarily stop studying. Its finals and then, because we have pension (from our father's insurance), I asked my mother to borrow money. I asked her to borrow money, then eventually, we pay it back...But, that time, she was not able to borrow any money...I felt so disappointed...Then, I was not able to take the finals...I just cried, and since then, I did not go back to school. Since then, I stopped studying...I told myself, I will stop going to school because I do not have any support...this will just be temporary...*

Clarence: So, simula noon hindi ka na nakatuloy ng pag-aaral. Pero pagbibigyan ka ng pagkakataon, gusto mo mag-aral? *So, since then, you have not returned to school. But if you are given another chance, do you like to study?*

Alex: Sabi ko...mag-aaral uli ako. *I told myself...I will study again.*



Nanay Luming: ...Tuwang-tuwa nga ako noong (si Alex ay) makapag-aral, 'di ko nga lang... Siguro hindi nga lang niya ako masisi, dahil hindi ako nakagawa ng paraan... Kaya lang noong time na iyon wala akong magawang paraan. *I was so happy when Alex was studying, but I was not able to (support him)...Probably, he just can't blame me but you see, I was not able to find a way. That time, I felt powerless not being able to find a way (to pay for his tuition for the finals).*

Clarence: Oo, pero ngayon po, ah ngayon pong pinaplano n'yo po na mag-aral muli s'ya? So, kinukumbinsi n'yo po s'ya na ipagpatuloy niya ang pag-aaral? *But for now, do you plan to send him back to school? So, are you convincing him to continue his studies?*

Nanay Luming: Oo...At kumbaga sa ano, bata ka pa rin naman...Sabi ko, kahit na hindi 'yung pinapangarap mo na accounting, ang mahalaga makatapos ka. *Yes...I explained to him that he is still young...I told him that even if he will not be able to attain his dream to become an accountant, what is more important is that he finish college.*

It was encouraging to witness how mothers, like Nanay Luming, and all the other mothers that I interviewed (Nanay Agie, Nanay Wining, Nanay Luning, Nanay Sela,

Nanay Elsa, Nanay Upeng, Nanay Glecy, Nanay Lily, and Nanay Yolly) positively reinforced the value of education to their children as a way to fulfill the educational aspirations, in spite of the fact that most of them failed to achieve that education themselves. In the Philippine context, to have a child finish college education is perceived to be a huge parental achievement as narrated by successful mothers, Nanay Agie (mother of Ruben), Nanay Luning (mother of Chris), Nanay Sela (mother of Carol), and Nanay Lily (guardian of Shirley).

But what happens when educational aspirations are not fulfilled, such as in cases of those who belong to the most vulnerable group, Manolet, Alex, JR, Edgar and Jacquelyn? And what happens when educational goals are completed, but such college degrees did not translate into professional jobs such as in the cases of those who belong to the meso-vulnerable group, Ryan, Carol, Chris and Shirley? The relative low educational attainment of the most vulnerable group fundamentally restricts, and in some instances, excludes them from having tenured, regular jobs. On the other hand, while having the completed college education gives a certain edge to the meso-vulnerable group so that they expect a better job, they are not immune from the problems of unemployment and underemployment in the Philippines, in which the youngest age group, are the first ones to be disadvantaged (Amante, 2003; Ericta, 2003).

I argue that it is in this vulnerable context that the *istambay* phenomenon occurs. As observed in the education-work experiences of case study respondents (in Chapter 4, Table 18 and Table 19), those belonging to the most vulnerable group had experienced a relatively higher level of inactivity compared to the meso-vulnerable groups. On the other hand, as expected, based on life trajectories (see Table 38) the meso and least vulnerable groups are highly expected to translate their educational attainments into professional, well-paying jobs. Failure to do so means failure to attain status in the wider realm of Filipino society's social expectations.

This is when *istambay* becomes important as a social category attached to those young Filipinos who fail to attain a legitimate status. This is the crisis of identity in the context

of istambay discourse. Legitimate statuses are the positions that students and workers like Glefer and Ruben, generally enjoy. In the same manner, the gendered familial expectations equally give the females (Lanie, Carol, Shirley, and Jacquelyn) the task of homemaking an acceptable role in Filipino family life. Consequently, those unemployed males, Ryan and Chris, those with no main activity, Alex and JR, and unpaid family worker, Edgar, and to a certain degree, contractual worker, Manolet, are generally perceived to be failed statuses because being inactive in a capitalist Philippine state means having no productive value. Being istambay, that is, being unproductive, runs contrary to Filipino society's expectation for young people, particularly on male Filipinos, to become responsible persons. Such responsibility means 'to have a job', and thus, become less dependent on family support. This is the core of the istambays' crisis of identity.

3. Peer-relations and Socially-problematized Behaviours

That inactivity provides more time to develop friendships, and such peer-relations are associated with relatively higher exposure and engagement in socially-problematized behaviours, such as smoking and drinking, is an important assumption of the istambay concept. As seen in the song analysis in Chapter 4, this assumption has been one of the emergent themes that define, describe and differentiate istambay from other subgroups in the Philippines. The YAFS 2002 findings about peer indicators (see Table 25) did not offer substantial data supporting this assumption except to demonstrate that among the youth main statuses, the homemakers were less likely to report having barkada compared to the other five categories. When it comes to the situational indicator: if the respondent and his/her friends have ever been involved in a violent incident, the workers and two potential istambays, the unemployed and those with no main activity, were found to report slightly higher exposure to violence than the other categories.

Conversely, the multivariate analyses generally indicated a moderate influence of youth main status variable on the odds of smoking, and only a minimal association with drinking among YAFS 2002 respondents. No decisive conclusion was derived from the

multinomial logistic regression models in Table 33 and Table 34 concerning any direct links between main statuses and the odds of smoking and drinking; what was observed instead was the persistent influence of gender, and other contextual factors (suspension from classes; respondent and his/her friends' involvement in a violent incident; and parental restriction to go out on a date unchaperoned) on the smoking and drinking behaviours of youth respondents.

The case studies found this perception of istambays' barkada and the higher propensity to smoke and drink was relatively correct among the males in the most vulnerable group (see Table 39). On the other hand, a relative decrease or no involvement in smoking and drinking is observed among the meso-vulnerable and least vulnerable groups. This suggests that the varied inactivity experiences of case study respondents indicates relative influence on their smoking and drinking patterns, and factors such as gender and peer relations, play greater roles in shaping their engagements in these socially-problematized behaviours.

Table 39: Peer Relations, Smoking and Drinking Behaviours

Typology	Respondents	Spent more leisure time with barkada?	Smoking	Drinking
Least vulnerable	Glefer	No	Non-smoker	Non-drinker
	Ruben	No	Non-smoker	Non-drinker
	Lanie	No	Non-smoker	Non-drinker
Meso vulnerable	Ryan	No	Non-smoker	Non-drinker
	Carol	No	Non-smoker	Non-drinker
	Chris	No	Non-smoker	Transient
	Shirley	No	Transient	Transient
Most vulnerable	Manolet	No	Regular	Regular
	Alex	Yes	Regular	Regular
	JR	Yes	Regular	Regular
	Edgar	Yes	Regular	Regular
	Jacquelyn	Yes	Transient	Transient

Table 39 indicates that among the case study respondents, four out of five in the most vulnerable group spent more leisure time with their barkada. As narrated by Alex, JR, and Edgar, leisure time with their barkada means hanging-out on streets, chatting, playing

basketball, smoking, and, on recurrent occasions, drinking. Barkada provides a source of community especially with fellow istambays. They, too, reported smoking and drinking as their regular pastime. A slight contextual difference is observed with Manolet, who at the time of interview, did not report having enough leisure time with barkada because of his contractual work, but narrated that whenever he is out of work, he usually hangs out with fellow istambays. He, too, is a regular smoker and drinker. On the other hand, Jacquelyn's leisure time with barkada is more about finding a space to share her problematic familial situation. According to her, she occasionally smokes and drinks, especially when she is down with personal problems.

Let me now focus on three most vulnerable male respondents, Alex, JR, and Edgar, who narrated stories about their barkada with whom they shared substantial time smoking and drinking together. JR was introduced first to smoking by his high school barkada, and progressed to drinking when he reached first year vocational course. On the other hand, Alex confirmed that all of his barkada smoke and drink. He saw drinking with his barkada as a social activity that gave him a sense of comfort. When I asked him if he ever wished to quit smoking and drinking, he nonchalantly expressed that these behaviours are difficult to reverse because that have turned-out to be his "vices".

Edgar's story about his barkada and drinking is an eye-opener. He was proud narrating that he is seen as the "father" of his group because he is the eldest. Most of those in this barkada group are istambays, and thus, when I asked him how they could afford to drink, Edgar explained that there was a subculture of sharing among them. Whatever amount of money they collected, they used to buy a bottle of gin or rum. It was a common practice for them to get together whenever someone from their group had a paid job. This job-earner shared a part of his pay with the barkada by buying one or more bottles of alcoholic drink. Among them, there was more pressure to find a job especially when there were upcoming birthdays because usually, this was celebrated through shared drinking. Edgar fully knows the consequence of his barkada's drinking sprees particularly on the bad image it generated about them. He recognized that community elders were offended by his barkada's drinking behaviour. Overall, Edgar's narrative projects a feeling of

powerlessness and loss, suggesting how these vices of smoking and drinking, had overwhelmed his barkada's sense of self-control and discipline. He knew that smoking and drinking were bad, but what could he do? His story vividly illustrates the loneliness of being istambay, and of being an orphan. Edgar was lonely, and he felt helpless.

Clarence: Nag-involve din ba ang iyong barkada sa ibang mga activities...more than smoking? *Are your barkada involved in other activities more than smoking?*

JR: Kasama na ho 'yun sa mga... pero hindi pa ho ako umiinom noon high school. *Yes, they have but when I was in high school, I did not hang out with them drinking.*

Clarence: ...Ilan taon ka nung nagsimula kang uminom ng alak? *When did you start drinking?*

JR: First year college. *First year college.*

Clarence: First year college?... 'Yung barkada mo ba nung high-school, barkada mo pa rin ba nung nag vocational course ka? *First year college?...Are your barkada in high school still your friends when you started your vocational course?*

JR: Bale dalawa na lang ho 'yung nakasama ko. Dalawang kaklase ko ho mga barkada ko, nagkikita pa rin ho kami ngayon. *Only two were left from my original barkada. Two of my classmates in vocational course are my barkada. We usually meet.*



Alex: Halos lahat kami (barkada) naninigarilyo, e. *Almost of us in our barkada smoke.*

Clarence: Sigarilyo, ano pa? *Other than smoking, what else?*

Alex: Inom. *Drinking.*

Clarence: Inom, ano pa? *Other than drinking, what else?*

Alex: 'Yun ang pang karaniwan namin inom. *We usually drink.*

Clarence: Inom at sigarilyo lang? *So, smoking and drinking only?*

Alex: Oo, 'yun lang! *Yes, only those two!*

Clarence: May nakukuha ka ba talagang kasiyahan habang naninigarilyo at nag-iinom ka? *Do you derive any happiness from smoking and drinking?*

Alex: Minsan kasi pag nagkikita-kita. *Sometimes, whenever we hang out together.*

Clarence: ...Ok, e, gusto mo bang mawala sa iyong paninigarilyo at pag-iinom? O mas okey lang sa iyo na habang tumatanda, pag nakaron ka ng trabaho, meron ka ng pagkakataong makabili ng inumin, ng mga pansigarilyo? *Ok, eh, do you want to quit smoking and drinking? Or, as you grow older, you do not mind, especially when you have a job, you will have money to buy drinks and cigarettes?*

Alex: Siguro hindi na mawawala iyon. *I think I will find it difficult to quit.*

Clarence: So tanggap mo na 'yon? *So, you have accepted this as part of your life?*

Alex: Bisyo na talaga! *Indeed, these are vices!*

Clarence: Oo, na dadalhin mo na iyon habang buhay? *Yes, that you will have for the rest of your life?*

Alex: Ewan ko? Umano rin po baka dumating 'yung time na, mawala rin. *I do not know! Who knows? Probably, time will come, and I will be able to quit.*



Edgar: Kasi noon... nasa barkada ako noon eh, sobra ako sa bisyo talaga. *You see that time...I am very close with my barkada so I engaged in too much vices!*

Clarence: Bisyo? *Vices?*

Edgar: Na dyan ang alak, sigarilyo. *There's drinking, smoking.*

Clarence: ...Kwentuhan mo naman ako tungkol sa iyong mga kaibigan mga barkada mo. Ano bang mga bisyo nitong barkada mo, ikaw ba nagpapasimula o sila? *Why not tell me about your friends, your barkada? What are the vices of your barkada? Were you the initiator (of these vices) or them?*

Edgar: Kasi sa barkada, kumo sabihan na nga natin na, medyo ako'y nakatataas sa kanila, medyo kung sabihin nila'y "Tatay" na raw talaga ay kasi medyo may edad tayo sa kanila di ba? *You see in our barkada, say, I have the most authority because they take me as the "Father" because I am the oldest, right?*

Clarence: Oo nga. *I agree.*

Edgar: Si Marlon, si Rean, si Eric, si Mervin. *(My barkada) Are Marlon, Rean, Eric, Mervin.*

Clarence: Oo. *Yes.*

Edgar: Tapos si Jojo. *Then, Jojo.*

Clarence: Sino ba ‘yung nakasabay ko kahapon? Pauwi na sa Taytay umano... *Who was your friend that I travelled with yesterday (going back to the mainland)? He said that he is going to Taytay (town) to work?*

Edgar: Ah, oo, si Mervin ‘yun. *Ah, yes, that’s Mervin.*

Clarence: Si Mervin. *Mervin.*

Edgar: Barkada ‘yun, si Mervin, di ako bale anim kami, anim, alam mo, si Dada, pito kami pagka iyong linggo. Tatawagin ako sa amin, inuman na iyan... Oo, inuman talaga kasi nung, kada linggo kami kumo magkakabarkada, kung tawagin “MP”. *He is one of my barkada. We are six, then Dada is the seventh. Together, the seven of us gather together every Sunday. They will fetch me from my house, and it’s drinking time... Yes, every Sunday we are together drinking. We jokingly call our group, “MP”.*

Clarence: Anong “MP”? *What do you mean by “MP”?*

Edgar: ‘Yan iyong Emperador. *That is derived from “Emperador” – “Em-perador” (a brand of local rum).*

Clarence: Emperador. *Emperador.*

Edgar: Oo, ‘yung tawag doon, “O kuha na tayo ng MP”, sabi ko. *Yes, that is how we call it, “So, let us get MP!” I urged.*

Clarence: Sinong gumagastos? *Who spends for it?*

Edgar: ‘Yun bang kumo barkada, halimbawa o, bente bente tayo dyan! Bigay ako ng bente, ay pito kami, o di sa pa bente-bente ilan ‘yan? *You see, we are barkada, for example, we contribute Php 20 pesos each (about .50 cents CAD)! I will give 20, and we are seven so, even if we just give 20 each, how much do we gather?*

Clarence: Nakailang Emperador na kayo noon? *How many bottles of Emperador did you consume?*

Edgar: Hindi ilan, ‘pag nagsimula kami ng umaga gabi na ang tapos. Gabi na talaga, totoo gabi na, uwi na ako sa amin! *It is not a question of how many bottles we consumed. You see, we start drinking in the morning and we end up at night. Believe me we usually end at dark time, then I go home to my house.*

Clarence: Hindi ba nagagalit ‘yung mga magulang ng barkada mo? *What about the parents of your barkada? Are they not angry with your drinking?*

Edgar: Nagagalit, minsan. *They are, sometimes.*

Clarence: Ikaw ang pinakamatanda, anong sinasabi mo? *You are the eldest, so what do you usually say?*

(Edgar did not answer this question instead, he redirected our conversation to the makeshift drinking place that he built for his barkada.)

Edgar: Pag tayo’y napunta doon, ituturo ko sa iyo ang inuman namin, ako pa ang naggawa... *When you visit my place, I will take you to our drinking place, I built it myself.*

Clarence: Anong inuman niyo, Linggo? *What day do you usually drink, Sunday?*

Edgar: Linggo. *Sunday.*

Clarence: Minsan nga eh, di ako iinom nang masyado, pero ibig kong sabihin, eh. *I am thinking that sometime, I will not drink a lot, but what I mean is...*

Edgar: Titingnan mo lang? Oo! *You want to see us drinking? Yes!*

Clarence: Kwentuhan lang. *Just to chat.*

(Then, Edgar continued telling what happens when he gets really drunk.)

Edgar: Di sabi nila, o pa’no yan, (pagkatapos ng inuman) kanya kanya na tayo, ‘Yung bakal na paahon sa amin, iyon ang sinusog ko, pag nalagot, sabi ko, “Lagot, hindi amin ito”. Di hawak uli ako dun sa mga Kang Nori, ‘yung tindahang iyon, lalakad uli ako ay di, pag naramdaman kong may tindahan uli, sabi ko, “Tindahan ito”. Di lakad, nangangabay ako doon e, tapos ‘yung poso. Di ba pag andun na sa poso, alam mo, nililiko ko iyon, para makauwi lang ako, nililiko ko iyon... Gagapang-gapang minsan... Pag may narinig ako, sasabihin ng tiyahin ko, “Lasing ka na naman”, alam ko nasa amin na ako. ‘Yung ang aking palatandaan. “Lasing ka na naman!” *So after the drinking session, I say (to my barkada) we go on separate ways. Do you see the steel railing going up the hill to my house, I use those as a guide as I drag myself up. I said to myself, “I will be in big trouble, if I destroy these railings, this is not mine!” Then, I will climb up a bit more until I reach the store of Kang Nori. I know it when I reached the store. Then, the next one is the water pump station. From thereon, I will turn to the direction towards my house. Sometimes, I am too drunk to walk. Then, when I hear my aunt’s shout, “You are drunk again!” I know I am home. That is my sign. “You are drunk again!”*

Clarence: Sinong nagsasabi sa iyo? *Whose telling you this?*

Edgar: Tiya Nats. *Aunt Nats.*

Clarence: Teka ba't nagkaganoon ang mga kabataan. Kayo ba't kayo nagkaganoon? *Wait, what happened to the youth of your community? Why have you turned out to be this way?*

Edgar: Barkada talaga. *It is because of barkada.*

Clarence: Barkada? *Barkada?*

Edgar: Kasi sa samahan. *You see, you show camaraderie (with your barkada).*

Clarence: Sino bang nagpauso? *So, who started this?*

Edgar: Birthday birthday lang iyon. *It just started with birthday, birthday celebration.*

Clarence: Tapos ngayon linggo-linggo na. *Then, now, it is every Sunday?*

Edgar: Oo, nagkaroon ng Linggo-linggo, minsan may Sabado pa! *Yes, we meet every Sunday, sometimes, we even meet on Saturdays!*

Clarence: Di n'yo ba napag-uusapan 'yung tungkol sa ganyan? *Did you ever find time to discuss about your situation (of drinking regularly)?*

Edgar: Minsan. *Sometimes.*

Clarence: Hindi naman lahat kayo istambay, o lahat kayo halos istambay? *Not all of you are istambays, or are most of you istambay?*

Edgar: Dalawa lang 'yung hindi istambay, si Dada 'yung teacher, tsaka si Mervin 'yung nakasabay mo kahapon. *Only two in our barkada are not istambay. Dada is a teacher, and Mervin, the one you travelled with (in the boat) yesterday.*

Clarence: Paano nabuo 'yung barkada ng inuman? *How did your drinking buddies become a barkada?*

Edgar: Sa ano iyon, kasi noong ano, sa kabilang baryo, may nililigawan 'yung barkada namin doon, sa Kinaboogan ay nagkasama sama kami. Tumatawid kami ng baryo para makapunta kami doon. Bale pa doon kami sa bahay ng babae nag-iinom, alam mo talaga minsan. *So, you see, one of my barkadas was courting someone in Kinaboogan, one of the nearby villages. We were together then. We accompanied our friend to that village. You won't believe it! We even had the chance of drinking in the house of that young woman who was being courted by my friend.*

Clarence: Masaya ba kayo, sa ganon? *Were you happy, with that (drinking)?*

Edgar: Naiisip ko din talaga mali, mali talaga! Nahihya na rin ako, minsan, napagsasalitaan na ako ng tiyahin sabi doon kung maaari wag na kayong pupunta dito. *I really thought that it was wrong, it was really wrong! I felt*

ashamed, you see, sometimes, my aunt scold me and she banned me from going near her house.

Clarence: Talaga? *Really?*

Edgar: ‘Yung lang, sabi ko’y, “Oo”. *I can only respond, “Yes.”*

Clarence: Anong pinag-uusapan niyo kapag nag-iinuman? *What do your barkada usually talk about when you are drinking?*

Edgar: Anong pinag-uusapan namin 'yung ano pagka iyong, pagka kami’y nadoon - Kalian daw mauulit? Sari-sari, kwentuhan na marami. *What are we talking about? Sometimes, when we are there, we usually ask, so when do we do this again? Lots of different things, we chat about everything.*

Clarence: Nagkakaseryosohan ba minsan? *Were there times when you get serious?*

Edgar: Minsan seryoso, minsan hindi. *Sometimes serious, sometimes not.*

Clarence: May naiiyak ba? *Have you witnessed someone crying?*

Edgar: Noong birthday nuong kabarkada kong isa. *During the birthday celebration of one of my barkada.*

Clarence: Sinong kabarkada mo? *Whose barkada?*

Edgar: Si Eric. *Eric.*

Clarence: O, ano namang pinagkaiyakan niyo? *So, what was the crying all about?*

Edgar: Biro mo nung ano, di alam na may problema siya, nalasing siya. Nagalit siya, sabi ko, “Kilala mo pa ba ako?” Sabi niya, “Kilala kita, pero may problema lang talaga ako!” *You won’t believe it, we know that he has a problem, he got really drunk. He was so angry, and I said, “Do you still know me? He said, “I know you, but I can’t control myself, I have a problem.”*

Clarence: Anong problema niya? *What was his problem?*

Edgar: Sa magulang, kahit minsan napagsalitaan daw siya na walang trabaho, walang hanapbuhay! *With his parents, he shared that sometimes he was scolded because he does not have any work, he does not have a job!*

Clarence: Parang si Alex, meron ding ano sa magulang e. *Just like Alex, he is having what (a problem) with his parent.*

Edgar: Bale pa, harap-harapan pa kaming magkakasama, nagsalita siya ng ganon sabi ko, “Pagpasensyahan mo na, kung ako nga dito ay, isipin mo narito ako, mapalad ka, may mga magulang kang magpapaalala sa iyo

samantalang ako, pag-uwi ko wala, sinong mag-iintindi sa akin sarili ko rin? Pero ikaw? Pag uwi ko sa amin, di ko alam kung may kakainin ako o wala, di ko alam kung may nagluto, pero ikaw tukoy may nag-iintindi sa iyo? Kaya sabi ko, “Wag mo iisipin iyon!” Ay talagang problemado siya, sabi ko parang pinapangaralan ko rin siya kasi, syempre barkada siya, hindi mo rin matitiis. *See, we were still together, when he blurted out his feelings so I said to him, “Be patient, compared to me, you should feel more fortunate, because up to now, you have parents who counsel you, but look at me, when I go home, who takes good care of me but myself? But you (are lucky)? Whenever I go home, I do not know if I have something to eat, no one cooks for me, but someone is caring for you.” So I said to him, “Do not mind them (parents)!” But he is really depressed, so I still gave him advice, of course, he is my barkada, I care for him.*

Clarence: Ay mayroon ba kayong napag-uusapan man lang tungkol sa pag-asa sa buhay na maiiba ‘yung kalagayan ng mga buhay nyo kasi maraming istambay. Malungkot ba ang isang istambay? *Did you have any chance talking about your hope in life, say, about a better life for the istambay? Is the life of istambay sad?*

Edgar: Sa totoo lang, malungkot talaga! *To tell you the truth, it is really sad!*

Clarence: Saan lang masaya? *Is there any happy aspect (of being istambay)?*

Edgar: Pagka iyong talagang... hindi pare-parehas ang sarili ko. Basta may mga time ako na, pagka nariyan ang barkada, hindi rin buo, may kulang pa rin sa akin syempre ‘yung pamilya. *If you think about it, it’s really...it is mixed for me. Believe me, there were good times with my barkada, but still, it is not complete, I lack something, of course, my family.*

Clarence: Anong hinahanap mo? *What are you missing?*

Edgar: Isa lang ang hinahanap ko, halimbawa, ‘yung may mahingan ka man lang, ganon. *I just want one thing, for example, someone whom I could share my problems with, that’s it!*

Alex, JR, and especially, Edgar’s stories highlight the precariousness of istambay status. Their accounts reflect how in two case study sites, inactivity is more than an individualized experience but a shared one – with a group of friends, usually with fellow istambays. This makes up the barkada experience, which becomes an alternative source of community. I argue that the need to find an alternative community, as observed in Edgar’s story, is driven by the crisis of identity, that is, the lack of having a legitimate status, the istambays’ failure “to have a paid job”. Being istambay creates tensions at home, especially with their parents. To cope with these familial tensions, barkada

provides a space not only for friendship but more so, for the articulation of their personal problems. However, the setting for such articulation goes beyond hanging out on street corners, chatting or experimenting with socially-problematized behaviours such as smoking and drinking with friends. As vividly depicted by Edgar, over time, the istambays develop a pattern of friendship; the ultimate form of expression of which is shared drinking and smoking.

Edgar's account of his barkada brings salient features of istambay experience at its most vulnerable. First, in the Philippine context, unlike females who are highly expected to do homemaking, inactivity brings males together in community. Second, the consistent friendly chats develop into a close male barkada experience. Third, the means that cement the close relations of this male-based barkada is their experience of drinking together. And fourth, the main component of their closeness is rooted in their shared life crisis, inactivity.

Thus, it appears that for these male vulnerable youth, Alex, JR, and Edgar, barkada and shared drinking constitute a strategy of coping with the tensions of being istambay. This is best illustrated when Edgar's friend revealed that his problem was the tension that stems from his lack of work, and the disappointment experienced by his parents and himself because of it. Interestingly, Edgar took this occasion to highlight the importance of parents and family, in his friend's life. Using his orphaned life as an example, Edgar advised his friend to be patient and understanding with his parents. In so doing, Edgar highlighted how familial habitus, that is, the disposition towards the care and welfare of the family, is a constant life feature among young Filipinos. Familial support is a major ingredient of Filipino social life, which is tapped especially in the midst of crisis, such as inactivity or unemployment. Edgar laments not having this type of support on his side.

In such context, I hesitate interpreting the drinking behaviours of Edgar's barkada as a form of resistance (Hall & Jefferson, 1976; Willis, 1977) because I did not get a sense that they drank to make a statement about their inactivity. In fact, Edgar admitted that he knew about the consequences of his barkada's excessive drinking, like the negative

image it gives them in the community. This excessive drinking behaviour offended some elders and parents in the community, which he feels sorry about. I contend that this shared drinking expresses more about their powerlessness and vulnerability rather than resistance. That is, shared drinking among istambays creates a space where tensions are articulated, and yet, they know that no resolution would be met, except for a temporary bliss of comfort from friendly conversations with fellow drunken istambays.

While the assumption about the positive association between istambay and socially-problematized behaviours is observed in the lives of most vulnerable youth (Alex, JR, and Edgar), I observed that inactivity experiences among the meso and least vulnerable groups seemed to be mediated by the case study respondents' involvement in religious/socio-civic organizations. I argue that this differentiates the meso and least vulnerable groups from the most vulnerable group. This draws attention to the social dimension of inactivity, which will be discussed in the "problematique" section of this chapter.

In the meantime, the next section discusses the aspirations of case study respondents, a salient constitutive element of habitus, which reflects the individual's general view of the future. YAFS 2002 did not offer information about this aspect but qualitative data from youth case studies uncover the dynamics making-up these aspirations, and reflects optimism and the Filipino's collective culture.

4. Future Aspirations: Optimism, Crises and the Familial-faith Dynamic

If there is one thing that young people all over the world appear to share in common, it is optimism for the future. As Brown, Larson and Saraswathi (2002: 17) explain in their seminal cross-cultural youth book across eight regions of the globe:

Whether adolescents are growing up in relatively stable or rapidly changing cultures, whether educational training or health and social services are adequate or constrained, most young people face the future with anticipation and hope. Even in nations that face what appear to be daunting social and economic problems (e.g., India or Russia), youth express confidence in their future.

This observation is resonated in my youth case study interviews. I generated the responses about “future aspirations” from two-related local concepts: (a) “pangarap” (*dreams*) and (b) “kinabukasan” (*future*). In the Philippine context, these two concepts are intimately intertwined, thus, to discuss the dreams of case study youth respondents, is practically the same as discussing their future. Both “pangarap” and “kinabukasan” suggest a sense of destination, and I argue that these concepts unravel the personal values and dispositions of respondents. These concepts are important constituent of Filipino youth’s habitus, which convey the underlying dynamics of Philippine social life.

An examination of the future aspirations of case study respondents manifests not only their values but also the personal crises they want to overcome, and the structural conditions that constitute them. Thus, there is said to be a “correlation between objective probabilities and subjective aspirations, between institutional structures and cultural practices” (Bourdieu, 1977: 156). MacLeod (1987: 14) articulates this perspective:

Aspirations reflect an individual’s view of his and her own chances for getting ahead and are an internalization of objective probabilities. But aspirations are not the product of a rational analysis; rather, they are acquired in the habitus of the individual.

The future aspirations of case study respondents illustrate three dimensions: (a) the high sense of optimism that encourages them to have a positive outlook in life; (b) the crises and apprehensions that structure their dreams and their perceptions of the future; and (c) the familial-faith dynamic that appears to hold-together this negotiated process between aspiring and making sense of the means that may or may not hinder the fulfilment of such dreams.

In general, I found that all my case study respondents were optimistic about their futures. This is contrary to my expectation that the most vulnerable youth, who experienced higher levels of inactivity, would have shown some degree of pessimism. Instead, I observed that such optimism is associated with the individual crisis that they want to overcome. The most vulnerable group is not different from the meso and least vulnerable

groups in terms of future aspirations because what appears to be working is an acquired Filipino habitus. I argue that this habitus centers on the high value they give their families combined with a degree of spirituality that reflects their belief and practice of faith. This familial-faith dynamic seems to uniquely define the habitus of case study respondents, which is consistent with the habitus of their mothers and teachers. In such context, inactivity is mitigated by this social dynamic, which allows for a more hopeful habitus to endure.

Key to understanding the future aspirations of case study respondents is to view their aspiration as a dialogue among optimism, crises and the familial-faith dynamic. In Table 40, I enumerate future aspirations vis-à-vis critical family events and religious involvement of case study respondents to illustrate the relative connections among them.

The future aspirations of youth case study respondents center on education, family's welfare, and stable work. Consistent with local studies (Castillo, 1979; Miralao, 2004; Natividad, 2004), all respondents believe that finishing college education is best for their future. College education is perceived to secure good jobs, which ensure the subsistence and livelihood of their respective families. For married respondents, this educational aspiration of finishing college is what they aspire for their children's future, especially for Lanie, Manolet and Jacquelyn, who were not able to fulfil this dream. For Talim youth respondents, to have a house of their own, and to have a fishing business, are two concrete features of their future aspirations.

However, working overseas is one salient theme emerging from the narratives of some youth respondents. "Abroad" is the concept that these respondents use to capture their desire to seek employment overseas. This work aspiration is premised on the belief that working abroad is more economically beneficial compared to working locally in the Philippines.

Table 40: Critical Family Events, Religious Involvement, and Future Aspirations

Typology	Respondents	Family events	Religious involvement	Future aspirations
Least vulnerable	Glefer		*Volunteer in a local Catholic chapel as a choir member & guitar player	*To finish college. *To have a permanent job and own house. *To have a family of her own. *To work abroad.
	Ruben		*Youth volunteer in Protestant Church	*To work abroad. *To have a stable job. *To have a family. *Return to the Philippines after working abroad for about ten years, and then work again as a teacher in the Philippines.
	Lanie	*Age 23, first marriage *Age 25, first husband died *Age 28, live-in with second husband & had first child.		*To have another child. *To own a larger fish pen and a better, larger boat. *To have another business like a small store.
Meso vulnerable	Ryan	*Age 16, death of eldest brother.	*Youth volunteer in a local Catholic chapel	*To have a permanent job. *To serve the family. *To have a family of his own.
	Carol	*Age 24, married Chris. *Age 25, had first child. *Age 26, second child (pregnant during the interview).	*Youth volunteer in a local Catholic chapel	*Her husband to have a stable job. *To have her own concrete house. *To continue working again.
	Chris	*Age 26, married Carol. *Age 27, had first child. *Age 28, second child (wife pregnant during the interview).		*To find a stable job abroad for the family. *To build a concrete house. *To have a fishing business with self-owned fish cages and banca. *To send his children to good schools until college.
	Shirley	*Age 21, death of father. *Age 32, mother went to work abroad.	*Active member in a Catholic charismatic movement	*To marry and have a family of her own. *To have a child. *To work abroad.
Least vulnerable	Manolet	*Age 17, death of father. *Age 26, got married. *Age 29, had first child.	*Religious experience under "Love Flock" - a Catholic charismatic movement.	*Family to have a longer life under the guidance of God. *To send his children to good schools until college.

Typology	Respondents	Family events	Religious involvement	Future aspirations
	Alex	*Age 10, death of father.		*To continue studying college. *To go abroad to work. *To have a permanent job. *To marry and have a family.
	JR	*Family lived in squatter's area		*To have a permanent, stable job. *To have a family.
	Edgar	*Father left his family during childhood. *Age 3, death of mother.	*Became active in local Protestant church as a guitarist. *Volunteer in a local Catholic chapel as a guitarist	*To serve God. *To have a family of his own. *To build his own house. *To have livelihood in the lake, personally owning fishing equipment. *To have a better life.
	Jacquelyn	*Age 15, entered into live-in relationship. *Age 16, had first child. *Age 18, had second child. *Age 20, had third child. *Experienced temporary separation with live-in partner due to infidelity, drinking and barkada.		*To finish college and become a nurse. *To send her children to school until they finish college. *To have good relations with husband.

While these future aspirations generally project a certain degree of optimism, they also reveal the objective structures that shape them. As revealed in the following interview excerpts of male istambays, Alex, JR, and Edgar, the fundamental crises in their lives are communicated in their future aspirations. Correspondingly, these future aspirations suggest how family (as in the cases of Alex and JR) and faith (as in the case of Edgar) constitute and are constituted in the habitus of these respondents.

Clarence: Five to seven years from now, pag-iinterbyuhin ko uli ikaw, sino na si kaya si Alex? *Five to seven years from now, if I will interview you again, who do you think is Alex by then?*

Alex: Sana ano, magkaroon na ako nang maayos na buhay! *I hope, that time I will have an orderly life!*

Clarence: Anong ibig sabihin mo nang maayos na buhay? *What do you mean by an orderly life?*

Alex: Wala ng problema, tapos masaya, magkaroon ng pamilya!...Hindi kasi unang-una pamilya ko, pamilya talaga. *Life with no problems, filled with happiness, and I have my own family... You see, foremost is my family, family is my priority!*

Clarence: Talaga, ano ba pangarap mo sa pamilya mo? *Really, what is your dream for your family?*

Alex: ‘Yung magkaroon sila noong ano, ‘yung guminhawa ba? *To have, say, to have quality life?*

Clarence: Oo, at pagsinabi mong guminhawa, anong ibig mong sabihin dun? *Yes, when you say quality life, what do you mean by that?*

Alex: ‘Yun parang wala na silang problemang pinansyal. ‘Yung makaano sila, ‘yung bang mabubuhay sila nang walang sagabal na...Basta maging komportable lang sila sa buhay ‘yung walang maranasang hirap. *Something like, they will not have any financial problems. Something like, there would be no hindrances in their lives...The important thing is that they will live comfortably, where they will not experience poverty anymore.*



Clarence: Seven years from now, sino na si JR? *Seven years from now, who is JR by then?*

JR: Seven years from now, ang wish ko, sana buhay pa ko! Makahanap po ng magandang trabaho, kahit maliit lang ho, basta regular ho, and magkakaroon ng family. *Seven years from now, I wish that, I hope I am still alive! (That time) I hope I have a good job; even if it is simple, what is more important is that it is a regular job; and then, I will have my own family.*



Clarence: Pitong taon o sampung taon mula ngayon, sino na si Edgar? *Seven or ten years from now, who is Edgar by then?*

Edgar: Gusto ko lang sana, bigyan pa ako ng Panginoon (ng lakas) para makapaglingkod sa Kanya. Iyon lang ang gusto ko. Makapaglingkod pa ako sa Kanya bigyan Niya pa ako ng lakas. Tapos... ‘yung sarili ko.. ‘yun bang makaginha-ginhawa lang. ‘Yun lang ! *All I hope for is that God will give me strength so that I could serve Him. That is the only thing that I hope for. To serve Him more, I need strength from Him. Then, for myself, I only wish to taste some comfort in life. That’s it!*

Clarence: At paano ka giginhawa? *And how do you think you'll feel comfort in life?*

Edgar: 'Yun bang sana magkaroon ako ng trabaho, 'yun lang, gusto ko 'yung trabaho na, marangal talaga! *I hope I will have a job, that's it; I just want a job that is good, honorable!*

Similarly, the future aspirations of married respondents also reflect a sense of optimism highlighting the dreams they have for their children. These dreams center on education-family-work themes, which envelop the structural crises influencing their aspirations, and the habitus that highlight the salience of family and faith in their lives. All married respondents, Chris, Lanie, Manolet, and Jacquelyn, articulated their aspirations to have better means of livelihood because these would secure the education of their children.

In the following interview excerpts, Chris' status as an educated istambay reflects the paradox of employment crisis and educational optimism. While Lanie aspires to have a new business other than fishing, that is, to have additional sources of income for her child's education, Manolet and Jacquelyn demonstrate how they use their own educational failures as a motivating factor to aspire for better educational outcomes for their children. This sense of resilience, I contend, is a derivative of the familial-faith dynamic, prevalent in Philippine social life, permeating the habitus of Filipino youth. This insight could be gleaned from Teacher Hermosa's hopeful assertion of her students' future relative to their belief in God.

Clarence: O, pag-usapan na lang natin ngayon 'yung ano 'yung pangarap mo para sa iyong sarili. Pitong taon mula ngayon... *O, so let us talk about your personal dream in life. Seven years from now...*

Chris: Siguro baka pa sa pitong taong 'yun a... Siguro may bahay na kami... Siguro meron na rin akong sarili kong negosyo, 'yun bang palakaya sa dagat... *Probably, seven years from now... Probably we'll have a house of our own... Probably I will have my own business with self-owned fishing gear for the lake.*

Clarence: Ilang ang anak mo 'nung time na 'yun? *How many children do you intend to have by then?*

Chris: Syempre dalawa, tatlo...Siguro dalawa o tatlo. *Of course, two or three...Probably two or three.*

Clarence: Anong pangarap mo para sa iyong mga anak? *What is your dream for your children?*

Chris: Mabigyan ko sila ng kinabukasan. Mapalaki ko sila nang maayos... Ganun, tapos, mapag-aral ko sila; kahit madatnan nila akong ganito, nakatapos nga ako, wala akong trabaho!... At least sa kanila ko, ibubuhos 'yung aking pagmamahal, ganun sa kalinga ko sa kanila. *I hope to give them a good future. I hope that they will grow-up well. That's it, then, I will send them to school; even if (I am a disappointed that) they will see me like this, I finished my studies, but I do not have a job! ...At least, they know that I will give all my love and care to them.*



Clarence: Lanie, ano kaya ang kinabukasan mo seven years from now? ...*Lanie, what do you think will be your future seven years from now?*

Lanie: Gusto ko nga... sa mga susunod na taon meron na kaming panibagong pagkakakitaan...Syempre, gaya ngayon parang nararamdaman mo ang dagat parang humihina. Gusto kong mapag-ipunan ang magkaron kami ng malaking puhunan, para kung halimbawa't man magkaroon kami ng negosyo, para sa mga susunod na mga taon. May anak ako para mapaglaanan ko ang kanyang pag-aaral. 'Yung kahit na maliit na tindahan... *You know...in the next few years I hope we'll have an alternative means of livelihood...You see, now, we could feel the low fish harvest in the lake...I would like to save so that we will have enough capital, say, we will have a business in the next few years. I have a child, and I will have to save for his education. I like to have even a small store...*



Clarence: Pumunta naman tayo sa mga pangarap mo...Ano bang pangarap mong maging? *Let us now discuss your dreams in life...What was your dream?*

Jacquelyn: Gusto ko nga ho, ang pangarap ko dati makapagtapos ng pag-aaral. *I like to...my dream before was to finish my studies.*

Clarence: Anong kurso? *What course?*

Jacquelyn: Nurse. *Nurse.*

Clarence: Ah, gusto mong maging nurse, oh, tapos? *Ah, so before you wanted to be a nurse, then?*

Jacquelyn: Tapos hindi na nga natuloy. *Then, it did not happen.*

Clarence: Di natuloy, pero ano pa ang pangarap mo ngayon? *Yes, you were not able to fulfill it, but now, what is your dream in life?*

Jacquelyn: Makapagtapos ng pag-aaral ang mga bata; sana ‘wag nang magkasakit. *That my children finish their studies; I just hope that they will not get sick.*



Clarence: Ano ang pangarap mo para sa anak mo? *What is your dream for your child?*

Manolet: Sa anak ko simple na lang eh, makatapos s’ya ng pag-aaral. Tsaka makahanap din s’ya ng magandang trabaho, hindi katulad naming na promo, security guard. ‘Yung nasasapat sa magiging paglaki n’ya sa kurso n’ya... Minsan nga sinasabihan ko, “Pag nakatapos ka ng elementary, high school, college, gayahin mo na lang Tita Lelet mo. (‘Yung kapatid ko, mas maganda nasa opisina.) E, wag mong gayahin kami, hindi kami nakatapos! *For my child, simple, I want my child to finish her education. And I hope she’ll find a good job, not like us, (her mother) as promo cashier or me, security guard. I want her to have a job that is in line with her career. Sometimes I talk to her saying, “When you finished elementary, high school, college, you should be like your Aunt Lelet. (She is my sister who has a good office job.) Eh, do not be like us, we did not finish school.”*



Clarence: After seven years, babalik po ako dito (sa inyong pamayanan), ano na po kaya ang buhay ng inyong mga dating estudyante; ng mga kabataan dito sa inyong barangay? *After seven years, I will return to your community, and at that time, what do you think would be the lives of your former students, of the young people in your barangay?*

Teacher Hermosa: Siguro pagbalik mo ay may maganda na silang hanapbuhay. Kailangan lang sa lahat, higit sa lahat, siguro, kapag sila’y matutong manalangin na higit sa lahat sa Diyos! Ang Diyos ang gagawa sa kanilang buhay para sila ay magkaroon nang maayos na buhay? Alam mo ang hanapbuhay na iyan ay...nagmula sa Diyos! *I think, when you return (after seven years), they will have good jobs. What is just needed, most of all, I think, they should know how to pray, especially to God! God will find the best way for them and they will have a good,*

orderly life. Do you know that what ever job they would have...that is from God?

Another emerging aspect that found within some case study respondents' optimism and work crisis is the notion of "abroad". This is the desire to find overseas employment, which according to some case study respondents is an alternative to the ailing employment situation in the Philippines. Four respondents, Glefer, Ruben, Chris, and Shirley, expressed their intention to work abroad. They were willing to be temporarily away from the Philippines to secure the economic needs of their loved ones. As observed by one of the teacher respondents, Lourdes:

There are some students who are family-oriented. They would always tell me, 'Ma'am I want to go abroad, para makatulong sa pamilya, sa mga kapatid na mag-aaral (to help my family, and my siblings in their studies). So, I'm happy to hear that!

In the following excerpts, a similar aspiration to work abroad is also expressed by some youth in the focus groups. These views illustrate that some Filipino youth were fully aware of the dismal employment situation in the country, which seems to inspire their desires to seek job overseas. For these youth, the core motivating factor may be economic but the fundamental value inspiring this aspiration is their desire to secure the needs and welfare of their respective families, that is, a familial habitus at work.

Clarence: Anong pangarap n'yo po sa mga anak n'yo? Anong kurso? *What is your dream for your children? What career?*

Marivic: Gusto ko'y pang abroad...*I want something that is good for abroad.*

Clarence: Dahil? *Because?*

Marivic: Kasi sa panahong ito e, mas ano ang pera sa abroad (kaysa) sa pera natin...*You see, in these times, eh, the worth of money abroad is better than ours...*

Clarence: Kesa dito? *Better than ours?*

Marivic: Natatabunan na ang ating bayan! *Our country is long drenched in poverty!*

Clarence: Tulad ng anong kurso? *So what type of career?*

Marivic: Architect, engineer, komo may isip-isip naman ‘yong isa ko anak, ‘yong Grade 5...*Architect, engineer, I think one of my children is intelligent, he’s in Grade 5 now...*

Focus group, rural youth respondents, 25-35 age group



Clarence: Bakit gusto mo mag abroad? *Why do want to go abroad?*

Rachel: Kasi gusto ko, para umayos ‘yung buhay ko, ‘yung kinabukasan ng pamilya ko, ‘yung ganun. Kasi ayokong mangyari ‘yung nangyayari sa amin ngayon parang ang hirap! *You see, I want it, because I want to have a good life, especially for the future of my family, that’s it! You see, I do not like to experience what we are experiencing now, it’s difficult!*

Clarence: Ok, gusto mo ring mag-abroad? *Ok, so you, too, want to go abroad?*

Apple: Opo, kasi po malaki ang kita. *Yes, because the pay is better.*

Rachel: Tsaka po magkakaran ka po ng magandang buhay! *And, you’ll have a good life!*

Focus group, urban youth respondents, 15-19 age group

If there is one discussion point in all my interviews and focus groups that prompted my respondents to smile, it was whenever they responded to my questions about “pangarap” (*dream*) and “kinabukasan” (*future*). These topics allowed my respondents to express what they wished and wanted to happen in their lives. Their future aspirations are windows to their inner desires that also display their personal values. I sensed that my respondents were in control when they discussed their futures, and I felt that in those interview moments when my respondents were given a chance to dream about their future, their optimism engendered a nudge of hope, and a leap of faith. This feeling of empowerment made them smile. Yet, I also observed that as they articulated their future aspirations, these smiles and sense of anticipation slowly faded away because their

“pangarap” and “kinabukasan” fully exposed the multifaceted personal crises that they face.

For the most vulnerable istambay male youth respondents like Edgar, Alex, JR and Manolet, their crises were about the combined impact of being disadvantaged in education and employment. On the other hand, the main concern of meso-vulnerable istambay male youth respondents, Ryan and Chris, is the translation of their collegiate degrees into stable employment. Although Ruben, the only least vulnerable male youth, currently enjoyed a professional job of teaching in a private school, he, too, expressed uncertainties in this job, and thus, aspired to seek employment abroad. This demonstrates how these respondents’ crisis of identity is powered by their failure to obtain socially-acceptable status.

As observed in my interviews, more economic responsibility is expected from male respondents compared to females. The married male respondents, Manolet and Chris, were expected to provide for their respective families and children, and single male respondents, Ruben, Ryan, Alex, JR, and Edgar, were also expected to render support to their parents and/or siblings, as soon as they had a job.

Married female respondents like Jacquelyn, Lanie, and Carol’s primary duties were child-rearing and homemaking; and the fundamental burden of earning a living was expected to be provided by their husbands. Shirley, although single, took the homemaking responsibility to cover for the absence of her mother who left them to work abroad. Among these females, the crisis occurred when their partners were unable to provide the needs of their families. This is captured in the cases of Jacquelyn, whose marital conflict forced her to seek support from her own mother, and Carol, whose husband Chris, had yet to obtain a good job since their marriage.

Amidst the personal crises of all case study respondents, what holds together their positive views about the future? What allows them to be optimistic despite the tensions

that they currently face in life? What allows them to smile amidst these crises? What explains such expression of resilience?

This study confirms the observed collective culture among Filipinos (Church & Katigbak, 2000; Medina, 2001; Miralao, 1997; Ramirez, 1993), which engenders a distinct familial habitus that appears to buffer the crises of case study respondents. In managing these crises, this culture of care among family members is combined by a deep sense of faith that also permeates the habitus of Filipinos. In such context, the personal crises of case study respondents are contextualized as collective predicaments that are negotiated not as a personal trouble but rather a familial one.

This familial-faith dynamic is an important component of the case study respondents' habitus. This is observed in all youth respondents, but the extent to which this dynamic is utilized varies across the levels of vulnerability. The relative pattern that I observed was that the most vulnerable youth seem to draw more on this dynamic in order to get-by in their everyday lives. Among the respondents, it is the most vulnerable who most need familial support, and often, employs faith to gather strength to keep on aspiring for a better future. As seen in the lives of istambay male respondents, this is where they negotiate their personal crises, that is, by seeking protection from their respective families combined with some level of religious faith.

However, while this familial-faith dynamic appears to mitigate the personal crises of case study respondents, it also raises the important question: How and why are these crises linked with the future aspirations of respondents?

Answering this question requires a broader examination of the life contexts of case study respondents beyond their personal dispositions. While I did not observe a unique istambay habitus among case study youth respondents, the shared disposition towards their families and religious faith primarily suggests that the negotiation of identity crisis, as experienced by varying types of istambay, is interwoven in a complex web of crises. I argue that by combining the individual-based analysis of istambay (problematic) with an

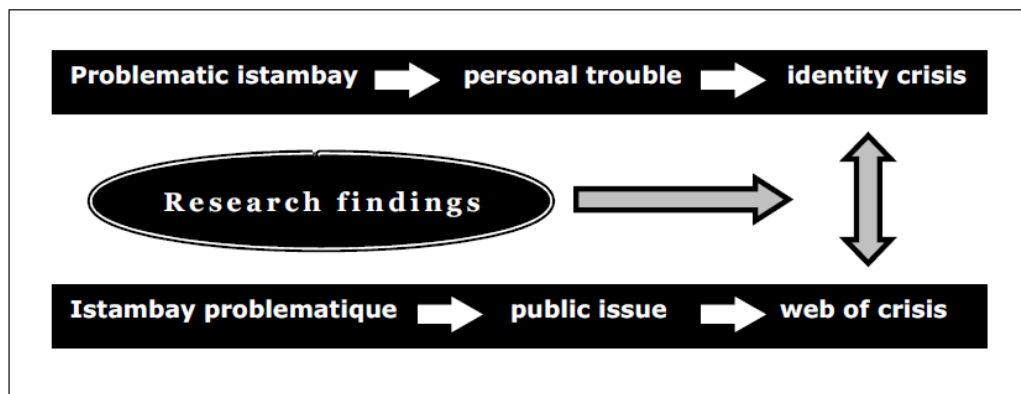
examination of the social dimensions of youth inactivity in the Philippines (problematique), the dynamics of the istambay phenomenon will be better understood as a public issue rather than a mere personal trouble. This matter is addressed in the following section.

D. Istambay Problematique: Youth Transition Crises in the Philippines

One consistent theme emerging from the analysis of the mixed data used in this study brings attention to the social dimensions of the istambay phenomenon coalescing with its popularly perceived individual-based negative stereotypes. This theme has been observed in the song analysis in Chapter 4 as well as in both the YAFS 2002 data and case studies in Chapter 5.

Figure 7 illustrates the research findings of this study; the view that the istambay phenomenon is a manifestation of identity crisis and likewise a web of crises that structures and reproduces youth inactivity in the Philippines. Both are essential in understanding the social construction of istambay as a concept, a personal trouble, and a social issue.

Figure 7: A Conceptual Scheme of Istambay Study Analysis



The preceding section on “problematic istambay” illustrates that the personal trouble of inactive youth in both YAFS data and case studies, is rooted in their quest to attain legitimate status. The main contention of this thesis is that the crisis of identity of istambays is not a matter of personal choice and disposition but rather, the istambay phenomenon is a manifestation of the deeply-rooted structural defects in both the systems of economy and education in the Philippines. This is what I call as the “istambay problematique”, which is an attempt to unravel the “social” in the istambay phenomenon.

Thus, this section enumerates the three major issues making up the web of crises that this study found as significant in the lives of istambays. These are: (a) poverty of families; (b) institutionalized cultural capital crisis; and (c) social mobility crisis. Combined with the crisis of identity, these crises directly impinge on the development of istambay towards gaining a legitimate status. An examination of this process leads one to understand that istambay is a manifestation of transition crises; the transition into adulthood among istambays is a complex process of negotiation between their state of inactivity and their social environments. This negotiated process brings forth two interesting research themes into the istambay discourse. On the one hand is the protective ethic among Filipino families, observed to be rooted in value formation of the collective culture of Philippine society, and the ethic of sharing in the practice of religious faith. On the other is the apparent disconnection of istambay youth with the state, which is expressed in their distrust of the Philippine government’s lack of accountability, particularly in terms of generating employment for them. This section ends by explaining how these transition crises may be reversed and the social implications of long-term inactivity not only among the istambays, but to Philippine society.

1. Istambay and Transition Crises

Recent youth transition studies (e.g., Arnett, 2005; Brown, 1980; Galaway & Hudson, 1996; Heinz, 1996; Kerckhoff, 1990; Lehmann, 2007; Natividad, 2004; Roberts, 2001; Thiessen & Looker, 1999; United Nations, 2007) focus their analyses on how young

people get from one state to another, such as from school-to-work, from being single to entering into marriage and parenthood, or from living in a parental home to living independently. These studies position young people as travellers who are set to journey different routes using life vehicles like the “train-car” metaphor employed by Furlong and Cartmel (1997) in their analysis of British youth’s life trajectories in the 1990s. They explain that in the past, youth journeys may be likened to boarding railway trains where once boarded, the youth will have a slim chance to change directions. They could upgrade, however, Furlong and Cartmel insist that the journey of youth would still be limited because the general direction of the train is predetermined. But at present, the train is overtaken by cars, and Furlong and Cartmel suggest that this change allowed youth to have a lot of individual choices. This gives these youth some sense of control to go to a specific life direction. However, as Furlong and Cartmel point out, while most thought they have control over their lives, the greatest predictor of the length of time, and if ever they will reach their destinations, is the type of car they are using.

Utilizing this powerful youth transition metaphor in the present study, I find that istambays are situated in a relatively different life journey. First, the inactivity of istambays means that they are temporarily not on board any type of life vehicle, whether it is a train, bus, jeepney or boat. They are standing by in train, bus and jeepney stations, and fish ports, patiently waiting for their chance to board. Second, it is not that istambays do not want to travel. They just do not have the means to pay for the journey, especially the least educated and most vulnerable. Third, if some educated istambays have the means to travel, they discover that the train, bus, jeepney, and boat, the life vehicles, have engine problems, and they lack enough gasoline to take them to the destination of full adulthood. Fourth, because in a developing country all the life vehicles available for disadvantaged istambays are generally public transportation, they do not have any car to allow them to make personal choices on the route to reach their destination. Istambays’ journey, if ever they get on board, is determined by the institutions that structure them. Although restricted, istambays’ main interest is to have the chance to cease waiting, to move on, and to travel, so that they could continue their life’s journey with their families.

Understanding the problematique of youth inactivity in the Philippines, in its most vulnerable form, starts with having a sense of the adverse impact that inactivity brings into the lives of youth, not as individuals but rather as a burden to their respective families. For instance, I remembered my interview with Alex, which was coloured by a series of silences, sad pauses and tears. He was one of my respondents in my 1997 youth study, which was the reason why I approached him for this second round interview in 2005. At first, he was hesitant to be interviewed again because according to him, “Walang nangyari sa aking buhay” (*Nothing happened in my life since*). His narrative articulated the anatomy of istambay, who for almost seven years since my last interview, had waited for his chance to board either the boat of education or the jeepney of employment. In the following interview excerpts, Alex explains a possible reason behind his inactivity:

Clarence: Bigyan mo nga ako ng paliwanag kung bakit hindi nagbago ang buhay mo? Ano kaya ang nangyari? *Could you give me a reason why you think nothing happened in your life? What do you think happened?*

Alex: Siguro bunga na rin ng ano, gawa na rin ng problema ng Pilipinas! *I think this is a manifestation, directly related to the problems in the Philippines!*

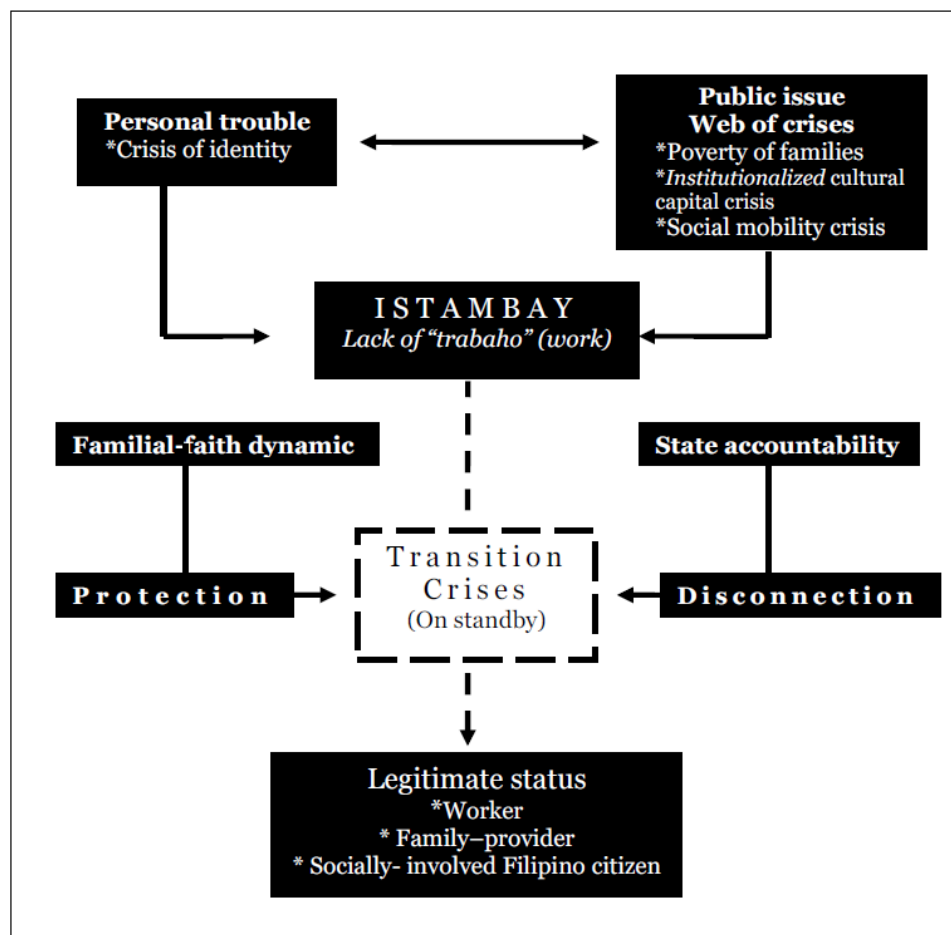
Clarence: Ah, ok, paliwanag mo sa akin, paano ba nangyari? *Ah, ok, could you explain to me the connection?*

Alex: Kasi sa ngayon na napakahirap maghanap ng trabaho...Syempre dapat hindi ka tambay dapat may trabaho ka...Para kumita ka, may magastos ang pamilya mo. *Today, it is so difficult to find work. Of course, one should not be istambay, one should be working...One needs to earn to spend for the needs of the family.*

Alex’s commentary of relating his inactivity with the general problems of the Philippines, and his desire to find a job in order to assist his family, reflects the underlying conditions of how istambay is possible in Filipino society. In the narratives of the case study respondents, “trabaho” (work, job or employment) is positioned at the core of istambay discourse. Initially, it is the lack of trabaho that characterizes istambay. However, I argue that, with the issue of unemployment, the phenomenon of istambay in the Philippines is constituted by a combined crisis of identity and a web of crises that ultimately hinder their smooth transition into acquiring legitimate status. As illustrated in Figure 8, these

transition crises are on the one hand, mitigated by the culture of protection working within the observed familial-faith dynamic in the lives of case study respondents. On the other, these crises manifest a sense of disconnection with the state, reflecting distrust of the government, and the ailing state of Philippine economy. Figure 8 charts the complex yet comprehensible istambay phenomenon as a manifestation of negotiated transition crises of inactive youth in the Philippines.

Figure 8: Istambays’ Negotiated Transition Crises: A Conceptual Map



Let me now discuss the web of crises that this study found significant in understanding the istambay phenomenon. These are the poverty of families, the institutionalized cultural capital crisis, and the social mobility crisis. These three are interrelated; build on each other’s weaknesses; and to a certain degree, predict the extent of youth vulnerability. Due

to social reproductive mechanism, those case study youth respondents who are the poorest acquire the least educational capital and thus, are the most vulnerable. Consequently, these youth are the most restricted in their journey along transitional routes. In Bourdieu's terms, the amount of capitals (economic, cultural and social), and the extent to which these capital are converted into economic and symbolic goods determine how one is able to be socially mobile. Success in using these capitals means gaining legitimate status; a symbolic capital that defines one's position in society. Failure to do so denotes a conversion crisis. In this study, this is the transition crises cluster, which I argue is the focal point of understanding the istambay phenomenon.

a. Poverty of Families

At the time of my fieldwork, the Philippines was suffering from a long-term economic crisis (Wallace, 2002, 2004). In 2004, local economists from the University of the Philippines warned the incumbent Arroyo government about the deepening crisis and strongly recommended they adopt a package of revenue and cost-saving measures to arrest the widening public sector deficit and the ballooning national debt (de Dios et al., 2004). Peter Wallace, an independent Philippine-based business analyst observed in 2004:

In the past 30 years the Philippines has averaged 3.1% annual GDP growth and a population growth of 2.5%. Which means almost no improvement for the Filipino over that 30 years. This is about half the rate achieved by other nations in Asia (Wallace, 2004: 1)

Further, he enumerates the following ten factors that explain why the state of the Philippine economy had stagnated in the last three decades. These are: (1) politics - vested interest vs national good, (2) uncontrolled population growth; (3) weak educational system; (4) corruption; (5) inadequate infrastructure; (6) an agriculture system that hasn't improved in 30 years; (7) an inadequate focus on job creation; (8) a judiciary in need of major improvement; (9) security; and (10) governance (Wallace, 2004).

One sad dimension of the case study interviews is the lucid description of poverty among all respondents. The mothers, teachers and youth were not only aware of the economic crisis of the country, but they also observed and experienced poverty with their own families. For instance, Nanay Luming, expressed that “Ramdam na ramdam ko talaga ang kahirapan dahil napakamahal ng bilingin” (*I could deeply feel poverty because of the expensive cost of basic commodities*). Similarly, Shirley shared the same sentiment by saying:

Grabe, mas grabe ngayon ‘di ba? Mas parang ang hirap. Kumbaga, ‘yung sa nakikita mo ‘yung iba nagtatrabaho pero...As in hindi nila alam kung pano, kung pano gagastusin ang pera ngayon kasi sa sobrang mahal ng bilingin ‘di ba? Lalo pa ngayon tataas na naman daw ang bilingin. *Worst, now it’s getting worst, right? Life is more difficult. For instance, you see those who are working but...as though they do not know how, how to spend their earnings because the cost of basic commodities is so expensive, right? Especially now that I heard that prices of these commodities are increasing again.*

It appears that, indeed, this experience of poverty in case study sites is not new but rather has been shared across generations. Ruben recalled the poverty of his parents and how they struggled with work and going to school. He also grew-up experiencing the same poverty, which was especially important in his school experience.

Clarence: Pag sinabi mong kahirapan, anong ibig mong sabihin? *When you say poverty, what does it mean?*

Ruben: Kahirapan, kasi sa tuwing ikinukwento nila ‘yung buhay nila, ‘yung mga magulang, hindi talaga sila nakapag-aral. So, mahirap talaga ‘yung buhay nila. Nag-titinda-tinda sila ng pandesal, ‘yung tatay ko nung bata. Nanay ko para lang makapasok sa school, kahit walang baon, kahit ilang piraso lang ‘yung damit nya, pumapasok pa rin s’ya; kahit wala syang baon, Mamumulot lang daw s’ya ng balat ng santol, tsaka n’ya kakainin para makita ng kaklase n’ya na may kinakain din sya... So ‘yun din ‘yung dala ko, namin nung dati. *Poverty, you see whenever they talk about their lives, they being my parents, they really found going to school very difficult. So, it was a hard life for them. When my father was a child, he said that he sold pandesal (short bread). My mother struggled going to school, even if she only had few pieces of clothes, she went to school; even if she did not have any school allowance. She told me that she used to pick up the peelings of santol fruit, just to show her classmates that she has something to eat. So, it is the same with my experience, just like them.*

Clarence: So, naranasan mo ba ‘yun? *So, your experience is the same (as your parents)?*

Ruben: Ang naranasan namin kulang, hindi ‘yung kumpleto ka dun sa gamit mo. Nakikita mo ‘yung iba mong kaklase mo na may mga gamit na ganon. Kulang ‘yung sa’yo kaya ko sinabing kahirapan. Hindi ka nakakaranas nung ginhawa. *What we experienced was less, that is, we do not have a complete set of materials for our studies. I say this because I could see that my classmates have these things and I don’t. I have less, so I say that it is poverty. That is, I do not experience some sense of comfort.*

Recent comparative statistics on the quality life in the Philippines between 2000 and 2007 confirms the worsening condition in the country (see Table 41). According to the government poverty estimates, in 2007, 1.73 million more people have become poorer compared to 2000 estimates. In comparison with the Social Weather Stations’ (SWS) self-rated poverty indicator (a private non-profit research agency), the total estimates of those who self-rated themselves as poor has remained virtually the same from 43.5 million in 2000 to 43.6 million in 2007. The national budget for education has been further reduced to 6% less of what was allocated in 2000. In the Human Development Report of the United Nations, the Philippines slipped from the 70th to the 90th rank, suggesting that the quality of life has indeed worsened in the past six years.

Table 41: Selected Quality of Life Indicators Philippines 2000 versus 2007

Indicators	2000	2007	Remarks
Poverty			
Government	23.8 M, 30%	25.5 M, 33%	1.73 M more
SWS self-rated	43.5 M, 56.5%	(2003) 43.6 M, 49.5%	No improvement
Education as % of budget	17.4%	11.4%	6% points less
UNDP human development ranking	70 th out of 162 countries (2001)	90 th out of 177 countries	Slipped 20 places
Unemployment	3.5 M, 11.2%	2.6 M, 7% (new definition)	Reduced labour force under 2007 definition
Underemployment	5M, 19.9%	6.6 M, 19.7%	1.6 M more
Degree of hunger	10.8%	17.9%	Worse

Source: (Wallace, 2008: 9); M refers to “millions”.

Interestingly, the unemployment rate is reported to have been reduced to 7% in 2007, but this lowered estimate was due to the change in definition of unemployment. Wallace (2008: 9) explains:

The way unemployment is measured was changed in 2005. The change in the definition effectively reduced those counted under the labor force by including an additional criterion in the labor force definition – the “availability to work”. An example of those now excluded would be students who seek work, but are actually studying. Another would be those who have given up looking for work. With the redefinition, unemployment now stands at only 7%. The new definition is fine for a first world country, but in the Philippines the reality is if you’ve stopped looking for work it’s most often because you’ve given up in despair knowing there’s not going to be a job for you. So, using a consistent definition there are more people un- and under-employed today than there were 6 years ago and more people in poverty.

Correspondingly, the additional 1.6 million underemployed in 2007 indicates another significant defect in the Philippine labour economy. In this debate on the changing definitions of who are unemployed or underemployed, I argue that istambays are lost in these statistics. For instance, the new definition appears to have excluded those istambays who have given up looking for work, which further marginalize them as having no conceivable category in labour statistics. The main point of this thesis is to demonstrate the subtleties constituting disadvantaged people, such as the istambays, whose fluid, inactive experiences make them less appealing to become part of reported statistics. Another staggering reminder of the worsening socio-economic condition in the Philippines is the degree of hunger experienced in the country. In 2007, 18 out of 100 people reported having experienced hunger compared to only 10 out of 100 people in 2000. Although I did not expect to hear stories of hunger in my two case sites, during the fieldwork, I personally witnessed how families struggled to make ends meet during my fieldwork. Having no job in these communities meant having no money to buy food. And amidst the smiles, jokes, humour and lively conversations with my research participants, I did not realize that I was talking to some people who have actually experienced hunger.

Edgar was one of them, and his narrative of hunger reflects the workings of familial-faith dynamic in his life. He was thankful that one of his siblings was able to find a way to

appease his hunger. During one unfortunate day of hunger, he did not have any money to buy food but his sister was able to help him out. Edgar articulated that this moment taught him to make sense of his “pagtitiis” (*an act of sacrifice*) in the context of religious faith. That is, he interpreted the help he received from his sibling as a blessing from the Catholic *Senior Nanlumo* (local Christ image). This affirmed his belief that he just needed to trust God, and help will be on the way.

Edgar: Dumanas kami ng ano maghaponng walang kain. *We suffered hunger for a day.*

Clarence: Bakit? *Why?*

Edgar: Wala ngang hanapbuhay talaga...Noong August na ito, sabi ko utol ano, ano tayo wala raw sabi ko pag tayo’y wala magtiis na lang tayo. Minsan wala kaming agahan, wala talaga, di pagkaano, inom na lang ako ng tubig, bibili naman ako ng tinapay, wala akong pambili. Gusto kong mag miryenda wala talaga akong pera. Di uwi ako sa amin, wala pa rin, Diyos ko sabi ko talaga, Diyos sabi kong ganon, di ko talaga kaya ito, di maghapon, e,, di noong time na hapon na, lumapit ako sa Ate Ana, sa kapatid ko...Pinahiram ako ng bente...Bili ka ng bigas, apurahan naman ‘yung kapatid ko, ‘yung panganay. Maghapon na kaming hindi kumakain talaga...Alam mo noong kumakain na kaming magkapatid...sabi ko, paano na naman ang umaga? ..Nangyari na ano, itong si Amil (kaibigan)...bibigyan kita ng 25 pesos ...batakin natin itong kawayan sa baba... Para ba iyong tawag ko sa Panginoon nagkaroon ng...tinugon Niya ako. Sabi ko paano na ‘yung bukas sabi kong ganon di ko din alam bahala Ka na. *I was desperate for a job. Last August, I told my brother, because we have nothing to eat, we have to sacrifice. That was the time when we did not have anything to eat for breakfast. I just drank water. Even if I wanted to buy bread, I did not have any money. I wanted to have a snack but I really did not have money. I went home but we did not have any food. I told God that I need His help; for almost a day I did not eat. But later that afternoon, I went to see Ate Ana, my elder sister. She lent me 20 pesos (about 50 cents CAD). My elder brother immediately bought rice. For the whole day we really did not have anything to eat. So when I was eating with my siblings, I was worried if we’ll have food the next day. Then, Amil, a friend, called and told me that he’ll give me 25 pesos (more or less 50 cents CAD) if I will be bring the woods (bamboo) near the fish port...It is as if God listened to my prayer, He answered my prayer. I was anxious how we’ll face the next day, but I fully entrusted everything to Him.*

This religious disposition was similarly expressed by other youth respondents even in terms of finding employment, especially among the istambays. When I asked if they

believed that they could find a job in the future, their answers were loaded with expressions such as “Sa awa ng Diyos” (*In God’s mercy*) and “Sa tulong ng Panginoon” (*With the help of God*). This demonstrated how religious beliefs lessened the discouragement among them. In this case, faith provided an alternative space to aspire against the backdrop of a worsening labour economy in the country.

b. Institutionalized Cultural Capital Crisis

Directly related to the economic difficulties experienced by the families of youth case study respondents, is their struggle towards attaining college education. Despite glaring poverty, Filipino families are observed to place high value on education because it is regarded as a means of social mobility. As noted by a local sociologist Gelia Castillo more than three decades ago in her book, *Beyond Manila: Philippine Rural Problems in Perspective* (Castillo, 1979: 175):

We are all aware that one generalization, which can be made about the Philippines without fear of successful contradiction, is the high value which Filipinos place on education, particularly, higher education. The dream of a Filipino parent is to see his/her child obtain a collegiate degree. It is regarded as a passport to upward mobility -- hope for the future among the lower class... To the Filipino and her/his family therefore, education is an ‘investment’ toward a better job, greater self-respect, and social esteem; and to the parents, educated children are the continuing source for old age.

As seen from Castillo’s perspective, college education among Filipinos has become the tool to combat poverty, especially among the lower class. In such context, education functions like a capital whose conversion into employment is the foremost profit.

Bourdieu’s notion of cultural capital, as a conceptual tool, provides a good framework to illustrate how the educational credentials of case study youth respondents fail to deliver the expected employment outcomes. The first classic example of the study of cultural capital was Bourdieu’s work in *Reproduction* (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990/1977), which explains the unequal scholastic achievement of children from different social classes in the French educational system. In this work, cultural capital is defined in terms of the

cultural goods transmitted by different family pedagogic actions, like linguistic and communication training acquired at home. Bourdieu writes (1973: 80):

By doing away with giving explicitly to everyone what it implicitly demands of everyone, the educational system demands of everyone alike that they have what it does not give. This consists mainly of linguistic and cultural competence and that relationship of familiarity with culture which can only be produced by family upbringing when it transmits the dominant culture.

This notion of cultural capital shows its relationship with social class and class fractions, and how it is systematically structured in institutions like the educational systems. Bourdieu expanded the applicability of cultural capital as an empirical concept in his work, *Distinction* (1984). Contrary to *Reproduction* (1990/1977), where the indicators of cultural capital are cultural goods such as linguistic ability acquired by students at home, in *Distinction* (1984), Bourdieu centers his analysis on the ‘aesthetic and taste dispositions’ of different groups throughout French society. In this sense, cultural capital is a “form of value associated with culturally authorised tastes, consumption patterns, attributes, skills, awards” (Webb, et al., 2002: x).

The concept of cultural capital has been further refined into three forms: *embodied*, *objectified*, and *institutionalized* (Bourdieu, 1986). In the embodied state, cultural capital is accumulated in the form of culture, cultivation that “presupposes a process of embodiment, incorporation, which in so far as it implies a labor of inculcation and assimilation, costs time, time which must be invested personally by the investor” (Bourdieu, 1986: 244). Objectified cultural capital is in the form of cultural goods. “The cultural capital objectified in material objects and media such as writings, paintings, monuments, instruments, etc., is transmissible in its materiality” (Bourdieu, 1986: 246). In the institutionalized state, cultural capital “confers entirely original properties...which it is presumed to guarantee” (Bourdieu, 1986: 243).

In this istambay study, it is observed that among these forms, it is this institutionalized form of cultural capital, the accumulation of educational qualifications of case study

respondents, which was central in their lives. Education is seen as an investment, and as a family project. Thus, it is the conversion of this institutionalized cultural capital into another form, preferably into an economic one (employment) that is crucial to the lives of these youth. The failure to convert means a credential crisis (Collins, 1979).

For most of the youth case study respondents, earning this institutionalized capital did not come easy. Their struggle to study was mainly due to the economic difficulties of their families. In fact, it is their poverty, and their desire to improve the quality of life of their respective families, that motivates them to study harder. Thus, the educational route is an ideal pathway to take, especially among lower class Filipinos to improve their lives.

However, this ideal is also convoluted by a complex set of factors that create another crisis, which the varying istambay experiences of the respondents embody. This is what I call as the *institutionalized cultural capital crisis*, which is rooted from the youth respondents' failure to use and convert their educational capital into employment that would secure their earnings and livelihood. This crisis is observed to work differently between the meso and the most vulnerable istambays.

Table 42: Youth Respondents and Mothers' Education

Typology	Name	Education	Mother's education
Least vulnerable	Ruben	College graduate	Elementary undergraduate
	Glefer	College (on-going)	College undergraduate
	Lanie	High school graduate	Elementary graduate
Meso vulnerable	Carol	College graduate	Elementary graduate
	Chris	College graduate	Elementary graduate
	Ryan	College graduate	High school graduate
	Shirley	College graduate	College graduate
Most vulnerable	Manny	Vocational undergraduate	College undergraduate
	JR	Vocational undergraduate	High school graduate
	Alex	College undergraduate	Elementary graduate
	Edgar	Elementary undergraduate	Deceased
	Jacquelyn	High school undergraduate	High school undergraduate

In my two case study sites, I observed the generational shift in educational attainment between my youth respondents and their mothers' education (see Table 42 above). This is most notable among the least and meso-vulnerable youth where all of them have virtually

exceeded their mother's educational attainments. However, for the least vulnerable group, only slight educational change is observed, which reflects the extent of their relatively early withdrawal from the school system.

Such withdrawal from the educational system generates what is popularly known in the Philippines as the "out-of-school" youth. The guardian of Shirley, Nanay Lily, who was a former teacher, traces this perennial youth problem to the economic problem of the country. She confirmed that she knows some of these out-of-school youth in the barangay. She also related in the following interview excerpt of how parents strive to send their children to school amidst economic difficulties.

Clarence: What do you think is the main problem of young people in your barangay?

Nanay Lily: I would say, it is more of economic problem. Many young people I know, even here in our community, in our barangay would like to continue their studies. But for financial reasons they could not pursue their studies. They are interested to study until they were out of school.

Clarence: As a teacher, what did you feel?

Nanay Lily: Of course, down-hearted, down-hearted especially during the time when I was teaching, I was in a depressed area. The school was in Villamor High School, San Andres Bukid. Oo, 'yung mga young people there, naku so much, lalo na dun sa mga squatter area... (Yes, there are so many people there at the squatter's area.) I mean the parents are also striving to make their children study.

In the Philippines, the education of children, especially in the tertiary level, is a family project. Because most of the tertiary educational institutions are privatized (Morada & Manzala, 2001), the primary responsibilities to carry the cost of education rest on the parents. While the Philippine government offers scholarship programs, this is mostly acquired by academic achievers. Unlike most governments in developed countries, the Philippines has yet to evolve a system of educational loans that will assist students to pursue higher education.

Thus, I find it fascinating that most of the young people in Talim community, who accompanied me in the first round of my research, finished their college education. This was substantively different from more than ten years ago (1994), when the community registered only a handful of college graduates. Ryan and Ruben were among them, and both of them shared with me how their parents helped them reach their collegiate goals. But other than their families, Ruben, and also Rhea, one of the focus group participants, acknowledged the educational assistance of their churches as a secondary source of support not only for their spiritual needs but for their educational needs as well. They narrated:

Clarence: Paano ka nakatapos ng college? *How did you finish college?*

Ryan: Nagtiyaga ako, sa tulong na rin, sa hirap na rin ng aking mga magulang, nagtiyaga ako. Kaya sabi ko magtatapos ako! Hayun natapos naman ako ng maluwalhati...iyon ay sa pagpursige ng aking mga magulang, at ng aking kapatid. *I persevered, with the help of, with the sacrifices of my parents, I worked hard. I motivated myself that I will graduate! And I did it without any problem...this was through the help and determination of my parents, as well as my siblings.*



Clarence: Ruben, did you ever imagine na makakatapos ka ng college? *Ruben, did you ever imagine that you will finish college?*

Ruben: Ako, hindi rin. Kasi kung titingnan ko ‘yung buhay nung umpisa nung bata kami, kahit up to present, kulang talaga. *I do not think so. You see, if I am going to look at my life since I was child up to the present, we have less in life.*

Clarence: Anong kulang? *What do you lack in life?*

Ruben: Sa financial, kasi ‘yung lang talaga ‘yung kailangan mo para makapag-aral ka kailangan. Buti na lang sa tulong at sa awa ni Lord, ng Diyos ako’y nakatapos. Merong tumulong. Mayroon isang Korean missionary na nag-scholar sa amin kahit na Php 1,000 a month. One and a half year kami natulungan. Napakalaking tulong nun, at nakatulong din ‘yung sa kapatid ko na matapos siya. *Finances, you see you need that to support your studies. I was just so thankful with the help and mercy of our Lord, our God, I was able to graduate. Someone helped me. There was one Korean missionary who gave me scholarship; it is just Php 1,000.00 (about \$22.00 CAD) per month. He supported me for one and a half*

years. This was a great help, and he also helped my other brother to finish his studies.

Clarence: Wow! *Wow!*

Ruben: ‘Tapos ‘yung ibang pangangailangan, ang tatay at nanay ko na ‘yung nagbibigay. *Then, for all other needs, my father and mother were the ones who provided them.*



Clarence: Did you ever imagine na matatapos kayo ng college? *Did you ever imagine that you will finish college?*

Rhea: Ako hindi. *Me, no.*

Clarence: Bakit Rhea? *Why Rhea?*

Rhea: Kasi kung baga ay lay minister ang tatay ko, marami siyang kakilalang mga pari. Kapag wala akong baon, pumupunta sila doon para... *You see, my father is a lay minister, and he knows a lot of priests. When I do not have school allowance, he goes to them to...*

Clarence: Para humingi ng tulong? *To ask help?*

Rhea: Kasi ang buhay namin sobrang hirap. *You see, our life is so difficult.*

Whereas familial, and in some instances, church support, have been available to assist the educational needs of some case study respondents, the litmus test to determine the impact of educational investment, or the lack thereof, is to understand the social mechanism on how such institutionalized cultural capital hinder, shape or reproduce the positions these Filipino youth occupy in Philippine society.

As argued in the previous chapter, the istambay phenomenon is first constituted in the educational field where youth respondents initially experience varying degrees of inactivity due to delays in their studies. For some, this study delay was just temporary such as in the cases of Ruben, Ryan, Carol, Chris, and Shirley. But for others, it was longer like in the cases of Alex and JR, who still expressed their desires of returning to school if the opportunity arose. In other cases, such as the married respondents, Manolet

and Jacquelyn, they passed on their educational hopes to their children, and thus, did not see themselves as studying again. Edgar, on the other hand, due to extreme poverty, accepted early on in life that his educational inactivity was permanent.

Metaphorically, educational attainment is like a “ticket” that one pays for and shows at the train, bus, jeepney stations or fish ports before boarding to take one to a specific employment route. This ticket determines the distance and destination of the young passenger. Having a college degree promises a better destination compared to a high school undergraduate whose credential limit one’s choice of destination. However, in the context of the *istambay* phenomenon, the problem with this “ticket” is that it appears to lose some of its credential value. This is because the actual journeys are restricted to a privileged few who have the special cultural stamp in their tickets that allows them to travel to their employment destination.

There is a long-standing consensus among academics and policy-makers that the best way to prepare the youth for the future is to provide them equal access to educational and employment opportunity structures (United Nations, 2004, 2005, 2007). However, as this *istambay* study suggests, despite the Philippines’ well-developed education system and high literacy rates, the persisting economic crisis, furthers the difficulties of poor families to access education, as seen in the two case study sites. While it is expected that those who did not invest more in education would have limited work choices than those with college degrees joining the ranks of the unemployed and underemployed casts doubt on the widely accepted notion of a positive relationship between education, economic development, and mobility. In such a context, I argue that the social mechanism at work is an institutionalized cultural capital crisis experienced first-hand by *istambays*.

For those who were forced to leave school, especially the male most vulnerable youth respondents, Manolet, JR, Alex, and Edgar, their lack of required educational qualifications, restricted their work choices to manual, contractual, and low-paying jobs. Their lack of formal training means an educational capital deficit that situates them along the margins of limited employment. On the other hand, a different level of

institutionalized cultural capital crisis, that is more symbolically severe, is experienced by those case study respondents who attained collegiate degrees. That is, the failure to convert the educational capital that their parents and families invested over a long period of time into a decent form of employment. This is the school-to-work transition problem that this institutionalized cultural capital crisis generates.

To illustrate this point, allow me to narrate my first few days of field research in Talim Island in 2005 and my reflection. This relates my interaction with Carol, Chris and Ryan, including those who joined the focus groups, Rhea, Theresa, and Jay. It describes the current tensions and negotiations of these educated rural youth in converting their institutionalized cultural capital into work. This demonstrates how inactivity permeates not only those who were educationally disadvantaged but also, the educated ones.

It was March 2005 that I first met my Talim friends on the mainland, during the Holy Wednesday procession. This was an annual Lenten event attended by this fishing community with thousands of Catholic devotees in my town. In this procession, my Talim friends follow the Christ's statue of *Nanlumo*, their patron, which depicts the suffering of Christ while praying in the Garden of Gethsemane.

I was surprised to see most of the Talim youth in the procession. One of the elders explained that most of them are "thanking the Lord" for the blessings they received. Some of them were about to graduate from college while those who graduated in previous years were praying that they pass the teachers' licensure exam, find a job, or even work abroad.

Seven years ago, I remembered listening to their lofty educational aspirations to finish college. Now, they cannot wait to enter the world of employment. Among them were Ryan, the newly married, Carol and Chris, and the newly graduates, Rhea, Theresa, and Jay. I learned that, for Ryan, Carol and Chris, it has been almost two years since they graduated college but they still did not have regular jobs. This same apprehension was expressed by the new college graduates.

Clearly, these rural youth were experiencing difficulty of transitioning from school to the world of employment. Listening to them, it appeared that it was not a question of attitude or motivation to work. Nor was it about credential. They told me that there were no jobs available for them. If there were jobs, most of them were on three to six months contract that did not ensure stability and security. They also shared that other jobs were only available to those who have the proper "connections". Their only consolation for having a college degree was that they had higher chances to get employment abroad. However, if they choose to work abroad, they needed additional training (for example, care-giving) and invest a big sum of money for the processing and placement fees.

Listening to these stories, I was reminded of the classic works of Berg (1970), Bourdieu & Passeron (1990/1977), and Collins (1979). These works may be Western-based but they illustrated how the educational system became a space of social reproduction. I cannot help but think that what was happening with my Talim friends was similar to what Collins (1979) called as “a crisis of the credentials”, and what Berg (1970) suggested as ‘the great training robbery’.

Field note, October 2005

Among the college-educated case study respondents, it was only Ruben who did not experience being underemployed. He was one of the few fortunate ones who passed the teachers’ licensure exam and was immediately employed in a private school. As seen in the stories of Talim respondents who completed college with degrees in Education, they were required by law to subject their accumulated institutionalized cultural capital to a government-regulated national examination called the Licensure Exam for Teachers (LET). Through this examination, teaching was regulated by the state, which weeded-out those who were unable to reach the prescribed standards of teaching abilities. During the fieldwork, I discovered that my Talim youth respondents were not the first ones to fail these licensure exams. In fact, there were a number of Education graduates in the island known to my youth respondents who were not able to pass this examination, despite many attempts. Consequently, this failure impacted not only the self identities of these individuals but also on their chances to get professional jobs. This was a clear manifestation of institutionalized cultural capital crisis that has befallen the lives of these unfortunate Talim youth who had the well-earned college diploma, and yet fell short of acquiring another piece of paper, the license, which would have facilitated the further conversion of their education capital into an economic one.

In one of my conversations with Alex, he related that he knew some graduates who became istambay like him. However, despite this sad reality, he still believed being educated increased one’s chance of having a regular job. His view illustrated how college degrees were construed as cultural goods that generated a promise of better employment.

Clarence: Oo, pero may kilala ka ba na nakatapos na walang trabaho? *Yes, but do you know of any college graduate who is unemployed?*

Alex: Meron pa-isa-isa...Mga tapos sila pero hindi sila napapasa ng board, sa ngayon tambay pa rin sila. *Yes, a few graduates who did not pass the (teacher) licensure exam, now they, too, are istambay.*

Clarence: Ah, ok, so mas advantage pa rin ‘yung nakatapos kaysa hindi nakatapos? *So, do you think it is still an advantage to have a college degree?*

Alex: Oo. *Yes.*

Clarence: Bakit? *Why?*

Alex: Gawa ng ano, parang ‘yung trabaho nila paran ano lang ,matanggap, makakapagtrabaho sila...Di pag professional ka, iha-hire ka rin, sign ka ng contract na three to four years... ‘Pag nagustuhan ka steady ka sa trabaho mo! *It is because, if they (educated) find a job, because they are professional, they are hired for a contract of 3 to 4 years...If the employer likes them, they’ll have a stable job.*

The case studies indicated that there were some who were trapped in the process of converting this cultural good – the institutionalized cultural capital, which forced them to standby until the right time arrived. These educated youth already had tickets to board a life vehicle of their choice, but unfortunately, these tickets, in this highly regulated world, have to go through inspection. It is only when these tickets get stamped for clearance, that they could start their employment journeys.

c. Social Mobility Crisis

Closely related to the institutionalized cultural capital crisis is the aggregate of tensions that inactivity brings into the process of becoming socially mobile. This crisis further highlights the apparent absence of jobs in the Philippines affecting a large number of young Filipinos, including the educationally qualified.

In the case studies, this issue of unemployment has generated disappointment not only with youth respondents, but also with mothers and teachers. Most of them felt the adverse effect of unemployment in the lives of their respective families. In the following

interview excerpt, Chris vividly articulated how unemployment breeds inactivity. He illustrated how the lack of trabaho immobilized even the educated, like him; demonstrated how he became istambay, and expressed the frustrations that come with inactivity. His voice echoed what the reported national youth statistics actually meant on the ground.

Clarence: So, nangingisda ka uli ngayon? *So, are you fishing again?*

Chris: ‘Yung na nga! Sabi ko, nakatapos nga ako pero nangingisda naman ako. ... Hanggang naghihintay, mangingisda ako para sa aking pamilya... Kailangan e... kumayod rin kahit nakatapos ka...Nagtatrabaho kahit mangisda ka kahit talagang, magtitiis ka, para sa iyong pamilya. *Indeed! I said to myself, how come that I finished my studies but I am fishing again... While waiting (for a job), I will fish for my family... This is necessary... One needs to work hard even if you are educated... I need to work even as a fisher, I need to sacrifice for my family.*

Clarence: Ano ba ‘yung pananaw mo tungkol sa ‘yung barangay? Nag-iba na ba ito a...kumpara noong huling interview ko sa iyo? *What do you think of your barangay? Did you notice any change compared to the last time I interviewed you?*

Chris: Malaki. Nagkaroon ng school. Dati ‘yung daan natin, national road na ‘yun. *Huge change. Now we have a school. That road that you see, that is already a national road.*

Clarence: Ok, dun sa mga kabataan may malaki bang pagbabago? *Ok, what about the youth, has there been any change?*

Chris: Oo. Maraming nakatapos, maraming nakapag-aral. Mga hindi nag-aaral natututong pumasok ngayon sa eskwelahan... ‘yun mga tambay. *Yes. Many finished education, and there are still more studying. Those who were not studying before were encouraged to go to school... They are now istambays.*

Clarence: So, pagdating dun sa pagtatrabaho? *So, what about work?*

Chris: Tambay. Kasi tingnan mo ako ngayon, nakatapos nga ako pero wala akong trabaho. Kahit anong gawing pag-apply, hindi kami matanggap, ganun. Sabi wait, tawag-tawag...E, sabi ko ngayon, ano gusto ko sa ibang bansa ako mag-apply, kasi pag dito mahirap kahit nakatapos ka. Talagang mahirap mapasok. *Istambay. You see, look at me now, I have an education but I do not have a job. I have done everything to apply for a job, but I was never accepted. They (employers) would say, “Just wait for our call.” ...For now, what I like is to apply abroad because life here is*

difficult, even for those who finished education. It is really very challenging to get work.

Clarence: Ano daw mga dahilan? *What was the reason for this?*

Chris: Minsan ano walang hiring. Minsan e... ano minsan meron na ganun wait ka na lang tatawagan ka na lang. Syempre aasa ka naman nun na tatawagan ka daw nila. Syempre naghihintay naman kami na tawag naghihintay kami sa wala. *Sometimes, there's no hiring. Sometimes, they (employers) will just tell you to wait for their call. Of course, I expected that I will receive a call, but it is as though you are waiting for nothing.*

Clarence: Anong pakiramdam mo? *What did you feel?*

Chris: Syempre, nalulungkot nga ako, e. *Of course, I feel sad.*

Clarence: Pero nakakatawa ka pa rin. *But how is it that you could still smile?*

Chris: Oo, masaya pa rin. Kahit na ganito, siguro may panahong para sa akin na magkakaroon ako ng matatag na trabaho. Hindi pa lang sa ngayon hindi ko pa lang natatagpuan...*Yes, I am still happy...Even with this situation, probably, the right opportunity will come my way, and I will have a stable job. May be now is not my time, but it would come..*

Clarence: Sa palagay mo ba may kaugnayan ang gobyerno sa kawalan mo ng trabaho? *Do you think that the government has something to do with your lack of work?*

Chris: Hahaha... Oo, malaki! *Hahaha...Yes, big time!*

The crisis of social mobility among the istambays centers on the factors that hinder their entry to employment. One of these, as reported in youth labour statistics (Ericta, 2003), is the defective and limited employment structure that cannot absorb new labour entrants into the economy. The lack of availability of jobs in a developing country like the Philippines, has its greatest toll on the young people. Inactivity among the istambays is one of the impacts of this rising level of unemployment in the country. While the economic crisis made it difficult for those educated youth to find work, this further marginalizes the employment chances of fellow youth who were first disadvantaged, educationally. This is like the process of stratification I observed in boarding a train, bus, jeepney or boats in the Philippines. Usually, there are “special trips” in contrast to “ordinary trips”. The former promises to be more comfortable, faster, and fully-airconditioned, while the latter, is just plain with no fancy services except to reach the

destination. All istambays, both educated and less educated, patiently wait in transport stations for their time to board. The difference, however, is that the educated, are at least carrying their tickets. In contrast, the less educated, need to find alternative ways to get on board. In the meantime, it does not matter whether the trip that these istambays take is special or ordinary, because all of them are standing by. Yet, they know that when the employment transport vehicle arrives, the educated istambays would be prioritized.

2. Negotiated Process of Transition: Protection versus Disconnection

The web of crises that breeds inactivity into the lives of some Filipino youth generates varying levels of vulnerability. As observed in the lives of self-identified male istambays Edgar, Alex, JR, Manolet, Ryan and Chris, difficulties in labour integration have relative implications on their self-esteem not only due to gendered social expectations on Filipino males as providers, but more importantly, because of the workings of familial-faith dynamic that is deeply embedded in the habitus of these respondents.

I argue that this social mechanism allowed the istambays to remain relatively optimistic compared to the observed discouragement, alienation (Edelman, et al., 2006; International Labour Organization, 2006) and social withdrawal (Furlong, 2008; Kaneko, 2006) of fellow inactive youth in some developed economies. Central to this process is the collective fulfilment of the family's aspiration rather than individual achievement. Thus, this familial-faith dynamic mitigates the discouragement among the Filipino istambay, which straddles a thin line between protection and dependence. This is a site of transitional crises, which is negotiated by istambays in varying degrees and strategies. However, the istambays' negotiations with inactivity are not mainly restricted on their reliance with family and religious support. Case study data suggest that equally important is the istambays' apparent disconnection from the state apparatus. This is another site that istambays negotiate, suggesting how the system of governance, particularly in the Philippines, has failed to live up to their expectations (International Labour Organization, 2006: 34).

This section furthers the discussion of the problematique in the istambay phenomenon by (a) tracing the familial-faith dynamic along the discourse of Philippine values, and their impact on Filipino youth, specifically, during inactivity; and (b) demonstrating how inactivity experiences have influenced the istambays' view of the state – the Philippine government. These illustrate, on the one hand, a complex set of collective Filipino values that appear to mitigate the further discouragement of istambays and on the other, the narratives of disappointment and distrust with the defective Philippine government that pushes them to leave the country in search of alternative employment.

a. Filipino Values and the Protected Istambays

Over the years, understanding Filipino values has been given relative attention by Filipino social scientists. In the 1960s, early attempts (e.g. Bulatao, 1962; Hollnsteiner, 1964; Lynch, 1964; Singh, 1965) to identify the salient values of Filipino society had opened up an interesting debate on the historical and social conditions that impact the construction and constitution of these claimed values. This debate has directed some observers of Philippine society, for example, Jocano (1966), to argue that these values should not be seen as exclusive to Filipinos but rather shared, in varying degrees, by other societies. That is, research in Filipino values should be located in the context of understanding universal human values shared across cultures.

Another input to this debate is the historical inclusion of colonial experience and the project of nationhood into the analysis of values. Here, the indigenous studies of Philippine psychology (Enriquez, 1994) is most noted because it was able to show that the reported Filipino values [i.e., “pakikisama” (*getting along well with others*), “hiya” (*a sense of shame or propriety*), “utang na loob” (*internal debt of gratitude*)] in earlier studies may be seen as only surface values. It claims that there are core values [(i.e., “damdam” (*feeling*), “kapwa” (*a shared identity with others*) and “loob” (*inner self*)], which works as a fundamental mechanism in the practice of these identified surface values.

In the early 1980s, after closely examining the previous studies on Filipino values, Hennig (1983) proposed a framework that emphasizes the use of situational variables. He argues that this perspective takes into account their personal and social nature. Although, there were no significant follow-up studies on values between mid-1980s and early 1990s from local social scientists, the inclusion of the Philippines into the *World Values Survey* since its second wave of data collection (1996) up to the present has provided a good source of data about the values held by Filipinos compared with other countries (European and World Values Surveys Four-wave Integrated Data File, 1981-2004). For example, Miralao (1997) reports used the findings of this research to situate Filipino values relative to the contemporary issues of urbanization, migration and globalization.

Despite the underlying differences in researching values in the Philippines, the general themes emerging from these studies are consistent. On the one hand is the collective orientation towards the *family*, which despite facing external pressures (Raymundo & Cruz, 2004; Raymundo, et al., 1999) has remained the seat of values particularly in terms of support, nurturance and protection in Philippine society. And on the other, is the Filipinos' persistent dealings with religion (mainly Catholic), which arguably impact the development of moral values (Social Weather Station, 2002) among Filipinos. Data from the World Values Surveys persistently show how Filipinos place higher value on religion than other countries (European and World Values Surveys Four-wave Integrated Data File, 1981-2004).

In this study, the familial and religious social fields are first observed in the lives of istambays in the songs of *Heber Bartome* and *Ulihing Tubo* (see Chapter 4). The former relates how family's situation could impact the positive disposition of istambay while the latter illustrates how the concept of God is implicated into istambays' search for equal treatment and opportunities in life. Correspondingly, the YAFS 2002 analysis of self-reported main activity variable relative to selected familial indicators also showed how parental protection are differentiated between legitimate youth statuses, students and homemakers, compared to the working group, and potential istambays – unemployed, those with no main activity and unpaid family workers. Even in the multivariate analyses,

the contextual familial indicator – parental permission to go out on a date without a chaperon – demonstrates the relative significant impact on predicting the odds of smoking and drinking among youth respondents.

The life vignettes of 12 youth case study respondents also highlight the high value given to family and religion by these respondents. Family is the primary source of support while the church provides the spiritual dimension on the observed practices of the culture of care among the families and communities in these two case study sites. There were also instances, like in the cases of Ruben and Rhea that illustrated how the church assisted them financially in their studies. This familial-faith dynamic emerged more prominently in times of crisis such as inactivity, particularly salient in Edgar’s story of hunger.

As shown in the discussion of problematic istambay, individual dispositions of case study youth respondents were powerfully shaped by familial experiences combined with a degree of religiosity. High respect towards parents was observed, and the economic struggles of family were shown to be an important push factor towards completing higher education, resulting in varied educational outcomes. Despite the complex web of crises that inactivity brings into the lives of istambays, the future aspirations of these respondents remains relatively optimistic. Such optimism is traced on how they placed the family at the core of their “pangarap” (*dreams*), and “kinabukasan” (*future*). Thus, the familial protection engendered a hopeful habitus reflecting, on the one hand, aspirations centered on improving the situation of their families, and on the other, faith that God would help them fulfil these dreams. Ruben’s response to my question about the best lesson he learned in life vividly captured this dynamic. He expressed:

Pinakamagandang aral, ano ba? Dapat ‘yung pananampalataya... pananalig mo sa Diyos nadoon, bilang isang tao ka, dapat malakas ‘yung pananalig mo sa Panginoon at dapat ‘yung pagmamahal hindi lang para sa sarili mo kundi para sa buong pamilya mo, maging responsible ka. *The best lesson in life (I learned so far), let’s see? It is faith and trust in God, as a human being, strong trust in God is necessary and of course, love, not only for oneself but for the whole family. One has to be responsible.*

In the Philippine context, this practice of the culture of care is captured by the local term, “pagmamalasakit” which means an act of caring in times of need. When applied in understanding the istambay phenomenon, the root word of this term, “sakit” (*illness*) becomes more meaningful. Against the backdrop of the worsening employment situation in the country, the cultural practice of pagmamalasakit among Filipino families functions as a tool for survival and necessity.

Thus, metaphorically, those istambays in the bus, train, jeepney stations or fishports may be feeling tired of waiting for their employment journeys to start, but they are not fully discouraged and withdrawn. As a matter of urgent need, they choose to stay and wait because they know that giving up will worsen the precarious economic situations of their families. To keep them from leaving the stations, they remind themselves of the aspirations of a better future for their families, combined with a deep sense of prayer; they patiently wait to get on board any vehicle that would take them to an employment destination.

b. Disconnected Filipino youth

While waiting for an employment opportunity, it does not mean that istambays and the other case study respondents are not mindful of the relationship between inactivity and the social world beyond their families and immediate communities. As observed in the earlier discussion of poverty of families, the state apparatus - the Philippine government, and its apparent mismanagement of the economy, is intricately configured into the stories of the respondents. The commentaries about the government indicate their disappointment and distrust with the state, implying a sense of disconnection from Philippine society as a nation.

For instance, Jefferson, a youth focus group participant in Manila, expressed his disgust with the government when asked about the possible solution to the youth unemployment problem in the Philippines. He emphatically expressed, “Ako para sa akin, sa gobyerno ang solusyon, ayusin nila ‘yung gobyerno natin. Ngayon kasi, nakakahiya tayo talaga

sobra!” (For me, I think the government is the solution...they need to fix our government. For now, you see, we should be ashamed of our government, it is too much!) This comment reflected the voice of a Filipino youth who was frustrated with the blatant corruption in the government but remained cognizant that the government has the machinery to fix the problem of unemployment in the country. This commentary indicated a feeling of frustration that may build up grievances (International Labour Organization, 2006: 34), which in the future, may pose danger to Philippine society.

In the following interview transcripts, Teacher Mateo, a high school teacher respondent from Talim Island, and Nanay Elsa, the mother of JR, both outlined the persisting youth unemployment relative to the government’s lack of accountability, especially in the creation of jobs in the country.

Clarence: Ano po sa palagay niyo ang pinakamahirap na problema ngayon na kinakaharap ng mga kabataan natin? *In your view, what do you think is the most difficult problem that our youth are facing today?*

Teacher Mateo: Pinakamalaking problema ‘yung, unemployment. Kasi nakikita naman natin sa kalagayan ng ating mga kabataan ngayon, maraming nakakatapos ng kolehiyo, pero hindi pa rin sila nakakakuha ng trabaho. *The biggest problem is unemployment. You see, there are lots of youth who finished college but they could not find work.*

Clarence: Ano pong dahilan nito? *What may be the reason?*

Teacher Mateo: Siguro dahil na rin sa laki ng populasyon ng bansa at kakulangan ng trabaho maibigay ng gobyerno. *Probably because our country has a large population, and our government could not provide any jobs.*

Clarence: Sa inyong pananaw, ano po bang nangyayari sa ating gobyerno ngayon? *In your view, what do you think is happening with our government?*

Teacher Mateo: Ang atin pong gobyerno ngayon ay mapakaraming problema at isyu na kinakaharap na nakakaapekto sa ekonomiya ng ating bansa. *Our present government is facing so much problems and issues that affect our economy.*



Clarence: Pag-usapan naman po natin ang inyong pananaw sa ating gobyerno. Ano po sa inyong palagay ang nangyayari sa atin gobyerno ngayon? *Let us now talk about your views about our government. In your view, what do you think is happening with our government?*

Nanay Elsa: Palagay ko, sa nangyayari dito sa atin sa ano e, demokrasyang sinasabi e, sumobra naman na yata pagka-democracy. Kasi kanya kanyang silang interes. Nakatutok kasi ako sa DZRH kaya alam ko lahat ang nangyayari dito sa gobyerno natin. Kulang sa lahat ng bagay. Saka dapat pagtuunan nila ng pansin ‘yung mga kabataan na sa sobrang daming nakatambay. Dapat bigyan nila ng mga sapat na trabaho. Kaya tayo naghihirap, dahil mahirap na nga tayo, wala pang mga trabaho. Wala tayong katuwang, wala tayong pinagkukunan! Kung ako ang iinterbyuhin sa Senado, siguro ang sasabihin ko, “Wag nang pag-usapan ‘yung tungkol sa mayayaman”. Hindi naman masyadong luho ng katawan ang kailangan, e, ‘yung bang may konting pagkukuhanan lang para ‘yung bang may aasahan ka. *In my view, what is happening in our country, this thing called democracy is getting too much. You see, everything is all about self-interest. I know all that is happening in our government because I am glued on listening to DZRH (radio station). We have deficiencies all over. But I really think that what should be given attention are the many young people who are istambays. The government should give adequate work to them. I think the reason why we continue to experience poverty is because the poor people like us do not have jobs. We do not have any assistance; we do not know where to get support from! If I will be interviewed in the Senate, I think I will say, “Let us not talk about the concerns of the rich people.” We do not aspire for luxury in life, what we just need is some kind of work that is reliable.*

Over the years, the government’s failure to improve the labour conditions in the country (Wallace, 2002, 2004, 2008), appears to have alienated the young population from believing that they still have a good employment chance in the country. A clear manifestation of this process of disconnection is the Filipino youth’s aspiration to work abroad. As one of the local surveys (Miranda, 2003) reveals:

Recent survey in the Philippines by PULSE ASIA reports a disturbing finding that the younger Filipinos, among those 18-24 years old, have the highest desire to leave the country...Not simply to work abroad or live in another country temporarily for whatever reason, but to stay and live the rest of their natural lives beyond their native shores.

This disturbing observation constitutes the future aspirations of some case study respondents, Glefer, Ruben, Chris, and Shirley, and some focus group youth participants. While the logic behind their intentions is noble, that is, to uplift the conditions of their

families through overseas employment, this issue raises a critical issue of the failure of the government to create accessible employment opportunity structures for the new labour entrants. This suggests how young Filipinos are systematically excluded from actively participating in the local labour market. Consequently, the process of disconnection becomes a push factor for these disadvantaged Filipino youth, like the istambays, to seek alternative work in the global economy, which promises better pay and stability. As explained by Teacher Manuel from Manila, working abroad for some of his students was inevitable because the country is in crisis. In these situations, he stressed that proper connections were important to get a job. He blamed the government for losing the best young minds to countries that provided them a higher chance of having quality life. Teacher Manuel related:

We have a lot of students who have been working in the States. When I was there, I met a lot of them, and I felt so happy because they are now happily settled in the States. And also when I went to Canada I met some of them, and they are also successful...Here (in the Philippines), you see, I don't think its really that difficult (to find a job) but then it is important whom you know...That's the reason why we have a lot of good people migrate to other countries because they don't have the proper connection..Job opening is somehow much more difficult today because of the financial crisis in our country. But somehow, there is still an opportunity and a chance for some of our graduates to migrate to foreign countries like in Europe, in America and the Middle East...Well I must say, blame it to the government because it is the government who dictates the tempo of our financial condition, and I would say with all honesty, I'm not so happy with a lot of our political leaders because most of them are simply interested in what they get, and not what they can offer to our people.

Indeed, the istambay phenomenon could be perceived as a waste of Filipino youth's potential that has been lost amidst the government's inefficiency and which has worsened the economic crisis in the Philippines. Consequently, this structural defect spawned an interesting view that disconnects the istambays from trusting the government; the state apparatus which has the power to make the employment routes accessible to them. Instead, for some, the inactivity experiences have forced them to look for an alternative elsewhere. This sense of disconnection may be likened to those istambay youth who may be waiting along with fellow inactive youth in bus, train, and jeepney stations, or fish ports, but are open to the idea of travelling beyond by land or sea. These are the

istambays who are looking up in the sky, and aspire to take the airplane instead. This overseas trip would take them further away from the limited and problematic employment route and destination that the Philippine government has yet to stabilize.

3. Reversing Istambay Status: Spaces of Hope or Social Suffering

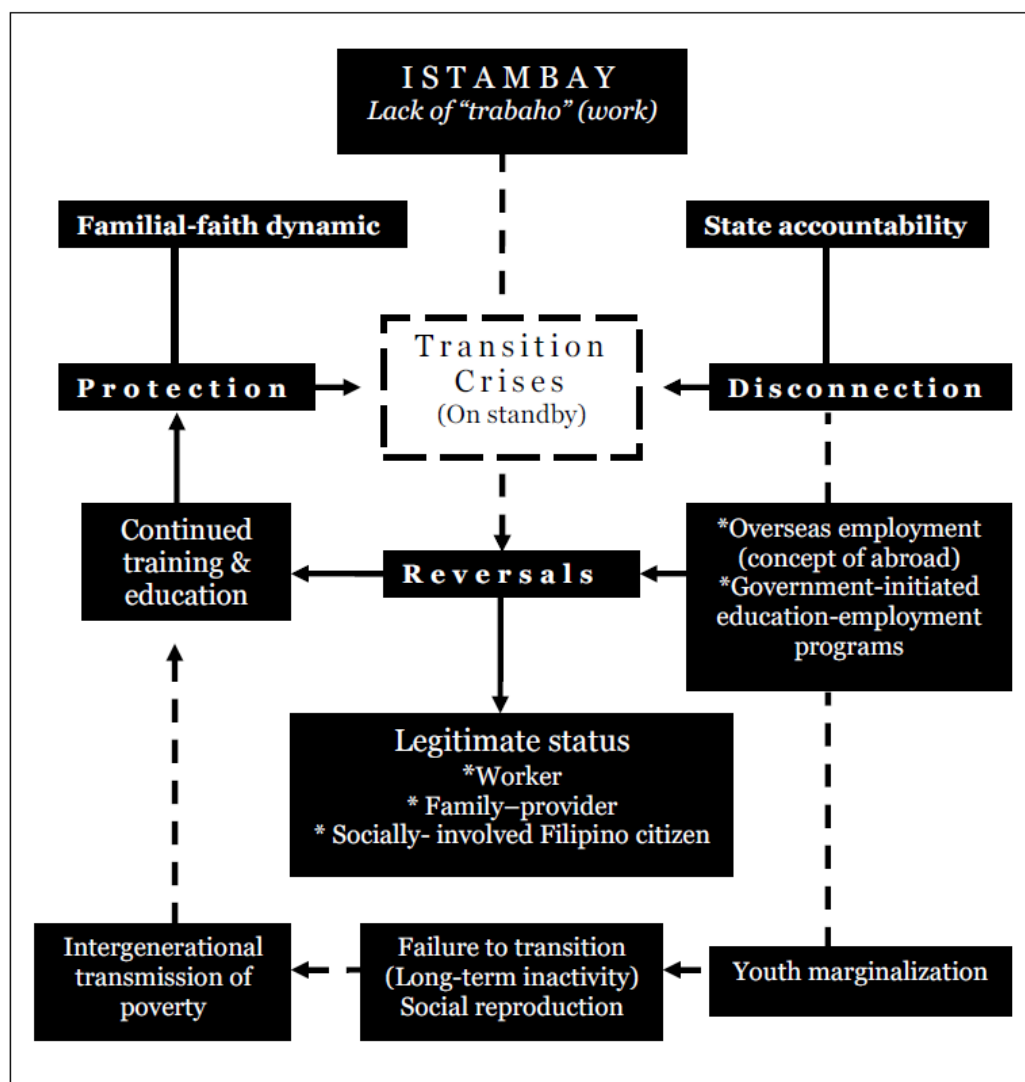
How is istambay status reversed? Where do the istambays locate their spaces of hope? In what ways does the phenomenon of istambay reproduce social sufferings in the Philippines? Responses to these questions raise three additional research insights that deepen the understanding of the istambay phenomenon as a social problematique, namely:

1. The problem of youth inactivity in the Philippines may be reversed by:
 - (a) creating education and employment opportunities, especially for those who are poor and economically-weak;
 - (b) strengthening the training employment strategies to better prepare these youth before entering the labour market; and
 - (c) actual generation of jobs.
2. While there is distrust with the government's ability to provide employment, particularly by the young new labour entrants, the state remains a powerful apparatus in developing policies, and implementing social programs that shall make education and employment routes accessible to these youth locally or abroad.
3. Failure to reverse the istambay status indicates the deepening crisis of youth marginalization in the country, highlighting the social reproduction of inequality in the Philippines where youth inactivity plays a salient part in the family's intergenerational transmission of poverty.

Figure 9 charts these research findings by expanding the original istambay conceptual scheme (see Figure 8) to include the process of reversing inactivity between transition crises and legitimate status. Here, disconnection from the state is shown to be mitigated by overseas employment and government-initiated projects. On the other hand, the family

continues to invest in education and training to mitigate istambay status. The bold arrow lines connect the process of reversal journey towards the direction of the family, which primarily benefits from this successful process. On the other hand, broken arrow lines indicate the failure of istambays to transition into legitimate status, reflecting how long-term inactivity is caught in the process of social reproduction that breeds the interrelated issues of youth marginalization and intergenerational transmission of poverty. This failed process illustrates the anticipated social sufferings of istambays, and their families.

Figure 9: Reversing Istambay Status: A Conceptual Scheme



a. Trabaho and Transition Crises

The lack of trabaho (work) is central to istambay discourse. However, as I argued earlier, the concept of istambay is entangled in a complex web of crises impacting their transition towards gaining a legitimate status such as a being a worker. Key to better understanding the strategies of reversing istambay status is by situating the discussion not exclusively on the lack of trabaho, but rather along the education-employment nexus. That is, establishing the link between the varying dis/connection of these inactive Filipino youth's education and training with employment routes and (limited) occupational opportunities available in the country and abroad; and, determining the focal points of system deficiencies in order to identify mitigating measures, which might reverse inactivity.

I observed that the tensions in the lives of respondents such as Chris has sometimes led to simplify what this research found as complex in the istambay phenomenon. I remembered one day during fieldwork, when I was walking with Chris, he made a comment that summed up what he perceived was the ultimate solution to their precarious situation as istambays. Probably, out of sheer desperation from failing to find a job over a long period of time, he and his barkada misconstrued me (and my work as researcher) as a possible agent that could provide jobs to them. He narrated:

Minsan napag-uusapan namin ikaw ng mga barkada ko, d'yan sa kanto. Tanong namin, bakit kaya 'di magbigay ng trabaho si Clarence? 'Yan ang kailangan naming dito, trabaho. Trabaho ang problema namin at siguro trabaho rin ang solusyon. *Sometimes on street corner, we talk about you. We asked ourselves, why can't Clarence give us jobs? What we need are jobs. Job is our problem, and the solution to this is having jobs.*

As a researcher, I found it difficult to respond to this comment because it reflected the istambays' sentiment that was paradoxically situated between their feelings of frustration due to unemployment, and their willingness to work because they need to, for the sake of their families. This tension was illustrated in the YAFS analysis of disposition towards work, which consistently highlighted how the economic situation of family, among those who experienced working, was a central motivating factor. However, while there appears to be no problem with the willingness and motivation to work among the case study

respondents, especially the istambays, reversing inactivity is made more difficult by the structures that shape and condition how one gets a job in a struggling economy such as the Philippines.

As already discussed in various parts of this thesis, some case study respondents indicated overseas employment as one alternative solution to inactivity. However, working abroad is intricately related to the economic means of the family as well as the educational attainment of applicants. These two factors, economic and educational capitals, are important in facilitating overseas employment. For instance, in the cases of Glefer, Ruben, Chris, and Shirley, their college degrees provided them a higher chance to get employed abroad. But equally important is having enough money to pay the application and employment placement fees. Among the respondents, Shirley had this rare chance of working as a domestic helper in Singapore but her failure to cope with “homesickness” cut short her employment and she returned home with a considerable amount of debt. Thus, while overseas employment may be a promising alternative employment route for some educated istambays, it only functions well when the economic and social resources of families are well-established. While some families gamble their limited resources, and become successful in finding employment overseas, others fail to secure a job overseas and are burdened with the economic cost accumulated from the application process, such as in Shirley’s case.

Even locally, the process of finding a job requires the utilization of different forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1986). As narrated by case study youth respondents, Carol and Ryan, as well as Teacher Jing, the job application process requires not only personal determination and education, but also money. According to them, in most instances, their mothers were the ones who “found a way” to provide them allowance while looking for work. Having no money to process job application lengthened their inactivity status.

Clarence: Bakit di nakakakuha ng trabaho ang ibang kabataan na kakilala niyo?
Why do you think some youth that you know cannot find a job?

Ryan: Siguro, ano lang, kulang sa determinasyon. Kasi naniniwala ako na kahit mahirap humanap ng trabaho, meron namang makukuha ka pa rin. *I think they lack determination. You see, I believe that even if job is rare, one could still find one.*

Carol: Kulang lang siguro, sa ano. *I think they just lack...*

Ryan: Dapat determinado ka, tiyaga. *You have to be determined and persistent.*

Carol: Kasi nakakatagal din ang pera talaga, makakapag-apply ka ba ng wala kang pera. *But you know, what lengthens the job application process is the lack of money. Could you process the application if you do not have money?*

Ryan: Oo, pera. *Yes, money.*

Clarence: So kailangan mo rin ng puhunan? *So, you also need some kind of capital?*

Ryan: Puhunan. *Capital.*

Carol: Puhunan din. *Yes, capital.*

Clarence: Teka saan kayo kumukuha ng puhunan? *But where do you get this capital?*

Carol: Ay di sa mga nanay ko. *Who else but from my mother.*

Ryan: Sa nanay. *My mother.*



Clarence: So, paano niyo po ipapaliwanag ang kawalan ng trabaho ng mga kabataan sa inyong barangay? *So, how will you explain youth unemployment in your barangay?*

Teacher Jing: ‘Yung para bang ano, pagka minsan ay ang isa pa ding nagiging problema ay financial. ‘Yung financial na ‘yung katulad sa mga pamangkin ng mister ko na gustong magtrabaho; na dahil sa kakulangan ng pera syempre pag magtatrabaho ka, mag-aapply ka kailangan ng gastos. Kung gusto mong magtrabaho maghihintay ka ng pagkakataong magkaperera. So, ang nangyayari ay na parang sige hanggang tambay na lang ganoon! *I think, its like, sometimes what adds to the problem (of unemployment) is financial. Yes, financial, just like the nephew of my husband, he likes to work; but there’s not enough money, of course if you are going to apply for a job, it will cost something. If you want to work, you have to wait until the time that you have money. So, what happens is that nothing happens, he becomes istambay.*

When I asked the youth respondents about their views on what the government should do in order to moderate the problem of youth unemployment, particularly among istambays, their responses manifest the crucial yet undervalued connection between education and employment. According to these respondents, both systems of education and employment should be given equal attention; underscoring this study's observation that the deficiencies in these systems breed inactivity, particularly salient when the interrelationship of these systems is undermined. For the poor, such as in the case study communities, having formal education is their only chance for social mobility. Thus, the case study youth respondents Shirley, Carol and Ryan, with focus group youth participants Gino, Caidic and Sheryl, insist that the government should invest more in education, and make it more accessible to the poor, then, generate jobs. In the minds of these youth, it seems that the problem of istambay is reversible, and the solution is as simple as providing government provisions on education and jobs. However, in developing countries like the Philippines, these types of programs are often muddled and mixed up with the political practices that enable the persistence of varying forms of social inequalities in the country.

Clarence: Do you know of any youth policy ng gobyeno na talagang nakakatulong sa kabataan? *Do you know of any policy of our government that is helpful to the youth?*

Shirley: Wala eh. *I do not know of any.*

Clarence: Kung ikaw ay nasa gobyerno, anong programa para sa kabataan ang masa-suggest mo? *If you will be in the government, what youth programs will you suggest?*

Shirley: Siguro 'yung, gawing busy ang kabataan. *Probably, I will make sure that they are always busy.*

Clarence: Bakit? *Why?*

Shirley: Para malayo sa bisyo, sa droga...Dapat bigyan nila ng pansin ang edukasyon nila. Pagtuunan ang education 'di ba? Marami tayo dyang hindi nag-aaral, lalo na sa lugar naman, maraming di nag-aaral, kasi financially, wala sila...Siguro dapat ipursige ng government, 'yung education. 'Yung libreng pag-aaral - libre lahat, libreng notebook, libreng gamit, libreng baon! *So that they will be away from vices, from drugs...Attention should be given to their education. Education should be*

prioritized, right? I know of many who are not studying, especially in our community, they are not studying because they do not have the financial means. I think the government should prioritize education. That is, free education – free on everything with free notebooks, free school materials, free allowance!



Clarence: Ano sa inyong palagay, para sa kabataan, ang dapat pagtuunan ng pansin ng gobyerno para sa kabataan? *In your view, for the youth, what should the government give attention to?*

Carol: Dapat talaga edukasyon, pagkatapos, trabaho. *I think it should be education, then work.*

Ryan: Trabaho. *Work.*

Carol: Pag-ukulan nila ang edukasyon tapos syempre pagkatapos trabaho agad; para siguro hindi naghihirap ang Pilipinas. Kumbaga malulunasan ‘yung paghihirap; 100%, tiyak mababawasan! *The government should provide education then of course, immediately there should be provisions for employment; if this happens, I think the Philippines will not suffer from poverty. I really think this is the solution to our poverty, 100%, I assure you, poverty will diminish!*



Clarence: Sa tingin niyo, tungkol sa kabataan, ano ang dapat bigyang pansin ng ating gobyerno? *In your view, when it comes to youth, what should the government give attention to?*

Gino: ‘Yun mga nagtatrabaho mababa ang sweldo. Syempre ang parang nakakaasar pa, pag tapos ka na, kokonti na ang trabahong mapapasukan mo rito sa atin. *Those who are working, their wages are too low. Of course, what I dislike most, even if you finish your studies, here, there are a few jobs available.*

Caidic: ‘Yung mga nagsisi-graduate, walang trabaho. ‘Yun ang dapat pag-ukulan ng ating gobyerno, ‘yun magamit ng mga kabataan sa tamang paraan ang kanilang pinag-aralan. *Those graduates, they do not have jobs. I think our government should provide ways where these youth would be able to make use of their education.*

Sheryl: Ako, ‘yung dapat bigyang pansin ng pamahalaan ay ‘yung pagbibigay ng scholarship sa mga kabataang hindi nakakapag-aral at hindi nakakapagtrabaho - edukasyon. *For me, the government should give attention to providing scholarship for those youth who are not studying, and those who are not working – education.*

Therefore, reversing istambay status is heavily dependent on first, making necessary provision for the education of youth, and second, creating employment opportunities. In this study, the families of youth respondents, despite poverty and lack of government support, have continued to invest in the education of their children. This investment yielded varying outcomes however, in the context of the istambay phenomenon; it appears that this educational capital is undervalued in the midst of economic crisis. When rates of unemployment for the general population remain high over the years, it is the youth that takes the greatest toll.

In such context, the istambay phenomenon in the Philippines could be viewed as a manifestation of the deepening crisis of youth marginalization in the country. The extent of inactivity among these Filipino youth determines the consequences of their failures to transition into gaining legitimate status. That is, the longer the inactivity, the more severe the socio-economic situation of their families. Istambays' precariousness is informed, shaped and reproduced by the conditions of their own social positioning that is only worsened by the lack of external support, such as the government's intervention. This process generates and reproduces the social sufferings of istambays and their families.

b. Social Sufferings of Istambays

In one of the last works of Pierre Bourdieu and his collaborators, he illustrates the forces that characterize the social sufferings in contemporary France by painting the daily suffering of those persons who are denied of “the means to acquire a socially dignified existence, and those poorly adjusted to the rapidly changing conditions in their lives” (Bourdieu, et al., 2000). Similarly in this thesis, I endeavour to paint a story of a young group of Filipinos – the istambays – who, over the years, have been the subject of media attention but have remained under researched and taken-for-granted by policy-makers. By examining the socio-economic conditions, individual dispositions, life contexts, and varying levels of vulnerability of these istambays relative to their fellow youth, I discovered that the core of their social suffering is entangled in a web of transition crises hindering them from acquiring legitimate statuses as a worker, family-provider, and as a

socially-involved Filipino citizen. External social forces such as economic crisis, and the poverty of their families coerced them to become inactive, a process that disappointed some of them, but did not totally discourage them from facing the everyday struggles in their lives. For those educationally advantaged, the failure to convert their accumulated institutionalized capital into some form of work further hindered their social mobility. While reversing istambay status is possible through overseas employment and continued training and education, these, too, are entrapped into the economic crisis of their families. When the state apparatus – the government – fails to provide assistance to two fundamental needs of the education and employment of young Filipino people, inactivity entrenches their marginalized position in Philippine society, as well as the poverty of their respective families. However, the social suffering of these istambays are negotiated by familial-faith dynamic that provides protection and inspiration, amidst the overwhelming web of crises, to aspire for a better life not for their own individual fulfilment, but for uplifting the conditions of their families.

In the realm of youth studies, the social problematique of Filipino istambays illustrate how traditional indicators such as social class, gender and educational attainment continue to differentiate the life trajectories of youth in the country. However, these indicators should be understood as deeply trapped in the macro structures of Philippine political economy. The question of the hidden logic of economic structures (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990/1977) continue to press on in Philippine society over disconcerting issues such as who controls what labour resources, and what production processes are constructed and formed that may be navigated by young Filipino workers.

Inactivity halts the growing-up process of these istambays in securing a legitimate space in Philippine society. They negotiate their inactivity status along with the gamut of factors that reflects the pervasiveness and persistence of various forms of inequality in the country. This is like watching a huge number of young people congregate in transport stations where istambays are lost in the crowd. It is not difficult to locate them because the voices of their social sufferings could be overheard in the halls of the station, telling stories about their disappointment and discouragement with fellow istambays while

patiently waiting for the life vehicle of employment to arrive. As Wyn & White (1997: 145) explains:

It seems to us that much more needs to take heed of Mills distinction between “the personal troubles of milieu” and the “public issues of social structure”, and the relationship between the two in the case of issues such as youth employment, homelessness and poverty. In a word, it is essential to view youth research and scholarship as part of the political process in its own right. If we are to comprehend myriad of factors which together constitute the form of youth marginalization, then it is incumbent upon us to probe more deeply into the nature of the wider social structure which fosters the processes of marginalization in the first place.

This study envisions that the analysis of the individual problematic, and the social problematic in the istambay phenomenon, illustrates the nature and dynamics of youth marginalization in Philippine society. In so doing, this research hopes that it has not only advanced the debate on the growing problem of youth inactivity in the Philippines but also, both academic and policy-makers in the country would find this work meaningful enough to merit further attention.

Chapter VII

Discussion

A. Summary and Research Insights

This study explored the sociology of youth inactivity in the Philippines through an analysis of the istambay phenomenon. I described the social construction and social dynamics of istambay as a concept using various sources (perceptual survey, song analysis, YAFS, and case studies), and illustrated that istambay permeates both “the personal troubles of milieu” and the “public issues of social structure” (Mills, 1959; Wyn & White, 1997). Combining aspects of Mills and Bourdieu, the exploration of the intertwining private-public nature of the istambay phenomenon was introduced through a heuristic/comparative conceptual tool – “the individual problematic istambay” and “istambay as a social problematique”. The former illustrated that the personal trouble of istambays are traceable to their quest to attain legitimate status, while the latter demonstrated that istambays’ crisis of identity is not a matter of personal choice and disposition, but rather, is deeply-rooted in structural defects in the Philippine systems of education and economy.

This research showed how inactivity is more likely to be experienced by young male Filipinos, reflecting the importance of age and gender in differentiating who may be regarded as istambays in the country. Contrary to the widely held notion that istambays are merely the “unemployed”, this research has brought attention to the link between youth inactivity and the lack of access to formal education together with the issue of unemployment. Thus, the istambay phenomenon is best understood in the context of Filipino youth’s access and utilization of the country’s limited education and employment resources. This process highlighted the variations in istambay experiences and their degrees of vulnerability.

The three salient issues that this study found in the lives of istambays were: (a) familial poverty; (b) non-conversion of institutionalized cultural capital; and, (c) blocked social mobility. Combined with the vulnerable identity, this web of crises characterized the istambay's difficulties in acquiring legitimate status, and the complex process of negotiation between their state of inactivity and their immediate social worlds. This problematic transition process was made more tolerable on the one hand, by the familial-faith dynamic, but exacerbated by the observed apparent lack of accountability of the Philippine government in generating healthy labour conditions, especially for young Filipinos, on the other. The former provided protection, which mitigated discouragement among istambays while the latter generated a sense of disconnection from the state that pushed them to seek alternative work abroad. Further, the research illustrated that failure to reverse istambay status deepens youth marginalization in the country, and highlights social reproduction of inequality in the Philippines, entrenched in the intergenerational transmission of poverty among the families with istambay youth.

Over the course of this study, I illuminated only one concept – “istambay”. As presented in Chapter 4, in Philippine society, istambay is a taken-for-granted concept, and is commonly represented in various media as an individualized problem with negative connotations. This was the stimulus of my sociological inquiry into istambay as a social phenomenon as one form of the growing discourse on youth inactivity, which in recent years has gained considerable research attention worldwide (e.g., Bynner & Parsons, 2002; Edelman, et al., 2006; Franzén & Kassman, 2005; Furlong, 2008; International Labour Organization, 2006). Although called by different names, inactive youth generally were described as being economically unproductive and idle (Edelman, et al., 2006), who were believed to be discouraged and alienated (Fromm, 1975; Keniston, 1965a; Ollman, 1976), and eventually, to pose a danger to society (International Labour Organization, 2006). These broad assumptions caused me to rethink the conditions of inactive youth by examining istambay as situated in the debates of youth transition and marginalization (Arnett, 2005; Heinz, 1996; Irwin, 1995; Roberts, 2001; White & Wyn, 2008; Wyn & White, 1997). The central issue was the necessity to move the analysis beyond a focus on the young people themselves, to the changing relationship of different groups (Allen,

1973; Côté & Allahar, 1994, 2006; Wyn & White, 1997). I thought of this task not only as a sociological problem, but also a political one. As Mills (1959: 185) explains:

It is the political task of the social scientist - as of any liberal educator - continually to translate personal troubles into public issues into the terms of their human meaning for a variety of individuals.

In this research, as a Filipino researcher, I laboured to understand the human meaning of istambay in the context of Philippine social life, following Mills' personal biography-social history perspective (Mills, 1959) in combination with Bourdieu's approach of overcoming the opposition between individual and society (Bourdieu, 1975; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). In so doing, amidst the wide array of social theories that I presented in Chapter 2, I found Mill's *Sociological Imagination* (1959) and Bourdieu's (1977, 1984, 1986) theory of practice, and his concepts – social fields, habitus, and forms of capital, most useful in exploring and describing the dialectical relationship between objective structures and subjective phenomena that is inscribed in the istambays' social reality.

As a non-Western researcher, I initially was apprehensive to apply Western theories in understanding istambay, which I considered to be a non-Western phenomenon. However, in this study, I found that Mills-Bourdieu approach did not impinge, thwart or conceal whatever non-Western dimensions the istambay phenomenon bears. In fact, this theoretical approach demonstrated what may be said to be universal in the practice of sociology across cultures: the quest of understanding what is “social” in what is widely perceived to be a personal trouble, and the challenge to demonstrate systematically the interrelationships and underlying dynamics of a puzzling social reality such as istambay. It is interesting to note that Bourdieu and Passeron intended that their early work in *Reproduction* (1990/1977) to be applied to other societies:

It would undoubtedly be of the greatest interest to have similar investigations in other societies, and in due course the possibility of comparisons which might reveal still more clearly the diverse ways in which cultural reproduction contributes to maintaining power of dominant groups (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990/1977: vii).

The YAFS 2002 secondary analysis, using self-reported youth main activities as the main variable of interest, provided social profiles of potential istambays – those with no main activity, unemployed and unpaid family workers in relation to socially-accepted statuses – students, workers and homemakers. The bivariate and multivariate analyses provided valuable insights to how potential istambays differed from their counterparts who were active. Through an operationalization of various indicators to represent individual dispositions of YAFS 2002's youth respondents in four social fields (familial context, education-peer realm, disposition towards work, and socially-problematized behaviours), the study failed to find a distinct istambay habitus. Instead, the analyses directed attention to a persistent familial habitus entangled in economic crises, particularly salient in their education and work dispositions. On the other hand, the multivariate analysis shared that the state of inactivity was not a strong predictor of the odds of smoking compared to gender and other contextual factors (education, peer and familial). This suggests that the popular perception of an association between istambays and socially-problematized behaviours is more stereotypical than typical.

The preliminary research insights gleaned from YAFS 2002 informed my reconstruction of the life vignettes of 12 case study youth, which I first categorized by youth main activities. Here, the varied inactivity experiences of case study respondents were presented as fluid and intermingled with critical and contextual events that shaped their educational and employment histories. These youth narratives highlighted the prominent working of familial-faith dynamic in their lives, and illustrated how it functions as a source of protection and resilience.

In the analysis of contexts and crises of the istambay phenomenon, I utilized a vulnerability scale (International Labour Organization, 2006) to categorize levels of inactivity among 12 case study respondents based on the extent of their marginalization from education and employment opportunities. Here, I postulated three lives of istambays – the least vulnerable, the meso-vulnerable, and the most vulnerable.

Chapter 6 illustrated the personal-social linkage of inactivity as narrated through the multiple voices of youth and parents, teachers and peers. In this section, an important dimension of qualitative data reporting was the communicative and dialogic style (Bourdieu, et al., 2000), which captured excerpts of actual interviews, field notes and ethnographic observations. This demonstrated how my voice as a researcher was also constituted in the research insights, as I actively sought out answers to understand the social dynamics of the istambay phenomenon among my respondents in a self-reflexive way (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

The discussion on the problematic istambay revealed the expected variations of inactivity experiences by levels of vulnerability. This highlighted the narratives of disenfranchisement of the meso-vulnerable youth from entering the labour market, while a more severe level of marginalization in both education and employment were sadly narrated by the most vulnerable youth. Interestingly, regardless of the level of vulnerability, this section vividly illustrated, how familial-faith habitus was inscribed in their individual dispositions and internalized in their schemes of perceptions (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990/1977: 83), particularly in their “pangarap” (*dreams*) and “kinabukasan” (*future*). This research communicated the workings of a paradoxical dialogue between their optimism and the web of obstacles they face and negotiate.

On the other hand, the social problematique dealt with the narrative details of varying inactivity experiences, which provided a perspective on how the istambay phenomenon exemplifies youth transition crises in the Philippines. Here, Bourdieu’s theory of practice became an essential conceptual tool in showing the interacting relationships among the major research themes that emerged from mixed-data analysis in terms of social fields, habitus and capitals. By referring back and forth to the relative patterns of individual dispositions and social contexts observed in YAFS 2002, and other data sources such as the perceptual survey and istambay songs, with the narratives and commentaries of case study respondents, this research was able to outline the conceptual blueprint of the istambay phenomenon in the Philippines (see Figure 8 and Figure 9).

Against the social backdrop of the relatively tumultuous political history of the Philippines over the last four decades (1970– 2010) presented in Chapter 1, the detailed discussion of istambay problematique in Chapter 6, generally confirmed the deleterious impact of the persisting socioeconomic crisis on Filipino youth's growing-up process in contemporary Philippines. Research findings demonstrated how crisis of identity and three observed obstacles – poverty of families, non-conversion of institutionalized cultural capital, and blocked mobility – combined to constitute the transition crises of istambays. This conceptual view situated the istambay phenomenon in a complex social process of negotiation between varying levels of inactivity experiences and limited access to the education and employment opportunity structures in the Philippines.

Indeed, growing up in a developing country like the Philippines, the world of istambays was filled with tensions and struggles. Poverty in the families of case study respondents was observed as the fundamental core of their struggle. Because the economy has long been in crisis as a result of weak national governance (Wallace, 2002, 2004, 2008), delivery of basic social services such as education and employment are restricted. Such restriction further marginalized those youth with insufficient economic resources to compete for studying in the best schools, and, to apply for the best jobs. Falling into the cracks of these restricted systems were the istambays who initially experienced inactivity through delays in their studies, which for some, such as the most vulnerable youth, signalled the start of a long painful process of attempting to find a secure job. That is, in a competitive labour economy such as the Philippines, regular and permanent jobs were reserved primarily for those who were educated while cheap, contractual work was the best bet that educationally-disadvantaged youth could hope for.

However, while the families of case study respondents continued to believe in the promise of collegiate education, the Philippine labour market structures could not absorb even the newly-educated labour entrants (Amante, 2003; Morada & Manzala, 2001; Santa Maria, 2002). This tension was illustrated in this study as the institutionalized cultural capital conversion crisis, a struggle faced by meso-vulnerable youth respondents. The discussion of cultural capital was limited to one specific form, educational

qualifications, and the focus of the narratives was the crisis of converting this institutionalized cultural capital into employment (Bourdieu, 1986). Correspondingly, this research showed that the acquisition of the institutionalized cultural capital was first and foremost a family project. This collective dimension reflected a worldview that appeals especially to the poor and working class Filipinos such as those in our case study communities who believe that for the youth, “education is an investment toward a better job, greater self-respect, and social esteem; and to the parents, educated children are the continuing source for old age” (Castillo, 1979: 175). Although this study focused on only one specific form of cultural capital, it nevertheless illustrated how the capital conversion crisis systematically excluded meso-vulnerable youth respondents from the labour market. A manifestation of this social reproductive mechanism was the meso-vulnerable youth’s acquisition of *istambay* status instead of joining the labour economy.

Intertwined with the institutionalized cultural capital crisis was the blocked social mobility which further demonstrated the entrenchment of some case study respondents into inactivity. This study revealed how unemployment/underemployment in the Philippines has taken its greatest toll on young Filipinos, least educated and college-educated alike, a situation that has bred more *istambays*.

This research expanded the discussion of *istambays*’ web of crises beyond the traditional school-to-work transition discourse because of three fundamental points. First, the *istambay* phenomenon also includes those who are educationally-marginalized, who did not have school as a starting point of transition. Second, the varying inactivity experiences analyzed in this study directed attention to a more a fundamental, yet often ignored issue in transition studies: accounting for those who cannot transition at all. Third, the tensions in the *istambay* phenomenon as clearly illustrated in various data sources, were not merely an individualized one, but rather, were constituted by a complex set of struggles shaping their transition crises in their quest for acquiring legitimated active statuses.

In so doing, the istambay phenomenon was presented as a negotiated process of transition. This highlighted two salient points: (a) the workings of the familial-faith dynamic in the families of case study respondents, which this study found to have protected the istambays from further discouragement, and (b) the observed distrust and disappointment of the case study respondents with the Philippine government's failure to generate employment, particularly for the youth, which illustrated their sense of disconnection from the state.

The study traced the familial-faith dynamic from the evolving discourse on Filipino values. It illustrated the observed collectivistic culture among Filipinos, which appeared to explain the protective tendencies of families to lend support, especially to those members, such as the istambays who were in crisis. Consistent with the research studies on Filipino values (European and World Values Surveys Four-wave Integrated Data File, 1981-2004; Miralao, 1997; Social Weather Station, 2002), this research confirmed the significant roles that family and religion play in the lives of Filipino youth, particularly manifested in the cultural practice of care in the context of "pagmamalasakit", that is, the process of providing assistance in times of need. However, this protective dynamic should not be seen as exclusively given to istambays nor is it exclusively "Filipino". Like Jocano (1966), I see this as an expression of human values that are shared in varying degrees across cultures and societies. In such a context, the main point that this istambay study demonstrated was that among poor and working class Filipinos, the collective fulfilment of the family's aspiration was central to their habitus, which seemed to have mitigated social withdrawal (Furlong, 2008), disillusionment and discouragement (International Labour Organization, 2006) among disadvantaged Filipino youth like the istambays. Thus, the societal danger that inactivity could have generated among the istambays was observed to have been halted and moderated, at least for the time being.

The danger that labour inactivity created among the vulnerable istambays was unravelled in this study in terms of their apparent disconnection with the system of governance that obviously failed them. This led some of the case study youth to desire to seek employment abroad, a finding corroborated by various local studies on migration and

overseas employment (David, 2002; Ericta, 2003; Margold, 1995; Miralao, 1997; Miranda, 2003; Natividad, 2004; Santa Maria, 2002). But again, the process of fulfilling this aspiration is intricately related to the economic means of families and educational qualifications, which most vulnerable youth do not possess.

So, how is istambay status reversed? The research alluded to the continued effort of Filipino families to investing in the education and training of their children but should be combined with the government's creation of accessible education and employment provisions, particularly among the poor and economically-weak. Failure to provide these necessary education-employment opportunity structures, as illustrated in the entirety of this istambay project, deepens youth marginalization in the country. Consequently, the social sufferings of istambays were found in this research as situated and entrapped in the poverty of their families. Inactivity was illustrated in this study as a manifestation of this crisis that reproduces and entrenches social inequalities in the country. More generally, this research on the Filipino youth istambays has illustrated the challenges of growing up in a developing country and gave voice to those istambays who appeared to have been lost because they were silenced by their various forms of inactivity.

B. Implications

Over the course of doing this study, I had to overcome three research obstacles to produce a modest sociological analysis of the istambay phenomenon. First was the scarcity of both international and local literatures on youth inactivity, which necessitated a lengthy exploration of the social construction of the istambay concept in Chapter 4. The second obstacle was the lack of national quantitative data on Filipino youth transition, particularly their inactivity experiences. Thus, I relied on the national data set from the YAFS 2002 survey, which offered limited yet meaningful information about the social profiles of istambay youth. This was also the stimulus to using different data sources (perceptual survey, songs and case studies) in order to build the empirical basis of the istambay case as a social phenomenon. Third was the lack of a policy framework that

would have focused the analysis on identifying concrete mitigation measures that might be implemented to prevent and/or assist istambays in the country.

The first research obstacle is mainly theoretical; the second is methodological, and the third, political. To conclude, I shall offer some perspectives about directions for further developing istambay discourse, research and related social programs.

Theoretically, I found that Mills-Bourdieu approach reflected the personal-social nature of the istambay phenomenon. Bourdieu's theory of practice and his concepts of social fields, habitus and capitals demonstrated the social dynamics of the lives of istambays by unravelling how structures shape their dispositions, and vice versa. In employing Bourdieu's framework, I was cautious to not privilege theory over the voices of my respondents in order to produce a well-balanced culturally-sensitive presentation of mixed data. At the same time, I strove to connect the research discussion of the istambay phenomenon with the youth marginalization and transition discourses (e.g., Andres, April 2002; Arnett, 2005; Chisholm & du Bois-Reymond, 1993; Galaway & Hudson, 1996; Heinz, 1996; Roberts, 2001; Thiessen & Looker, 1999; Wyn & White, 1997). Even locally, these two topics have gained considerable attention over the years (Miralao, 2004; Natividad, 2004; Philippine Social Science Council, 2003), and the debates among youth sociologists have revolved around how these topics constitute a theoretical understanding of sociology of youth. For instance, Roberts (2004) argues that:

Sociology needs to prioritise its own youth questions. Two criteria are proposed: making a difference to individual young people's and society's future; and acting as a substructure vis-à-vis experiences in other domains. On these criteria it is argued that school-to-work and family/housing transitions have been, and remain, the core problems in the sociology of youth.

Thus, following Roberts' argument, I would like to believe that this istambay thesis contributed to our understanding of the under-theorized sociology of Filipino youth (Lanuza, 2004). However, the study of istambays brings a new dimension to the issue of youth inactivity in the debates on transition and marginalization. This includes those youth who are unproductive (of their own doing or forced), and not transitioning at all as

part of the transition discourse. Future theoretical interest should be able to examine if youth inactivity is truly a valid point of discourse in the sociology of youth, and to determine whether the *istambay* phenomenon is present and existent in other societies.

With respect to the methodological dimension, researching youth inactivity has been a challenge because of the lack of available national data sources in the Philippines. Unlike the situation in developed economies like Canada, academic researchers have limited access to the census data. Moreover, the government has not implemented a national research project on Filipino youth and even the national youth reports (Philippine National Youth Commission, 1998a, 1998b, 1998c, 2004, 2005) an official agency under the Office of the President, the National Youth Commission, relies heavily on youth studies from other academic and private agencies (e.g., Raymundo & Cruz, 2004; Raymundo, et al., 1999; Social Weather Stations, 1996, 1997) to base their policy initiatives and programs. This lack of national Filipino youth statistics did not allow the present study to adequately examine the causes and patterns of youth inactivity in the Philippines. Instead, what this research offered was the utilization of contextual national statistics with case study narratives that explored and described, but could not fully explain the *istambay* phenomenon. This gap in knowledge can only be resolved if youth research on critical issues in transition such as inactivity, vulnerability and unemployment were given adequate funding by the state. Methodologically, it should be noted that solid youth transition studies require longitudinal data that monitor developmental processes over an extended period of time. To date, in the Philippines, youth data has not been collected, which makes it more difficult to build a grounded theory on Filipino youth.

In addition, the present research was not able to fully utilize the power of Bourdieu's concepts because of the lack of variables to measure other forms of cultural capital, and habitus. Yet, it attempted to approximate as closely as possible, Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, fields and capitals with what the YAFS 2002 data and case studies have to offer, without sacrificing the Filipino cultural context. In so doing, the relationship between theory and methods was established in a critical and meaningful way. Merton (1968) alluded to this intertwining relationship between empirical research and theory in one of

his earlier works, which is aptly captured in Bourdieu's perspective that "research without theory is blind, and theory without research is empty" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

In this study, mixed methods were useful in exploring and describing the istambay phenomenon despite the limited data. Combined with studying youth from a relational perspective (Wyn & White, 1997), which included the multiple voices of primary youth respondents with their parents, teachers and fellow youth, the reporting of the research insights was enhanced by contextual views that situated the istambay phenomenon in complex social relations. Also I found that when the researcher is aware of the role of power and gender in the interview process (Eder & Fingerson, 2002; Oakley, 1981), human meanings of experiences are better situated, and understood. I strongly recommend that these methodological points be considered in the design and conduct of future youth research in the Philippines whether in national or localized scales, especially when the focus of the study is the marginalized like the istambays.

On the policy level, the Philippines has well-established laws and related policies on children and youth (Congress of the Philippines, 1994; Republic of the Philippines, 1991). The main problem, however, is the lack of political will to implement these laws, and weak governance, which have impeded the social development of Filipino youth. The growing number of istambays in the country is a case in point. However, in order that a good number of youth policy initiatives on istambays are implemented, it is first necessary to establish a well-researched knowledge-base about them such as their fears, sentiments, dispositions, expectations, hopes and perception of their futures, and other related issues and concerns. Although the present study has started establishing this knowledge base about the istambays, there is still a need for more research where the state should once and for all, invest.

In ending, I would like to leave the reader a poem I wrote after my field research in the Philippines in February 2006. It captures my fascination with the Filipino youth – their differences and similarities, struggles, dispositions, ethics, and their social worlds.

Amidst this mosaic of poetic words are the istambays, who along with their fellow Filipino youth, share the habitus of caring for their families and faith in God, while negotiating their lives in the structural crises that I hope, in due time, they would be able to overcome.

Hindi Lahat

Hindi lahat ng mga kabataan ay nakapag-aral o nag-aaral.
Hindi lahat ng kabataan na nag-aaral ay nakakapagtuloy ng pag-aaral.
Hindi lahat nang nagtatrabaho ay nag-aral.
Hindi lahat nang nag-aral ay may trabaho.
Hindi lahat nang nag-aral ay may trabahong ginagamit ang kanilang pinag-aralan.
Hindi lahat ng istambay ay tamad at ayaw magtrabaho.
Hindi lahat nang humahanap ng trabaho ay nakakakita nito.
Hindi lahat ng kabataan ay gustong umasa sa kanilang mga magulang.
Hindi lahat ng kabataan ay masaya kapag nakikita nilang nahihirapan ang kanilang mga magulang.
Hindi lahat ng kabataang nakagawa ng maling desisyon sa kanilang buhay ay ayaw ng pagbabago.

Saan, kailan at sa paanong paraan Mabibigyang-solusyon ang mga Suliraning transisyon ng Kabataang Pilipino?

Hindi lamang sa pamamagitan ng kanilang mga sarili.
Hindi lamang sa palagiang tulong ng kanilang mga magulang at mga kapamilya.
Hindi lamang sa pagmamalasakit ng pamayanan.
Hindi lamang sa polisiya at batas.
Subalit higit sa lahat, ang pagtangan ng Kalidad ng pag-iisip —
Na may kakayahang intindihin ang proseso't

Not All

*Not all Filipino youth that I know went to school or are studying.
Not all youth who are studying are able to finish their education.
Not all Filipino youth who are currently working were able to go school;
Not all those who went to school have jobs.
Not all working educated Filipino youth are able to practice their professions.
Not all istambay youth that I know are lazy and not willing to work.
Not all youth who are looking for work are able to find them.
No, not all youth that I know like to remain dependent on their parents.
Not all want to see their parents desperate due to their dependence.
Not all Filipino youth who made wrong decisions do not want meaningful change in their lives.*

Where, when, and how could These transition crises of Filipino youth be abated?

*Not just through personal dispositions to change.
Not just by the charity of parents and family's welfare.
Not just with community's care.
Not just through policies and law.
But more salient, is having a Quality of mind —
Able to process and ponder*

sumuri
Sa mga istrakturang depekto ng mga isyung ito
– Na kung saan ang buwang-liwayway ng
perspektibong ito
Ay magsisilang ng bagong henerasyong
Makikipagtulungan sa dating henerasyon

Upang baguhin ang kasalukuyan.
Nang ang di pagkakapantay-pantay sa lipunan
Di man mawala nang tuluyan ay maibsan nang
labis –
Upang ang susunod na henerasyon ay
Hindi na magkukwento ng naratibo ng hirap ng
kanilang mga magulang.

Sa halip, ang ibubunyag ay
Kwento ng pag-asa, pagmamahalan at
tulongan.
Ang salaysay kung paano ang nakararaming
Karaniwang pamilyang Pilipino ay nakaalpas
Sa tanikala ng kahirapan.

Hindi lahat ng pangarap ay natutupad.
Ngunit sana, ang mga kataga sa tulang ito ay

Hingahan ng Maykapal –
Upang magkabuhay.

*The structural defects of these issues –
And that this daybreak of perspective would*

*Give birth to a new generation of Filipinos
Willing to work well with the older
generation -
To change the present.
That inequalities in our Philippine society
Though persistent, may be mitigated,*

*So that the future generation will no more
Tell about the poverty narratives
of their parents.*

*Instead, the visions that they would share
Are stories of hope, care and reciprocity.*

*A narrative where the majority of
Ordinary Filipino families would be freed
From the knuckles of poverty.*

*Not all social ideals come into being,
But who knows, may be, the words spoken in
this poem
May be touched by a Great Spirit
And breathe life.*

Bibliography

- Abad, R. G. (2005). Social capital in the Philippines: results from a national survey. *Philippine Sociological Review*, 53, 7- 63.
- Agar, M. H. (1986). *Speaking of Ethnography*. Newbury Park, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Allen, S. (1973). Some theoretical problems in the study of youth. In H. Silverstein (Ed.), *The Sociology of Youth: Evolution and Revolution* (pp. 51-61). New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc.
- Almario, V. S. (Ed.). (2001). *UP Diksiyonaryong Filipino*. Pasig City: Sentro ng Wikang Filipino, Sistemang Unibersidad ng Pilipinas & Anvil Publishing Inc.
- Amante, M. S. V. (2003). *Philippines Mismatch in the Labor Market*. Tokyo: Asian Productivity Organization.
- Andres (Bellamy), L. (1994). Capital, habitus, field, and practice: an introduction to the work of Pierre Bourdieu. In L. Erwin & D. MacLennan (Eds.), *Sociology of Education in Canada* (pp. 137-163). Mississauga: Copp Clark Longman.
- Andres, L. (April 2002). *Policy research issues for Canadian youth: transition experiences of young women*: Department of Educational Studies, University of British Columbia.
- Andres, L., & Krahn, H. (1999). Youth pathways in articulated postsecondary systems: enrolment and completion patterns of urban young women and men. *The Canadian Journal of Higher Education*, XXIX(1), 47-82.
- Andres, L., & Looker, E. D. (2001). Rurality and capital: educational expectations and attainment of rural and urban youth. *Canadian Journal of Higher Education*, 31(2), 1-46.
- Ariès, P. (1962). The ages of life (R. Baldick, Trans.) *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (pp. 18-32): Jonathan Cape Ltd.
- Arnett, J. J. (2005). Youth, cultures and societies in transition: the challenges of growing up in a globalized world. In F. Gale & F. Stephanie (Eds.), *Youth in Transition: The Challenge of Generational Change in Asia* (pp. 22-35). Prakanong, Bangkok: UNESCO.
- Ateneo de Manila University. (2001). *Ateneo youth study*. Quezon City, Philippines: NFO Trends.

- Baclagon, P. (2004). Societal expectations on the life course of the youth in the Philippines *National Framework for Youth Development (Medium-Term Youth Development Plan) 2005 - 2010 - Philippines*. Quezon City: Philippine National Youth Commission.
- Bankoff, G. (2001). Selective memory and collective forgetting: historiography and the Philippine centennial of 1898. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 157(3), 539-560.
- Bartolome, H. (1992). *Istambay Mga Awit ni Heber: Banyuhay Compilation*. Manila: BMG Records.
- Batan, C. M. (2000). *Talim: Mga Kuwento ng Sampung Kabataan [Talim: the stories of ten youth]*. Manila: Social Research Center, University of Santo Tomas.
- Batan, C. M. (2002). Thematic review of selected documents on the Filipino young (1980-2000). *UNITAS*, 75(1), 133-162.
- Bauder, H. (2008). Citizenship as capital: the distinction of migrant labor. *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, 33(3), 315-333.
- Bautista, C. (1998). Sociology and the social sciences in the Philippines: developments and prospects. *Philippine Sociological Review*, 46(January - June 1998), 66-75.
- Bautista, C. (2001). The social sciences in the Philippines: reflection on trends and development. *Philippine Review of Economics*, XXXVIII(1).
- Bautista, J. (2006). The rebellion and the icon: holy revolutions in the Philippines. *Asian Journal of Social Science* 34(2), 291-310.
- Beck, U. (1992). *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. London: Sage Publications.
- Benda, H. J. (1965). Political elites in colonial Southeast Asia: an historical analysis. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 7(3), 233-251.
- Berg, I. (1970). *Education and Jobs: The Great Training Robbery*. New York: Praeger Publishers.
- Berger, P. L., & Luckmann, T. (1966). *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. New York: Double Day and Co Inc.
- Bernstein, R. J. (1989). Social theory as critique. In D. Held & J. B. Thompson (Eds.), *Social Theory of Modern Societies: Anthony Giddens and His Critics* (pp. 19-33). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bierling, J. (1995). The 'developing powers': Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippines and Indonesia. *Current Sociology* 43(1), 97-114.

- Blanc, C., Porio, E., Meta, P., & Moura, W. (1996). Life paths of urban children and youth in comparative perspective. *Childhood* 3, 375 - 402.
- Borooah, V. K. (2002). *Logit and Probit Ordered and Multinomial Models: Sage University Paper Series on Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences, 07-138*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Borras, S., & Gutierrez, E. (2004). *The Moro Conflict: Landlessness and Misdirected State Policies*. Washington DC: East-West Center - Washington.
- Bourdieu, P. (1973). Cultural reproduction and social reproduction. In R. Brown (Ed.), *Knowledge, Education, and Cultural Change: Papers in the Sociology of Education* (pp. 71-112). London: Tavistock.
- Bourdieu, P. (1975). The speciality of the scientific field and the social conditions of the progress of reason. *Social Science Information*, 14(6), 19-47.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (R. Nice, Trans.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (R. Nice, Trans.). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (pp. 241-258). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1987). What makes a social class?: on the theoretical and practical existence of groups. *Berkeley Journal of Sociology: A Critical Review*, XXXII, 1-18.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990). Social space and symbolic power (M. Adamson, Trans.) *In Other Words: Essays Towards a Reflexive Sociology* (pp. 122- 139). Stanford, California: Stanford California Press.
- Bourdieu, P., Accardo, A., Balazs, G., Beaud, S., Bonvin, F., Bourdieu, E., et al. (2000). *The Weight of the World: Social Suffering in Contemporary Society* (P. P. Ferguson, Trans.). Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J.-C. (1990/1977). *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture* (R. Nice, Trans.). London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L. J. D. (1992). *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bowles, S., & Gintis, H. (1976). *Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life*. New York: Basic Books

- Boyatzis, R. E. (1998). *Transforming Qualitative Information: Thematic Analysis and Code Development*. Thousand Oaks, London & New Delhi: SAGE Publications.
- Bradley, H. (1996). Age: the neglected dimension of stratification *Fractured Identities: Changing Patterns of Inequality* (pp. 145-177). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Brake, M. (1985). The use of subculture as an analytical tool in sociology *Comparative youth culture: The Sociology of Youth Cultures and Youth Subcultures in America, Britain and Canada*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Brown, B. B., Larson, R. W., & Saraswathi, T. S. (2002). *The World's Youth: Adolescence in Eight Regions of the Globe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brown, F. (1980). *The Transition of Youth to Adulthood: A Bridge Too Long: A Report to Educators, Sociologists, Legislators, and Youth Policymaking Bodies*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.
- Bryman, A. (2007). Barriers to integrating quantitative and qualitative research. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 1(1), 8-22.
- Buendia, R. G. (1993). Colonialism and elitism in Philippine political development: assessing the roots of underdevelopment. *Philippine Journal of Public Administration* 37(2), 141-174.
- Bulatao, J. S. J. (1962). Philippine values: the Manileños mainsprings. *Philippine Sociological Review*, X(1-2), 1-26.
- Bynner, J., & Parsons, S. (2002). Social exclusion and the transition from school to work: the case of young people not in education, employment and training (NEET). *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*, 60(289-309).
- Cabreira, J. P. (Writer). (1979). *Ang Tsimay at Ang Tambay*. Philippines: Movie Masters.
- Camacho, A. Z. V. (1999). Family, child labour and migration: child domestic workers in Metro Manila. *Childhood*, 6(1), 57-73.
- Camo, L. (1997). *Kung Ikaw*. Philippines: Sino Camo? (Album) Star Records.
- Casper, G. (1991). Theories of military intervention in the third world: lessons from the Philippines. *Armed Forces & Society* 17(2), 191-210.
- Caspi, A., Wright, B., Moffitt, T., & Silva, P. (1998). Early failure in the labor market: childhood and adolescent predictors of unemployment in the transition to adulthood. *American Sociological Review*, 63(424 - 451).

- Castells, M. (1996). *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture "The Rise of the Network Society"* (Vol. I). Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers Inc.
- Castillo, G. T. (1979). *Beyond Manila: Philippine Rural Problems in Perspective*. Manila: Canada International Development and Research Centre.
- Chan, Y. H. (2005). Biostatistics 305: multinomial logistic regression. *Singapore Medical Journal*, 46(6).
- Chari, S., & Gidwani, V. (2005). Introduction: grounds for a spatial ethnography of labor. *Ethnography* 6(3), 267-281.
- Chisholm, L. (1990). A sharper lens or a new camera? Youth Research, young people and social change in Britain. In L. Chisholm, P. Buchner, H. Kruger & P. Brown (Eds.), *Childhood, Youth and Social Change: A Comparative Perspective*.
- Chisholm, L. (2002). *Mannheim revisited: youth, generation and life-course*. Unpublished manuscript, ISA World Congress, Brisbane Australia.
- Chisholm, L., & du Bois-Reymond, M. (1993). Youth transitions, gender and social change. *Sociology: the Journal of the British Sociological Association*, 27(2), 259 - 279.
- Church, A. T., & Katigbak, M. S. (2000). Trait psychology in the Philippines. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 44(1), 73-94.
- Coleman, J. S. (1988). Social capital in the creation of human capital. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94(Supplement), S95-S120.
- Coles, B., Hutton, S., Bradshaw, J., Craig, G., Godfrey, C., & Johnson, J. (2002). *Literature Review of the Costs of Being 'Not in Education, Employment or Training' at Age 16-18: Research report RR 347*: Department for Education and Skills, University of York.
- Collins, R. (1979). *The Credential Society*. New York: Academic Press.
- Commission on the Filipino Language (1992). (1991). *English-Tagalog Dictionary*. Manila: Anvil Publishing, Inc. .
- Congress of the Philippines. (1994). Republic Act 7925. Public Telecommunications Policy Act of the Philippines. Republic of the Philippines.
- Connolly, P., & Healy, J. (2004). Symbolic violence, locality and social class: the educational and career aspirations of 10-11-year-old boys in Belfast. *Pedagogy, Culture and Society*, 12(1), 15-33.
- Contenta, S. (1993). *Rituals of Failure: What Schools Really Teach*. Toronto: Between the Lines.

- Côté, J. E., & Allahar, A. L. (1994). *Generation on Hold: Coming of Age in the Late Twentieth Century*. Toronto: Stoddart.
- Côté, J. E., & Allahar, A. L. (1998). The disenfranchisement of youth *Richer and Poorer: The Structure of Inequality in Canada*. Toronto: James Lorimer and Company Ltd.
- Côté, J. E., & Allahar, A. L. (2006). *Critical Youth Studies: A Canadian Focus*. Toronto: Pearson Prentice Hall.
- Côté, J. E., & Allahar, A. (2007). *Ivory tower blues : a university system in crisis*. Toronto ; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press.
- Craib, I. (1997). *Classical Social Theory: An Introduction to the Thought of Marx, Weber, Durkheim, and Simmel*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Method Approaches* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage.
- Cruz, G. T., Laguna, E. P., & Raymundo, C. M. (2002). Family influences on the lifestyle of Filipino adolescents. *Philippine Population Review*, 1(1), 39-63.
- David, R. (1998). *Public Lives: Essays on Selfhood and Social Solidarity*. Manila: Anvil Publishing Inc.
- David, R. (2004). *Nation, Self and Citizenship: An Invitation to Philippine Sociology*. Pasig City: Anvil Publishing, Inc.
- David, R. (February 11, 2002). *The Filipino and the Lure of Modernity*. Paper presented at the Forum: Globalization and Modernity, College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of the Philippines. Diliman, Quezon City.
- David, R. S. (2001). Philippine sociology: in search of an alternative agenda *Reflections on Sociology & Philippine Society* (pp. 15-28). Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press.
- Davies, S. (1999). Stubborn disparities: explaining class inequalities in schooling. In S. Davies (Ed.), *Social Inequality in Canada*.
- de Dios, E. S., Diokno, B. E., Esguerra, E. F., Fabella, R. V., Gochoco-Bautista, M. S., Medalla, F. M., et al. (2004). *The Deepening Crisis: The Real Score on Deficits and Public Debt*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines (Diliman).
- De Jesus, A. F., Ancheta, A. A., Rey, F. I., Jalin, A. F. A., Jr., Doma, C. M., & Santos, M. C. F. (2009). *Drug and Substance Use Among Filipino Street Children in An Urban Setting: A Qualitative Study*. Manila, Philippines: UST Publishing House.

- Dechman, M. (2008). *The Narrowing Path: A Multidimensional Life Course Analysis of Processes of Exclusion*. Unpublished Dissertation, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia Canada.
- De los Angeles-Bautista, F., & J.C. Arriola. (1995). *To learn and to earn: Education and child labor in the Philippines: A country report*. Manila: International Labor Organization.
- DeMaris, A. (1995). A tutorial in logistic regression. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 57(November 1995), 956-968.
- DiMaggio, P. (1982). Cultural capital and school success: The impact of status culture participation on the grade of U.S. high school students. *American Sociological Review*, 47(2), 189-201.
- Dolby, N., & Dimitriadis, G. (Eds.). (2004). *Learning to Labor in New Times*. London: Routledge.
- Dumais, S. A. (2002). Cultural capital, gender, and school success: the role of habitus. *Sociology of Education*, 75(44-68).
- Durkheim, E. (1956). *Education and Sociology* (S. D. Fox, Trans.). Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press.
- Durkheim, E. (1984). *The Division of Labour in Society* (W. D. Halls, Trans.). New York: The Free Press.
- Durkheim, É. (1952/1896). *Suicide*. London: Routledge & Keagan Paul.
- Durkheim, É. (1964/1895). *The Rules of Sociological Method*. New York: Free Press.
- Durkheim, É. (1984/1893). *The Division of Labour in Society* (W. D. Halls, Trans.). New York: The Free Press.
- Edelman, P., Holzer, H. J., & Offner, P. (2006). *Reconnecting Disadvantaged Young Men*. Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute Press.
- Eder, D., & Fingerson, L. (2002). Interviewing children and adolescents. In J. F. Gubrium & J. A. Holstein (Eds.), *Handbook of Interview Research: Context and Method* (pp. 181-202). New Delhi & United Kingdom: Sage.
- Eisenstadt, S. N. (1956). Age groups and social structure *From Generation to Generation* (pp. 21-55). London: The Free Press of Glencoe.
- Enchi. (2005). *Istambay: From Dungagi ni...* (Album) Galaxy Records (Producer). Philippines.

- Enriquez, V. G. (1994). From colonial to liberation psychology *The Philippine Experience*. Manila: De La Salle University Press.
- Episcopal Commission on Youth. (2002). *The Filipino Catholic Youth Survey*. Manila, Philippines: Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines.
- Ericeta, C. N. (2003, May 15-17). *The Filipino Youth: A Statistical Profile*. Paper presented at the Fifth National Social Science Congress, Philippine Social Science Center, Diliman, Quezon City, Philippines.
- Erikson, E. H. (1968). Adolescence and the life cycle *Identity: Youth and Crisis* (pp. 128-134). New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc.
- European and World Values Surveys Four-wave Integrated Data File. (1981-2004). The European Values Study Foundation and World Values Survey Association. Aggregate File Producers. : ASEP/JDS, Madrid, Spain/Tilburg University, Tilburg, the Netherlands. Aggregate File Distributors: ASEP/JDS and ZA, Cologne, Germany.
- Feldman, T. R., & Assaf, S. (January 1999). *Social Capital: Conceptual Frameworks and Empirical Evidence: An Annotated Bibliography*. Washington,DC USA: Social Development Family Environmentally and Socially Sustainable Development Network. The World Bank.
- Fernando, M. P. (1997). *Understanding Filipino Adolescents: Ten Case Studies*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation in Sociology, University of the Philippines (Diliman), Quezon City
- Feuer, L. S. (1969a). Alienation: the Marxism of student movements. In L. S. Fueer (Ed.), *The Conflict of Generations* (pp. 501-534). New York/London: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers.
- Feuer, L. S. (1969b). *The Conflict of Generations*. New York/London: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers.
- Filomeno, A. V., Jr. (1989). The Philippine peasant as capitalist: beyond the categories of ideal-typical capitalism. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 17(1), 41-67.
- Franzén, E. M., & Kassman, A. (2005). Longer-term labour market consequences of economic inactivity during young adulthood: a Swedish national cohort study. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 8(4), 403-424.
- Fromm, E. (1975). *Marx's Concept of Man*. New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co.
- Furlong, A. (2006). Not a very NEET solution: representing problematic labour market transitions among early school-leavers. *Work, Employment & Society*, 20(3), 553-569.

- Furlong, A. (2008). The Japanese hikikomori phenomenon: acute social withdrawal among young people. *The Sociological Review*, 56(2), 309-325.
- Furlong, A., & Cartmel, F. (1997). *Young People and Social Change: Individualization and Risk in Late Modernity*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Furlong, A., Kasurinen, H., Biggart, A., & Sinisalo, P. (1998). The educational and occupational aspirations of young people in Scotland and Finland. *Journal YOUNG*, 6(4).
- Furstenberg, J., Frank F., & Hughes, M. E. (1995). Social capital and successful development among at-risk youth. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 57(August 1995), 580-592.
- Galaway, B., & Hudson, J. (Eds.). (1996). *Youth in Transition: Perspectives on Research and Policy*. Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing, Inc.
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books.
- Genecity. (no date). Istambay: From "Jam and Trip" (Album). : Online posted 2008: <http://genecity-trip.blogspot.com/>.
- Gerth, H., & Mills, C. W. (1953). *Character and Social Structure: The Psychology of Social Institutions*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc.
- Gibbs, G. R. (2007). Media review: Atlas.ti software to assist with the qualitative analysis of data. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 1, 103-104.
- Giddens, A. (1990). *The Consequences of Modernity*. Stanford California: Stanford University Press.
- Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and Self Identity: Self and society in the late modern age*. Oxford: Polity Press.
- Gilbert, B. (2006). How to choose an appropriate data-analysis strategy for your mixed-research study?: Questions to consider ad design-decisions to make when creating your own 'best recipe': Course paper (Course: INTE 7100) at Dalhousie University under Dr. J. Duffy.
- Gitell, R., & Vidal, A. (1998). *Community Organising: Building Social Capital as a Development Strategy*. California: Thousand Oaks.
- Gonzalez, A. (May 28-29, 1998). *One Hundred Years of Surveys of Philippine Education*. Paper presented at the National Centennial Congress on Higher Education, Manila Midtown Hotel, Ermita Manila.
- Gonzalez, J. L., III. (1997). Political economy of Philippine development: past issues and current reforms. *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations*, 23(1-2), 91-119.

- Goodman, P. (1960). *Growing Up Absurd: Problems of Youth in the Organized Society*. London: Sphere Books Limited.
- Green, J., Caracelli, V., & Graham, W. (1989). Toward a conceptual framework for mixed-method evaluation designs. *Education evaluation and policy analysis*, 11(3), 255-274.
- Hall, S., & Jefferson, T. (1976). *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-war Britain*. London: Hutchinson.
- Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (1995). *Ethnography: Principles in Practice* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.
- Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (1998). Ethnography and participant observation. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiries* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Heinz, W. (1996). Youth transitions in cross-cultural perspective: school-to-work in Germany. In B. Galaway & J. Hudson (Eds.), *Youth in Transition: Perspectives on Research and Policy*. Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing, Inc.
- Hennig, R. P. (1983). Philippine values in perspective: An analytical framework. *Philippine Sociological Review*, 31, 55-64.
- Hogan, D. P., & Astone, N. M. (1986). The transition to adulthood. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 12(109-30).
- Hogan, T. (2006). In but not of Asia: reflections on Philippine nationalism as discourse, project and evaluation. *Thesis Eleven*, 84(1), 115-132
- Hollingshead, A. (1949). *Elmstown Youth*. New Haven: Yale University.
- Hollnsteiner, M. R. (1964). Reciprocity in the low land Philippines *Four Readings on Philippine Values*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- Ileto, R. C. (2005). Philippine wars and the politics of memory. *Positions* 13(1), 215-233.
- International Development Research Centre. (2000). *The Philippine Education in the Year 2000: Policy Framework for Education Development*. Manila, Philippines: International Development Research of Canada.
- International Labour Organization. (2001). Young people in today's world. Retrieved July 15, 2002, from <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/employment/skills/youth/young.htm>.
- International Labour Organization. (2006). *Global Employment Trends for Youth*. Geneva: International Labour Office.

- Irwin, S. (1995). *Rights of Passage: Social Change and the Transition from Youth to Adulthood*. London: University College of London Press.
- Jacobini, H. B. (1961). Western political forms, their adaptation to the Philippines. *Social Science Quarterly* 42(2), 173-180.
- Jensen, S. Q. (2006). Rethinking subcultural capital. *Young*, 14(3), 257-276.
- Jocano, F. L. (1966). Rethinking 'smooth interpersonal relations'. *Philippine Sociological Review*, 14(4), 282-291.
- Jocano, F. L. (1969). Youth in a changing society: a case study from the Philippines. [Journal Article]. *Youth & Society*, 1(1), 73-89.
- Johnson, R., & Onwuegbuzie, A. (2004). Mixed methods research: a research paradigm whose time has come. *Educational Researcher*, 33(7), 14-26.
- Jones, G., & Wallace, C. (1992). *Youth, Family and Citizenship*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Jose, R. T. (2001). War and violence, history and memory: the Philippine experience of the second world war. *Asian Journal of Social Science*, 29(3), 457-470.
- Joseph Ejercito Productions. (1963). *Istambay*. Philippines.
- Juan, E. S., Jr. (2006). Ethnic identity and popular sovereignty: notes on the Moro struggle in the Philippines. *Ethnicities*, 6(3), 391-422.
- Kaneko, S. (2006). Japan's "socially withdrawn youths" and time constraints in Japanese society: management and conceptualization of time in a support group for 'hikikomori'. *Time & Society*, 15(2-3), 233-249.
- Keniston, K. (1965a). Alienation and American society *The Uncommitted: Alienated Youth in American Society* (pp. 394-406): Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc.
- Keniston, K. (1965b). *The Uncommitted: Alienated Youth in American Society*: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc.
- Kerckhoff, A. C. (1990). *Getting Started: Transition to Adulthood in Great Britain*. Boulder, San Francisco, & Oxford: Westview Press.
- King, V. T. (1994). The sociology of South-East Asia: a critical review of some concepts and issues. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 150(1), 171-206.
- Kohli, M. (1996). The problem of generations: family, economy, politics. *Public Lectures No. 14*, from <http://www.colbud.hu/main/PubArchive/PL/PL14-Kohli.pdf>

- Laguna, E. P. (2003). *Effects of Home- and School-leaving on Filipino Adolescent's Sexual Initiation*. Unpublished MA thesis University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City.
- Lamug, C. B. (1989). Adolescent perception of parental influence. *Philippine Sociological Review*, 37(1-2), 46-57.
- Lanuza, G. (2004). The theoretical state of Philippine youth studies: current trends and future directions. *Young: Nordic Journal of Youth Research*, 12(4), 357-376.
- Lau, R. W. K. (2004). Habitus and the practical logic of practice: an interpretation. *Sociology*, 38(2), 369-387.
- Lehmann, W. (2003). *"I really wanna get out of here and just start my life, start a career, get going": high school students' career decision-making and life course*. Paper presented at the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association Congress, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia.
- Lehmann, W. (2007). *Choosing to Labour? School-Work Transitions and Social Class*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Loether, H. J., & McTavish, D. G. (1993). *Descriptive and Inferential Statistics: An Introduction*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Lottes, I. L., Adler, M. A., & DeMaris, A. (1996). Using and interpreting logistic regression: a guide for teachers and students. *Teaching Sociology*, 24(July), 284-298.
- Lowe, G. S., & Krahn, H. (2000). Work aspirations and attitudes in an era of labour market restructuring: a comparison of two Canadian youth cohorts. *Work, Employment and Society*, 14(1), 1-22.
- Lynch, F., S.J. (1964). *Social acceptance Four Readings on Philippine Values*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- MacDonald, R., & Marsh, J. (2005). *Disconnected Youth: Growing Up in Britain's Poor Neighbourhoods*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Macdonald, R., Shildrick, T., Webster, C., & Simpson, D. (2005). Growing up in poor neighbourhoods: the significance of class and place in the extended transitions of "socially excluded" young adults. *Sociology*, 39(5), 873-891.
- MacLeod, J. (1987). *Ain't No Makin' It: Leveled Aspirations in Low Income Neighborhood*. Boulder Colorado: Westview Press.
- Malmberg-Heimonen, I., & Julkunen, I. (2006). Out of unemployment? A comparative analysis of the risks and opportunities longer-term unemployed immigrant youth face when entering the labour market. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 9(5), 575-592.

- Mannheim, K. (1952). *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*. In P. Kecskemeti (Ed.). London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.
- Mannheim, K. (1956). The problems of the intelligentsia: an inquiry into its past and present role. In E. Mannheim & P. Kecskemeti (Eds.), *Essays on the sociology of culture*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.
- Marcuse, H. (1964). *One Dimensional Society One Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advances Industrial Society* (pp. 1-84). Boston: Beacon Press.
- Margold, J. A. (1995). Narratives of masculinity and transnational migration: Filipino workers in the Middle East. In A. Ong & M. G. Peletz (Eds.), *Bewitching Women, Pious Men: Gender and Body Politics in Southeast Asia*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: The University of California Press.
- Marshall, V. W. (1983). Generations, age groups and cohorts: Conceptual distinctions. *Canadian Journal on Aging*, 2(2), 51-62.
- Marsland, D. (Ed.). (1987). *Education and Youth*. London and Philadelphia: The Falmer Press.
- Marx, K. (1867/1976). *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy* (B. Fowkes, Trans.). London: Penguin.
- Marx, K. (1964). *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844 (English translation)* (M. Milligan, Trans.). New York: International Publishers.
- McCann Erickson-Philippines. (2000). *Youth Study*. Makati City, Philippines: McCann Erickson-Philippines.
- McLennan, M. S. (1973). Land tenure in the Philippines, an heterogeneous heritage. *Michigan Academician*, 6(1), 17-27.
- McRobbie, A. (1997). Bridging the Gap: Feminism, Fashion, Consumption. *Feminist Review*(55), 73-89.
- McRobbie, A. (2000/1991). *Feminism and Youth Culture*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd.
- Mead, M. (1928). *Coming of Age in Samoa: A Psychological Study of Primitive Youth for Western Civilization*. New York: Morrow Quill Paperbacks.
- Medina, B. T. G. (1991). *The Filipino Family: A Text with Selected Readings*. Diliman, Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press.
- Medina, B. T. G. (2001). *The Filipino Family* (2nd ed.). Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press.
- Merton, R. (1968). *Social Theory and Social Structure*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

- Mills, C. W. (1959). *The Sociological Imagination*: Oxford University Press, Inc.
- Miralao, V. (1997). The family, traditional values and the sociocultural transformation of Philippine society. *Philippine Sociological Review*, 45(1-4), 189-215.
- Miralao, V. A. (2004). *Filipino Youth in Special High Schools: A Survey of Senior Students at the Philippine Science High School, Philippine High School for the Arts and OB Montessori High School*. Quezon City: Philippine Social Science Council: UNESCO National Commission of the Philippines - Social and Human Sciences Committee.
- Miranda, F. (September 16, 2003). Leaving for good? Manila, Philippines: The Philippine Star <http://www.philstar.com/philstar/News200309162605.htm>.
- Montiel, C. J. (2006). Political psychology of nonviolent democratic transitions in Southeast Asia. *Journal of Social Issues*, 62(1), 173-190.
- Morada, H., & Manzala, T. (2001). *Mismatches in the Philippine Labor Market*. Paper presented at the Symposium on Mismatch in Labor Market, EDSA Shangri-La Hotel, One Gardern Way, Ortigas Center, Mandaluyong City, Metro Manila, Philippines.
- Morgan, D. L. (2007). Paradigms lost and pragmatism regained: methodological implications of combining qualitative and quantitative methods. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 1(1), 48-76.
- Mortimer, J., & Johnson, M. K. (1998). Adolescent part-time work and educational achievement. In K. Borman & B. Schneider (Eds.), *The Adolescent Years: Social Influences and Educational Challenges*. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press.
- Muhr, T., & Friese, S. (2004). *User's Manual for ATLAS.ti 5.0*. Berlin: Scientific Software Development.
- Musick, K., & Bumpass, L. (1999). How do prior experiences in the family affect transitions to adulthood? In M. J. Booth & A. C. Shanahan (Eds.), *Transitions to Adulthood in a Changing Economy: No Work, No Family, No Future?* (pp. 69-102). Westport, Connecticut: Praeger.
- Natividad, J. N. (Ed.). (2004). *Filipino Youth in Transition: A Survey of Urban High School Senior Students* (Vol. I). Quezon City: Philippine Social Science Council: UNESCO National Commission of the Philippines - Social and Human Sciences Committee.
- Neuman, W. L. (2003). *Social Research Methods: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

- Oakley, A. (1981). Interviewing women: a contradiction in terms. In H. Roberts (Ed.), *Doing Feminist Research*. London: Routledge.
- Oakley, R. L. (2001). Generational and life-course patterns of occupational retrenchment and retirement of South African migrant labourers. In V. W. Marshall, W. R. Heinz, H. Krüger & A. Verma (Eds.), *Restructuring Work and the Life Course* (pp. 319-331). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Ogena, N. B. (2004). A development concept of adolescence: the case of adolescents in the Philippines. *Philippine Population Review*, 3(1), 1-15.
- Oinonen, E. (2003). Extended present, faltering future: family formation in the process of attaining adult status in Finland and Spain. *Young*, 11(2), 121-140.
- Ollman, B. (1976). Theory of alienation *Alienation: Marx's Concept of Man in Capitalist Society* (2nd ed., pp. 131-236). London: Cambridge University Press.
- Pallas, A. M. (1993). Schooling in the course of human lives: the social context of education and the transition to adulthood in industrial society. *Review of Educational Research*, 63(409 - 447).
- Pampel, F. C. (2000). *Logistic Regression: A Primer: Sage University Paper Series on Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences, Series no. 07-132*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Parel, C. P. (no date). Educational and occupational aspirations of rural and urban in-school youths. In R. M. J. Bautista (Ed.), *Salute to Youth* (pp. 91-105). Quezon City: UP Law Publishing House.
- Parsons, T. (1951). *The Social System*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press.
- Parsons, T. (1956). *Family: Socialization and Interaction Processes*. London: Routledge and Keagan Paul.
- Parsons, T. (1973). Youth in the context of American society. In H. Silverstein (Ed.), *The Sociology of Youth: Evolution and Revolution* (pp. 28-50). New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc.
- Pavis, S., Hubbard, G., & Platt, S. (2001). Young people in rural areas: socially excluded or not? [Journal Article]. *Work, Employment & Society*, 15(2), 291-309.
- Philippine Commission on Population. (2003). *Pinoy Youth: Making Choices, Building Voices. State of the Philippine Population Report, 2nd Issue*. Mandaluyong City, Philippines.
- Philippine National Statistics Office. (1997). Technical notes on the labor force survey. Retrieved January 11, 2008, from <http://www.census.gov.ph/data/technotes/notelfs.html>

- Philippine National Statistics Office. (2010). *Philippines in Figures*. Retrieved January 3, 2010, from <http://www.census.gov.ph>
- Philippine National Youth Commission. (1998a). *Compendium of Youth Programs (draft version)*. Quezon City: National Youth Commission (NYC).
- Philippine National Youth Commission. (1998b). *Philippine Medium Term Youth Development Plan 1999-2000(MTYDP)*. Quezon City: National Youth Commission (NYC).
- Philippine National Youth Commission. (1998c). *The Situation of the Youth in the Philippines*. Quezon City, Philippines.
- Philippine National Youth Commission. (2004). *Youth Attributes, Participation, and Service Providers (YAPS) [Draft report]*. Quezon City National Youth Commission (NYC) & World Bank.
- Philippine National Youth Commission. (2005). *National Framework for Youth Development (Philippine Medium-Term Youth Development Plan) 2005-2010*. Quezon City, Philippines: National Youth Commission.
- Philippine Social Science Council. (2003). *The Filipino Youth: Some Findings from Research*. Quezon City: Technical Services and Information Section, Philippine Social Science Council.
- Pineda, P. B. P., & Angeles, E. G. (Eds.). (1988). *Jose Villa Panganiban English - Filipino Thesaurus - Dictionary*. Marikina: Mhelle L. Publications.
- Pingol, A. T. (2001). *Remaking Masculinities: Identity, Power and Gender Dynamics in Families with Migrant Wives and Househusbands*. Quezon City: UP Center for Women's Studies and Ford Foundation.
- Population Reference Bureau. (2000). *The World Youth 2000*. Washington DC USA: Population Reference Bureau: Measure Communication.
- Population Reference Bureau. (2006). *The World's Youth 2006 Data Sheet*. (July 14, 2006). Retrieved from <http://www.prb.org/pdf06/WorldsYouth2006DataSheet.pdf>
- Quah, S., & Sales, A. (2000). Of consensus, tensions and sociology at the dawn of the 21st century. In S. Quah & A. Sales (Eds.), *International Handbook of Sociology* (pp. 1-34). London ; Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.
- Ramirez, M. M. (1993). *Understanding Philippine Social Realities Through the Filipino Family: A Phenomenological Approach* Manila: Asian Social Institute Printing Press.

- Raymundo, C. (2003). *Sex and Filipino Adolescents: Facts, Issues and Concerns*. Paper presented at the World Population Day: *Sex Files: All About the Young and the Curious* Manila, Philippines.
- Raymundo, C., & Cruz, G. T. (Eds.). (2004). *Youth Sex and Risk Behaviors in the Philippines*. Diliman, Quezon City: Demographic Research and Development Foundation, Inc.; University of the Philippines Population Institute.
- Raymundo, C., Xenos, P., & Domingo, L. (Eds.). (1999). *Adolescent Sexuality in the Philippines*. Quezon City: UP Office of the Vice Chancellor for Research and Development; University of the Philippines Population Institute; East-West Center Population and Health Studies.
- Reiter, H. (July 23-29, 2006). *Unemployment and solidarity in post-communism: negotiating meanings between the West and the past*. Paper presented at the XVIth World Congress of Sociology, Durban, South Africa.
- Reiter, H., & Craig, G. (2005). Youth in the labour market: citizenship or exclusion? In J. van Hoof & H. Bradley (Eds.), *Young People in Europe: Labour Markets and Citizenship* (pp. 15-40). Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Republic of the Philippines. (1991). *Local Government Code*.
- Richter, L. K. (1984). Policy-making in martial law Philippines: the rhetoric and the reality. *Crossroads*, 2(1), 12-45.
- Ritzer, G. (2000a). Agency-structure integration *Modern Sociological Theory* (3rd ed.). Boston: McGraw-Hill Companies.
- Ritzer, G. (2000b). *Modern Sociological Theory*. Boston: McGraw-Hill Companies.
- Roberts, K. (2001). Unemployment without social exclusion: evidence from young people in Eastern Europe. *The International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 21(4-6), 118-144.
- Roberts, K. (2004). Problems and priorities for the sociology of youth. In A. Bennett, M. Cieslik & S. Miles (Eds.), *Researching Youth* (pp. 13-28). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sagalongos, F. T. E. (1968). *Diksiyunaryong Ingles - Pilipino Pilipino - Ingles*. Manila: National Book Store.
- Sandberg, S. (2008). Street capital. *Theoretical Criminology*, 12(2), 153-171.
- Sandoval, G., Mangahas, M., & Guerrero, L. L. (1998). *The Situation of Filipino Youth: A National Survey*. Paper presented at the 14th World Congress of Sociology, Montreal, Canada.

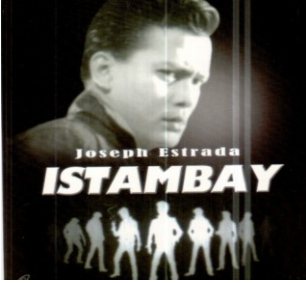

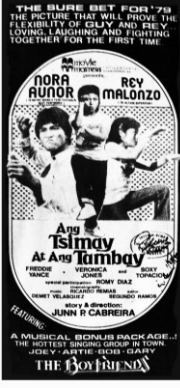




- Santa Maria, M. (2002). Youth in Southeast Asia: living within the continuity of tradition and the turbulence of change. In B. B. Brown, R. W. Larson & T. S. Saraswathi (Eds.), *The World's Youth: Adolescence in Eight Regions of the Globe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shoemaker, D. J. (1992). Delinquency in the Philippines: a description. *Philippine Sociological Review*, 40(1-4), 83.
- Shoemaker, D. J. (1994). Male-female delinquency in the Philippines: a comparative analysis. *Youth & Society*, 25(3), 299-329.
- Silverstein, H. (Ed.). (1973). *The Sociology of Youth: Evolution and Revolution*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc.
- Singh, T. P. (1965). Some impressions on Indian and Filipino value systems. *Philippine Sociological Review*, 13(4), 210 - 215.
- Social Weather Station. (2002). *SWS Selected Survey on Religiosity* Quezon City: Social Weather Station.
- Social Weather Stations. (1996). SWS 1996 Survey on the Situation of Youth in the Philippines [CD]: Social Weather Stations.
- Social Weather Stations. (1997). SWS 1997 Survey on the Situation of Youth in the Philippines [CD]: Social Weather Stations.
- Stake, R. E. (1998). Case studies. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Stehr, N. (2001). Modern societies as knowledge societies. In G. Ritzer & B. Smart (Eds.), *Handbook of Social Theory* (pp. 494- 508). London: SAGE.
- Sutaria, M. (1992). *Philippines: System of Education*. Unpublished manuscript, Quezon City, Philippines.
- Symeou, L. (2007). Cultural capital and family involvement in children's education: tales from two primary schools in Cyprus. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 28(4), 473-487.
- Tan, M. L., Batangan, M. T. U., & Cabado-Española, H. (2001). *Love and Desire: Young Filipinos and Sexual Risks*. Quezon City: UP Center for Women's Studies
- Thiessen, V., & Blasius, J. (2002). The social distribution of youth's images of work. *The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 39(1), 49-78.
- Thiessen, V., & Looker, D. (2003). *Educational and Occupational Aspirations of Canadian Youth: Youth in Transition Survey (YITS) / Programmer for International Student Assessment (PISA)*. Unpublished manuscript, Halifax.

- Thiessen, V., & Looker, D. E. (1999). Diverse directions: young adults' multiple transitions. In W. R. Heinz (Ed.), *From Education to Work: Cross-National Perspectives* (pp. 46-64). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thiessen, V., & Looker, E. D. (1999). *Investing in Youth: The Nova Scotia School-to-Work Transition Project*. Nova Scotia: Human Resources Development Canada Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada.
- Tossutti, L. (2003). A tradition of social capital in minority issues. *Diversity*, 2(1), 17-19.
- Tyyskä, V. (2005). Conceptualizing and theorizing youth: global perspectives. In H. Helve & G. Holm (Eds.), *Contemporary Youth Research: Local Expressions and Global Connections* (pp. 3-14). Hampshire, UK: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.
- United Nations. (2004). *World Youth Report 2003: The Global Situation of Young People*. New York: United Nations.
- United Nations. (2005). *World Youth Report 2005: Young People Today, and in 2015*. New York: United Nations.
- United Nations. (2007). *World Youth Report 2007: Young People's Transition to Adulthood: Progress and Challenges*. New York: United Nations.
- United Nations Population Fund. (1997). *Situation of the out-of-school youth in the Philippines*. Manila: Author.
- Urban, H. (2005). Spiritual capital, academic capital and the politics of scholarship: a response to Bradford Verter. *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion*, 17(2), 166-175.
- Urban, H. B. (2003). Sacred capital: Pierre Bourdieu and the study of religion. *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion*, 15(4), 354-389.
- UST Social Research Center. (1982). *Religion and the Filipino Youth (A Socio-Religious Study)*. Manila: UST Press.
- Verter, B. (2003). Spiritual capital: theorizing religion with Bourdieu against Bourdieu. *Sociological Theory*, 21(2), 150-174.
- Vicassans's Pilipino-English Dictionary (Abridged Edition). (2006). Manila: Anvil Publishing Inc. .
- Wallace, P. (2002). *The Wallace Report: Does the Philippines Have a Chance: The Wallace Business Forum*.
- Wallace, P. (2004). *The Wallace Report: Where to the Philippines? (Or, does the Philippines have a chance?)* The Wallace Business Forum.

- Wallace, P. (2008). *The Wallace Report: Where to the Philippines?: 3rd version*: The Wallace Business Forum.
- Webb, J., Schirato, T., & Danaher, G. (2002). *Understanding Bourdieu*. London: Sage Publications.
- Weber, M. (1925). *Economy and Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Weber, M. (1947). *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. New York: The Free Press.
- Weber, M. (1949). *The Methodology of the Social Sciences*. New York: Free Press.
- White, R., & Wyn, J. (2008). *Youth and Society: Exploring the Social Dynamics of Youth Experience* (2nd ed.). Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- Whyte, W. F. (1981/1943). *Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Williamson, H. (1997). Status zero youth and the "underclass": some considerations In R. MacDonald (Ed.), *Youth the 'Underclass' and Social Exclusion* (pp. 70-82). London and New York: Routledge.
- Willis, P. (1977). *Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- World Bank. How is Social Capital Measured? Retrieved February 19, 2003, from <http://www.worldbank.org/poverty/scapital/SChowmeas1.htm>
- Wyn, J., & White, R. (1997). *Rethinking Youth*. London: Sage.
- Xenos, P. (2001). The national youth population of Asia: long-term change in six countries, *East-West Center Working Papers: Population Series No. 108-2*. Honolulu: East-West Center.
- Xenos, P. (2001). Events information and the life course framework in young adult reproductive health (YARH) survey studies of adolescent risk. *Population Series East-West Working Papers, 108(1)*.
- Xenos, P., Achmad, S., Lin, H.-S., Luis, P.-K., Podhisita, C., Raymundo, C., et al. (2001). *An Asian Comparative Description of Events in the Transition to Adulthood*. Honolulu: East-West Center.
- Zembylas, M. (2007). Emotional capital and education: theoretical insights from Bourdieu. *British Journal of Educational Studies, 55(4)*, 443-463.

Appendices

A. Online Visual Representations of Istambay

<p>Films</p>	 <p>16</p>  <p>17</p>  <p>18</p>
<p>Photos</p>	 <p>19</p>  <p>20</p>  <p>21</p>  <p>22</p>

16

<http://images.search.yahoo.com/images/view?back=http%3A%2F%2Fimages.search.yahoo.com%2Fsearch%2Fimages%3Fp%3DISTAMBAY%2Bimages%26ei%3DUTF-8%26fi%3Dytfll-mmgr%26ft%3Dtab-web&w=150&h=150&imgurl=www.kabayancentral.com%2Fvideo%2Fothers%2Fotistambay.jpg&rurl=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.kabayancentral.com%2Fvideo%2Fothers%2Fpotistambay.html&size=15k&name=otistambay+jpg&p=ISTAMBAY+images&oid=eafd05f4e4ea756&fr2=tab-web&no=12&tt=92&sigr=11s7lmuaq&sigi=11iv5343f&sigb=131fdna57>

17 <http://www.pep.ph/upload/eraplif/eraplif/images/movies/Istambay.jpg>

18

http://t2.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:syEm2y1N04tqPM:http://2.bp.blogspot.com/_uAtOKJFq2w/STkJNerFOgI/AAAAAAAAHcw/eDXqkCXzKi8/s320/Ang%2BTsimoy%2Bat%2BBang%2BTambay-79-Nora.jpg

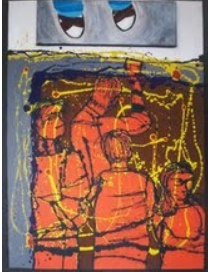





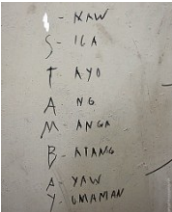

19

http://t2.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:CCh2zBLZ1eu41M:http://api.ning.com/files/LmG787x0ZRN24HQoxREMoHZ1wsr*DxS25ZKcF4UdHR-0NjSO5tHuUfg6flrZrjIWXrPyJN2Obz5*gkA5cljwRtQrmbbA9YI/iliganistambay.jpg

20

<http://t2.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:kZUuhdgULeLL7M:http://www.kibaka.org/Kibaka%202008/Pictures/Kahirapan%20ang%20Haharapin/8.%20MGA%20AMA%20ISTAMBAY%20SA%20INUMAN%20AT%20SUGALAN.jpg>

21 http://t3.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:DWyTEpf_kbuZOM:http://i3.photobucket.com/albums/y89/igoyy/Tambay2.jpg

<p>Paintings</p>	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; align-items: center;">   </div> <p style="text-align: right; margin-right: 20px;">23 24</p>
<p>Cartoons & sketches</p>	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; align-items: center;">   </div> <p style="text-align: right; margin-right: 20px;">25 26</p>
<p>Graphic arts</p>	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; align-items: center;">   </div> <p style="text-align: right; margin-right: 20px;">27 28</p>
<p>Graffiti</p>	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; align-items: center;">   </div> <p style="text-align: right; margin-right: 20px;">29 30</p>

²² http://t2.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:YCPsGw0nF8bJQM:http://i237.photobucket.com/albums/ff301/riigel_devera/fRaGiLe1135.jpg

²³ http://t3.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:phVb_mDpeEHkQM:http://1.bp.blogspot.com/_N7M8ObnbqQI/R6QgyNSu9FI/AAAAAAAAABc/80HRcak8ulY/S220/tambay+na+pinangungunahan+ng+paa.jpg

²⁴ http://t0.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:3MgMVk7UARSeXM:http://farm2.static.flickr.com/1109/962372418_b34b99b5eb.jpg

²⁵ <http://t1.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:1dAhiFCPwG5luM:http://vernaculars.aboutph.com/files/2009/08/Tambay-deviantart.net-238x300.jpg>

²⁶ http://t1.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:FcY1-o5yibIm_M:http://www.objectsandpixels.com/img/blog/sketchbook_tambay.jpg

²⁷ <http://t1.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:MXDh11P3RLDG4M:http://i277.photobucket.com/albums/kk44/arlonoib/i1-3.jpg>

²⁸ http://t3.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:o14HpyiMMo-_M:http://i61.servimg.com/u/f61/13/51/60/99/tambay14.jpg

²⁹ http://static.flickr.com/1024/1357297659_58b6f851ac.jpg

³⁰ <http://t1.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:E4WZ2T2YpysR7M:http://witerary.com/2006/signoff/signof26.jpg>

Commercial items



31



32



33



34



35



36



37



38

31

http://t1.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:CUhRVXa_OroVGM:http://i288.photobucket.com/albums/l1178/annuy/team%20manila/istambay.jpg

32

http://t1.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:uGRBrWguHt2OOM:http://bp0.blogger.com/_33jtChMqH7I/RhjDfQLdCPI/AAAAAAAAAXQ/1patq6ziyiw/s320/Team+Manila+Men.jpg

33

http://t1.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:2C1pLA38Cne3iM:http://api.ning.com/files/75iYhE2Y8ygKRqBvM4SjRhVxOvOFQKSb4VXkH oMd3I9BOgk9x1L6pO*1aDMOB7exRH*9PYK6MuUBeNeiyFCPRcY5T9Ebav14/istambay.jpg

34

http://t3.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:XBGH-NyEyZzP8M:http://r1v.zcache.com/hoy_istambay_tshirt-p235665735295027167q6vb_400.jpg

35

http://t3.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:_7EjGzBDMxze9M:http://www.scundoprojects.com/portfolio/PRINT/BREWS/TAMBAY_SHIR T_SMALL.jpg

36

<http://t1.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:FIMZA tLMb9KzTM:http://i288.photobucket.com/albums/l1178/annuy/team%20manila/tambay.jpg>

37

http://t2.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:YCPSgW0nF8bJQM:http://i237.photobucket.com/albums/ff301/rigel_devera/fRaGiLe1135.jpg
<http://t0.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:lgjchXOp1gbgoM:http://i288.photobucket.com/albums/l1178/annuy/team%20manila/istambay-1.jpg>

38

B. Istambay Perceptual Survey Questionnaire

Konsepto ng Istambay (*Concept of istambay*)

Magandang araw. Salamat po sa pagbibigay ng panahon upang sagutan ang maikling questionnaire na ito. Bahagi ito ng aking disertasyon tungkol sa mga istambay sa Dalhousie University (Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada). Ang layunin ng survey na ito ay kumalap ng mga pananaw tungkol sa mga istambay sa ating bansa. Salamat. *Good day. Thank you for given attention to this short questionnaire. This is part of my dissertation research on istambay at Dalhousie University, Nova Scotia, Canada. The aim of this survey is to gather your general perception about istambays in our country. Thank you.*

Clarence M. Batan
Graduate student
Dalhousie University

Sagutan ng buong katapatan at sa abot ng iyong makakaya ang bawat tanong.
Please answer all questions honestly and straightforwardly.

Impomasyon ng respondent (*Respondent's information*)

Edad (<i>Age</i>): _____	Kasarian (<i>Gender</i>): <input type="checkbox"/> Babae (<i>Female</i>) <input type="checkbox"/> Lalaki (<i>Male</i>)
----------------------------	--

Mga tanong tungkol sa istambay (*Questions about istambay*)

a. Kung narinig mo ang salitang “istambay”, anu-ano ang unang pumapasok sa iyong isip? Magbigay ng isa hanggang sampung salita o phrase na maglalarawan sa kanila.
Whenever you hear the word “istambay”, what comes into your mind? Give ten descriptions of istambay.

Para sa akin, ang istambay ay... (*In my view, istambay is...*):

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____
6. _____
7. _____
8. _____
9. _____
10. _____

May kakilala ka bang istambay? (*Do you know of any istambay?*)

Meron (Yes) Wala (No)

Ilang istambay ang iyong kakilala? (*If yes, how many do you know?*) _____

Anu-ano ang kanilang mga edad? Maaaring tsekan ang mahigit sa isang kategorya ng edad [(*How old are the istambay known to you? (Multi-response)*):

- 11 – 14 20 – 24 36 pataas (36 and above)
 15 – 19 25 – 35

C. Case Study Interview Schedules

C.1 Para sa kabataan. *For youth respondents*

1. Personal na impormasyon. *Personal background information.*
 - 1.1. Ilarawan mo ang iyong sarili sa akin. *Tell me about yourself. What do you think best describes you?*
 - 1.2. Sino ang malaking impluwensiya sa iyong buhay. *Who do you think influences your life most?*
2. Karanasan sa piling ng pamilya. *Family experiences.*
 - 2.1. Kumusta ang iyong pamilya? *How is your family?*
 - 2.1.1. Nakatira ka ba sa piling ng iyong mga magulang? *Are you living with your parents?*
 - 2.1.1.1. Kumusta ang iyong relasyon sa kanila? *How is your relationship with them?*
 - 2.1.1.2. Anong masasabi mo sa istilo ng pagpapalaki nila sa iyo? *What could you say about their parenting styles?*
 - 2.1.1.2.1. Istrikt ba sila? Mahigpit? Liberal? *Are they strict? Authoritative? Liberal?*
 - 2.2. Masaya ka ba sa pagtrato ng iyong mga magulang? *Are you happy with your parents' treatment of you?*
 - 2.3. Anong paksa ang inyong pinagkakasunduan o pinag-aawayan sa bahay? *What are the usual topics of agreements/disagreements with your parents?*
 - 2.3.1. Tungkol naman sa iyong pag-aaral, sinusuportahan ka ba ng iyong mga magulang? *When it comes to your education, how supportive are your parents?*
 - 2.3.1.1. Sa paanong paraan nila ipinapakita ang kanilang suporta? *In what ways do they show support?*
 - 2.4. Kapag nagkaron ka ng pagkakataon, neron ka bang balak na umalis/lumisan sa bahay ng iyong mga magulang? *Do you have any plan of leaving your parental home anytime soon?*
 - 2.5. Meron ka bang kapamilya na nagtatrabaho abroad? *Do you have a family member working abroad?*
 - 2.6. Relihiyoso ba ang iyong pamilya? *Is your family religious?*
 - 2.6.1. Ikinukunsidera mo ba na mahalagang bahagi ang relihiyon sa iyong buhay? *Do you consider religion as an important element of your life?*
 - 2.6.2. Gaano naka-impluwensiya ang relihiyon sa iyong values at moralidad? *To what extent, do you think has religion influenced your values and morality?*
 3. Karanasan sa school. *School experience.*
 - 3.1. Nag-aaral ka ba? *Do you go to school?*
 - 3.1.1. Kung oo, magkwento ka naman ng iyong mga karanasan sa school. (Parehong maganda at pangit na karanasan) *If yes, tell me about your school experiences. (Both good and bad)*
 - 3.1.2. Kung hindi, bakit? Bakit hindi ka na nag-aaral? *If no, why? What made you leave school?*
 - 3.2. Gusto mo ba ang pag-aaral? *Do you like schooling?*
 - 3.3. Anong masasabi mo sa iyong mga guro/teachers? Sa iyong school? *What can you say about your teachers? Your school?*
 - 3.4. Sa iyong palagay, mahalaga ba ang magkaron ng pormal na edukasyon? Bakit? *Do you think finishing formal education is important? Why?*
 4. Karanasan sa mga kaibigan/barkada at pamayanan. *Friends and community experiences*

- 4.1. Kuwentuhan mo naman ako tungkol sa iyong mga kaibigan. *Tell me about your friends.*
 - 4.1.1. Kumusta ang iyong relasyon sa kanila? *How is your relationship with your peers?*
 - 4.1.2. Paano mo sila ilalarawan? *How will you describe them?*
 - 4.1.3. Anong masasabi mo sa kanilang pamilya? Ang kanilang relasyon sa kanilang mga magulang? *What can you say about their families? Their relationship with their parents?*
 - 4.1.4. Gusto ba nilang pumapasok sa school? *Do you think they like to go to school?*
 - 4.1.5. Anu-anong mga bagay ang masasabi mong natutunan mo sa kanila? *What things do you consider you learned from them?*
- 4.2. Meron ka bang bisyo? *Do you have any vices?*
 - 4.2.1. May mga bisyo ba ang iyong mga kabarkada (halimbawa, paninigarilyo, pag-iinom ng alak, atbp.)? Anu-ano ito? *Do any of your friends have any vices (e.g., smoking, drinking, etc.)? Specify.*
 - 4.2.2. Gaano naiimpluwensiyahan ang iyong mga desisyon ng iyong mga kabarkada? *To what extent, do you think are your decisions being influenced by your friends?*
- 4.3. Anong masasabi mo sa pamayanan na iyong nilakhan? *What do you think of this community where you grew up with?*
- 4.4. Sa iyong palagay, nakatulong o sagabal ba, ang iyong (maayos na) paglaki sa pamayanang ito? *Do you think growing up in this community is an advantage or a disadvantage?*
5. Mga pangarap at mga inaasam sa buhay. *Aspirations and expectations*
 - 5.1. Ano ang iyong pangarap na matapos na edukasyon sa buhay? Ano ang pinakamataas na lebel ng edukasyon na nais mong makamit? *What is your educational aspiration? What is the highest level of education do you aspire for yourself?*
 - 5.2. Inaasahan mo bang makakamit/nakamit mo ang pangarap na edukasyong ito? *Do you expect to achieve this educational goal?*
 - 5.3. Ano ang pinapangarap mong trabaho? *What kind of work do you aspire for?*
 - 5.4. Bukas ka ba sa posibilidad na magtrabaho abroad? Bakit? *Are you open to the possibility of working abroad? Why?*
 - 5.5. Sa kasalukuyan, sa iyong palagay, mahirap bang makahanap ng maayos na trabaho? *Do you think, nowadays, it is difficult to find good work?*
 - 5.5.1. Sa mga narinig mong mga kuwento mula sa iyong mga magulang, sa iyong palagay, nadalian ba silang makahanap ng trabaho noon kaysa ngayon? *Given the stories you heard from your parents, do they think finding a good job in their youth was easier than today?*
 - 5.6. Hanggang saan na ang iyong narating upang makamit ang iyong mga pangarap na edukasyon at trabaho? *How far are you in achieving your educational and occupational goals?*
 - 5.7. Ang mga iyong mga pangarap na edukasyon at trabaho ba ay tulad ng iyong mga magulang? *Are your educational and occupational goals similar with those of your parents?*
 - 5.8. Sa iyong palagay, anong mangyayari sa iyong buhay kung hindi mo makamit ang iyong mga pangarap? *What do you think will happen if you do not achieve these goals?*
 - 5.9. Meron ka bang alternatibong gagawin sa buhay? *Any alternatives?*
6. Pamilya, trabaho at pagkakaran ng trabaho. *Family, work and employment.*
 - 6.1. Ano ang ideya mo ng isang pamilya? *What is your idea of a family?*
 - 6.2. May balak ka bang magkaron ng sariling pamilya? Kailan? *Do you plan to have a family in the future? When, in particular?*
 - 6.3. Nakaranas ka na bang magtrabaho, kahit impormal? *Have you ever experienced working informally?*

- 6.3.1. Nakaranas ka bang magtrabaho ng pormal bilang empleyado? *What about being formally employed?*
- 6.3.2. Kung oo, anong dahilan at nagdesisyon kang magtrabaho? *If yes, what circumstances led you to decide working?*
 - 6.3.2.1. Anu-ano ang iyong motibasyon noong nagtatrabaho ka? *What were your motivations when you were working?*
- 6.3.3. Kung hindi, sa iyong palagay, dapat bang pinayagan kang magtrabaho kahit bata ka pa? Bakit? *If no, do you think you should have been allowed to experience working early in your life? Why?*
7. Media at estado ng Pilipinas. *Media and the Philippine state.*
 - 7.1. Anong masasabi mo sa media? *What do think about the media?*
 - 7.1.1. Kinukunsidera mo ba ang media na may kaugnayan sa paghubog ng iyong mga values? *Do you consider media as a source of your values?*
 - 7.1.1.1. Sa iyong palagay, naiimpluwensiyahan ka ba ng mga naririnig mo sa radyo at napapanood sa telebisyon? *Do you think you are being influenced by what you hear from the radio or what you see from the television?*
 - 7.2. Bigyan mo ako ng isang matapat na opinion tungkol sa ating gobyerno. *What is your honest perception about the Philippine government? Describe.*
 - 7.2.1. May alam ka bang polisiya tungkol sa kabataan na ipinatupad ng gobyerno? *Do you know of any youth policy that has been implemented by the government?*
 - 7.2.2. Meron ka bang alam na anumang proyekto ng gobyerno tungkol sa kabataan? *Are you aware of any government project or program for the youth?*
 - 7.2.3. Sumali ka ba sa mga proyektong ito? Ano ang iyong karanasan? *Have you participated in any of this project or program? What was your experience?*
 - 7.2.4. Sa iyong palagay, ano ang tatlong pinakamalagang isyu tungkol sa kabataan na dapat pagtuunan ng pansin ng ating gobyerno? *What do you think are the three most important youth issues that our government should look into?*
 - 7.3. Ilarawan mo sa akin ang iyong pananaw tungkol sa isang mabuting gobyerno. *Describe your vision of a good government.*
8. Paglaki sa Pilipinas. *Growing up in the Philippines.*
 - 8.1. Paano mo ilalarawan ang iyong paglaki sa Pilipinas? *How will you describe growing up in the Philippines?*
 - 8.2. Sa iyong palagay, mahirap ba ang proseso ng pagtanda sa Pilipinas? Bakit? *Do you think it is difficult to become an adult in the Philippines? Why?*
 - 8.3. Sa iyong pananaw, ano ang pinakamahalagang suliraning panlipunan na hinaharap ng mga kabataang-Pilipino sa kasalukuyan? *In your view, what are the most pressing social problems being encountered by the Filipino youth?*
 - 8.3.1. May alam ka bang solusyon sa mga suliraning ito? *Do you have any solutions to these problems?*
 - 8.3.2. Personal mo bang naranasan mo ba ang mga suliraning ito? *Have you experienced any of these problems?*

C.2 Para sa mga magulang. *For PARENT respondents.*

1. Personal na impormasyon. *Personal background information.*
 - 1.1. Ilarawan mo po sa akin ang iyong sarili. *Tell me about yourself. What do you think best describes you?*
 - 1.2. Ano po ang masasabi ninyo sa inyong pamilya? *What do you think of your family in general?*
 - 1.3. Ano po ang masasabi ninyo sa inyong anak? *What do you think of your child?*
2. Karanasan sa piling ng pamilya. *Family experiences.*
 - 2.1. Kumusta naman po ang inyong pamilya? *How is your family?*
 - 2.1.1. Paano niyo po ilalarawan ang kalagayan ng iyong pamilya? *How will you describe the state of life of your family?*
 - 2.1.1.1. Kumusta naman po ang inyong relasyon sa inyong asawa? *How is your relationship with your spouse?*
 - 2.1.1.2. Kumusta naman po ang inyong relasyon sa inyong anak? *How is your relationship with your child?*
 - 2.1.1.2.1. Nahirapan po ba kayong disiplinahin ang inyong anak? *Did you find it difficult to discipline your child?*
 - 2.1.1.2.2. Ano po ang inyong istilong ginamit sa pagpapalaki ng inyong anak? *What parenting style did you use in teaching your child?*
 - 2.2. Masaya po ba kayo sa ugali't pagtrato ng inyong anak? *Are you happy with the way your child is treating you?*
 - 2.3. Anong paksa ang madalas ninyong pagkasunduan o pinag-aawayan sa bahay ng inyong anak? *What are the usual topics of agreements/disagreements with your child?*
 - 2.4. Sa inyong palagay, ano po ang mga kasalukuyang problema ng inyong anak? *What do you think are the present problems of your child?*
 - 2.4.1. Nagpag-uusapan niyo po ba ng inyong anak ang mga problemang ito? *Do you talk to him/her about this problem?*
 - 2.5. Sa kinikilos po ng inyong anak, sa inyong palagay, magiging maganda po kaya ang kanyang kinabukasan? *Given his/her behavior, do you think your child will have a good future?*
 - 2.5.1. Sa inyong palagay, meron po bang naghihintay na magandang mga kinabukasan ang mga kabataan sa inyong pamayanan? *What about the other young people in your community, do you think they will have a good future?*
 - 2.6. Meron po ba kayong kapamilya na nagtatrabaho sa abroad? *Does any member of your family work abroad?*
 - 2.7. Relihiyoso po ba ang inyong pamilya? *Is your family religious?*
 - 2.7.1. Ikinunkunsidera niyo po bang mahalagang bahagi ang relihiyon sa inyong buhay? *Do you consider religion as an important element of your life?*
 - 2.7.1.1. Sa inyong palagay, gaano po nakaimpluwensiya ang relihiyon sa inyong anak? *When it comes to religion, to what extent have you influenced your child?*
 - 2.7.2. Gaano po, sa inyong palagay, nakaimpluwensiya ang relihiyon sa values at moralidad ng inyong anak? *To what extent, do you think religion has influenced the values and morality of your child?*
 3. Karanasan sa school. *School experiences.*
 - 3.1. Ano po ang masasabi ninyo sa pag-aaral ng inyong anak? *What could you say about the performance of your child in school?*

- 3.1.1. Sa inyong palagay, gusto po ba ng inyong anak na mag-aral? O, napipilitan lang siya? *In your view, do you think your child loves to go to school? Or s/he feels like being forced to go to school?*
- 3.1.2. Sa anong paraan niyo po ineenganyo ang inyong anak na mag-aral nang mabuti? *In what ways do you motivate your child to do well in school?*
- 3.2. Paano niyo po ipinapakita ang inyong suporta? *How do you show this support?*
- 3.3. Paki kuwento po sa akin ang magaganda at pangit na karanasan ng inyong anak sa school. *Tell me about the school experiences of your child. (Both good and bad)*
- 3.4. Meron po bang pagkakataon na kung saan tumigil ng pag-aaral ang inyong anak? Bakit? *Was there ever a time, when your child is about to leave or has left school? Why?*
- 3.5. Ano po ang masasabi ninyo sa mga naging guro ng inyong anak? *What can you say about the teacher/s of your child?*
 - 3.5.1. Kumusta naman po ang kalidad ng school ng inyong anak? *What about the quality of the school s/he going to?*
 - 3.5.2. Sa inyong palagay, gaano po nakaimpluwensiya ang mga guro sa ugali at kilos ng inyong anak? *In your view, to what extent has your child's teacher influenced her/his values and behavior?*
- 3.6. Sa inyong palagay, naniniwala po ba ang inyong anak na makatapos ng pag-aaral? Bakit? *Do you think your child believes that finishing formal education is still important? Why?*
4. Karanasan sa kaibigan/kabarkada at pamayanan. *Friends and community experiences.*
 - 4.1. Kwentuhan niyo po ako tungkol sa mga kaibigan at barkada ng inyong anak. *Tell me about the friends of your child.*
 - 4.1.1. Ano po ang inyong relasyon sa mga kabarkada ng inyong anak? *How is your relationship with your child's peers?*
 - 4.1.2. Paano niyo po sila ilalarawan? *How will you describe them?*
 - 4.1.3. Ano po ang masasabi niyo sa mga pamilya ng mga kabarkada ng inyong anak? Kumusta naman po ang relasyon nila sa kanilang mga magulang? *What can you say about their families? Their relationship with their parents?*
 - 4.1.4. Sa inyong palagay, gusto po ba ng mga kabarkada ng inyong anak na mag-aral? *Do you think they like to go to school?*
 - 4.1.5. Meron po bang bisyo ang mga kabarkada ng inyong anak tulad ng paninigarilyo at pag-iinom ng alak? *Do any of your child's friends have any vices (e.g., smoking, drinking, etc.)? Specify.*
 - 4.1.6. Sa inyong palagay, gaano po naimpluwensiyahan ng mga kabarkada ng inyong anak ang kanilang desisyon at ugali? *To what extent, do you think are your child's decisions and behavior being influenced by your friends?*
 - 4.2. Ano po ang inyong pananaw sa inyong pamayanan kung saan lumaki ang inyong anak? *What do you think of this community where your child grows up with?*
 - 4.3. Sa inyong palagay, nakatulong o sagabal ba ang paglaki ng inyong anak sa pamayanang ito? *Do you think growing up in this community is an advantage or a disadvantage?*
5. Mga pangarap at inaasam sa buhay. *Aspirations and expectations.*
 - 5.1. Ano po ang inyong pangarap na edukasyon para sa inyong anak? Ano po ang pinakamataas na lebel na edukasyon na nais mong makamit ng inyong anak? *What is your educational aspiration for your child? What is the highest level of education do you aspire for your child?*
 - 5.2. Umaasa po bang kayong makakamit ng inyong anak ang pangarap na ito? *Do you expect your child to achieve this educational goal?*
 - 5.3. Ano po ang pinapangarap na maging trabaho ng inyong anak? *What kind of work do you aspire for your child?*

- 5.4. Bukas po ba kayo sa ideya na magtrabaho sa abroad ang inyong anak? *Are you open to the idea of your child working abroad? Why?*
- 5.5. Sa kasalukuyan, sa inyong palagay, mahirap po bang makahanap ng maayos na trabaho ang inyong anak? *Nowadays, do you think it would be difficult for your child to find a good secured job?*
 - 5.5.1. Sa larangan po ng paghahanap ng trabaho at pagkakaran nito, kumusta po noong araw, sa inyong henerasyon? *When it comes to getting work and being employed, what was it like in your generation?*
- 5.6. Gaano na po kalayo ang narating ng inyong mga pangarap na edukasyon at trabaho para sa inyong anak? *How far is your child in achieving your educational and occupational goals?*
- 5.7. Sa inyong palagay, ang mga pangarap na ito ay tulad ng inyong mga inasam sa buhay? *Do you think these educational and occupational goals are similar with your child's aspirations in the future?*
- 5.8. Sa inyong palagay, ano po ang mangyayari sa inyong anak kung hindi niya marating ang kanyang mga pangarap? *What do you think will happen if your child is unable achieve these goals?*
- 5.9. Meron po bang alternatibo ang inyong anak (sa pagharap sa kanyang kinabukasan)? *What alternatives does your child have?*
6. Pamilya, trabaho at pagkakaran ng trabaho. *Family, work and employment.*
 - 6.1. Sa inyo pong palagay, ano po ang pananaw ng inyong anak sa ideya ng pamilya? *What do you think is your child's idea of a family?*
 - 6.2. Anu-ano po ang inyong inaasahan mula sa inyong anak bago siya mag-asawa at magkaron ng sariling pamilya? *What expectations do you have before your child gets married and has a family of his/her own?*
 - 6.3. Umaasa po ba kayong magsasarili ang inyong anak? Bakit? *Do you expect your child to leave your home? Why?*
 - 6.4. Sa anong pagkakataon, sa inyong palagay, na mapipilitan po kayong palayuin ang inyong anak sa inyong bahay? *On what circumstances do you think your child should or would be forced to leave your home?*
 - 6.5. Nakapagtrabaho na po ba ang inyong anak kahit impormal? *Has your child ever experienced working informally?*
 - 6.5.1. Nakapagtrabaho na po siya ng pormal at naging empleyado? *What about being formally employed?*
 - 6.5.2. Kung oo, ano po ang dahilan at nagdesisyon po ang inyong anak na magtrabaho? *If yes, what circumstances led your child to decide working?*
 - 6.5.2.1. What were his/her motivations when he/she was working?
 - 6.5.3. Kung hindi, sa inyong palagay, dapat po bang bigyan ng pagkakataon ang mga kabataan na makaranas ng pagtatrabaho kahit bata pa? *If no, do you think your child should have been allowed to experience working early in his/her life? Why?*
7. Media at estado ng Pilipinas. *Media, and the Philippine state.*
 - 7.1. Ano pong masasabi niyo sa media? *What do think about the media?*
 - 7.1.1. Kinukunsidera niyo po bang ang media na may kaugnayan sa paghubog ng values ng inyong anak? *Do you consider media as a source of the values of your child?*
 - 7.1.1.1. Sa inyong palagay, naiimpluwensiyahan po ba ang inyong anak ng mga naririnig niya sa radyo at napapanood sa telebisyon? *Do you think your child is being influenced by what s/he hears from the radio or what s/he sees from the television?*
 - 7.2. Bigyan mo po ako ng isang matapat na opinyon tungkol sa ating gobyerno. *What is your honest perception about the Philippine government? Describe.*

- 7.2.1. May alam po ba kayong polisiya tungkol sa kabataan na ipinatupad ng gobyerno?
Do you know of any youth policy that has been implemented by the government?
- 7.2.2. Meron po ba kayong alam na proyekto o programa ng gobyerno tungkol sa kabataan?
Are you aware of any government project or program for the youth?
- 7.2.3. Sa inyong pagkakaalam, nakasali po ba ang inyong anak sa proyektong ito? Ano po ang kanyang naging karanasan?
Has your child participated in any of this project or program? What was his/her experience?
- 7.2.4. Sa inyong palagay, ano po ang tatlong pinakamahalagang isyu tungkol sa kabataan na dapat pagtuunan ng pansin ng gobyerno?
What do you think are the three most important youth issues that our government should look into?
- 7.3. Ilarawan niyo po sa akin ang inyong pananaw tungkol sa isang mabuting gobyerno.
Describe your vision of a good government.
8. Paglaki sa Pilipinas. *Growing up in the Philippines.*
 - 8.1. Ano po ang inyong masasabi sa henerasyon ng inyong anak?
What do you think of the generation of your child?
 - 8.2. Paano niyo po ilalarawan ang proseso ng paglaki dito sa Pilipinas? How will you describe growing up in the Philippines?
 - 8.3. Sa inyong palagay, mahirap po bang harapin ang proseso ng pagtanda dito sa Pilipinas? Bakit?
Do you think it is difficult to become an adult in the Philippines? Why?
 - 8.4. Sa inyo pong palagay, ano po ang pinakamahalagang suliraning panlipunan na hinaharap ng inyong anak? Ng kabataang Pilipino?
In your view, what are the most pressing social problems being encountered by your child? By the Filipino youth in general?
 - 8.4.1. May alam po ba kayong solusyon sa mga problemang ito?
Do you have any solutions to these problems?
 - 8.4.2. Personal po bang naranasan ng inyong anak ang mga suliraning ito?
Has your child experienced any of these problems?

C.3 Para sa mga guro. *For teacher respondents.*

1. Personal na impormasyon. *Personal background information.*
 - 1.1. Ilarawan niyo po sa akin ang inyong sarili. *Tell me about yourself. What do you think best describes you?*
 - 1.2. Kumusta po ang inyong trabaho bilang guro? *What do you think of your work as a teacher?*
 - 1.3. Ano po ang inyong masasabi sa inyong mga estudyante? *What do you think of your students?*
2. Karanasan bilang guro. *Teacher's experiences.*
 - 2.1. Gaano katagal na po kayong guro? *How long have you been a teacher?*
 - 2.2. Nag-e-enjoy po ba kayo sa pagtuturo? *Do you enjoy teaching?*
 - 2.3. Ilarawan niyo po sa akin ang inyong relasyon sa inyong mga estudyante? *How is your relationship with your students?*
 - 2.3.1. Gaano niyo po sila kakilala? *To what extent do you know them?*
 - 2.3.2. Sa inyong palagay, mas marami po ba kayong alam na impormasyon sa inyong mga estudyante kumpara sa kanilang mga magulang? *Do you think you know more information about your students than their parents?*
 - 2.4. Anu-ano pong mga kuwento ang inyong naririnig tungkol sa kalidad ng relasyon sa pagitan ng inyong estudyante at kanilang mga magulang? *What stories do you hear about the quality of the relationship between your students and their parents?*
 - 2.4.1. Sa inyong pananaw, ang relasyon po ba ng magulang at anak sa henerasyon ito ay maganda pa rin o maraming problema? *From your view, is the parent-child relationship in this generation fruitful or problematic?*
 - 2.4.2. Anu-ano pong mga problema ang nirereklamo ng inyong mga estudyante tungkol sa kanilang mga magulang? *What problems do your students complain about their parents?*
 - 2.4.3. Anu-ano pong payo ang ibinibigay niyo po sa kanila kung may problema sila sa kanilang mga magulang? *What advice do you give them when they have parental problems?*
 - 2.5. Sa inyong palagay, mahirap bang disiplinahan ang inyong mga kasalukuyang estudyante? Bakit po? *Do you think present students are difficult to discipline? Why?*
 - 2.6. Ano po ang hindi niyo gusto sa inyong mga estudyante? *What are your complains about your students?*
 - 2.7. Ano po ang inyong ikinasisiya sa inyong mga estudyante? *What do you like most about your students?*
 - 2.8. Masaya po ba kayo sa pagtrato sa inyo ng inyong mga estudyante? *Are you happy with the way your students are treating you?*
 - 2.9. Anu-ano po ang madalas ninyong pagkasunduan/pag-awayan ng inyong mga estudyante? *What are the usual topics of agreements/disagreements with your students?*
 - 2.10. Sa inyong palagay, ano po ang kasalukuyang problema ng inyong mga estudyante? *What do you think are the present problems/concerns of your students?*
 - 2.10.1. Napag-uusapan niyo po ba ang mga problemang ito (sa inyong mga estudyante)? *Do you talk to them about these problems?*
 - 2.11. Sa inyong palagay, may naghihintay bang magandang kinabukasan ang inyong mga estudyante? *Do you think your students will have a good future?*
 - 2.11.1. Paano naman po ang mga ibang kabataan sa inyong pamayanan na di nakakapag- aral, ano po ang laban nila sa buhay? *What about those young people who are out of school in your community, what chances do they have in life?*

- 2.12. Meron po ba kayong estudyante na tumigil ng pag-aaral at pumunta abroad para magtrabaho? *Do you have any student who left school and went abroad to work?*
 - 2.12.1. Ilan po sa inyong mga estudyante and nag-abroad para magtrabaho? *How many of your students want to go abroad to work?*
- 2.13. Relihiyoso po ba ang inyong mga estudyante? *Are your students religious?*
 - 2.13.1. Kinukunsidera niyo po ba ang relihiyon na mahalagang bahagi ng inyong buhay? *Do you consider religion as an important element of your life?*
 - 2.13.1.1. Kapag pag-uusapan ang relihiyon, gaano po kaya ito nakaimpluwensiya sa inyong mga estudyante? *When it comes to religion, to what extent have you influenced your students?*
 - 2.13.2. Sa inyong palagay, gaano kaya nakaimpluwensiya ang relihiyon sa paghubog ng values at moralidad ng inyong mga estudyante? *To what extent, do you think religion has influenced the values and morality of your students?*
3. Karanasan sa school. *School experiences.*
 - 3.1. Ano po ang masasabi ninyo sa estado ng pag-aaral ng inyong mga estudyante? *What could you say about the performance of your students in school?*
 - 3.1.1. Sa inyong palagay, gusto po bang mag-aral ng inyong mga estudyante? O, napipilitan lang po silang pumasok sa school? *In your view, do you think your students love to go to school? Or they feel like being forced to go to school?*
 - 3.1.2. Sa paanong paraan niyo po ineenganyo ang inyong mga estudyante para mag-aral nang mabuti sa school? *In what ways do you motivate your students to do well in school?*
 - 3.1.3. Paano niyo po sila ineenganyo na maging magaling sa school? *How do you motivate those who do not do well in school?*
 - 3.1.3.1. Ano po ang masasabi niyo sa kanila? *What do you think of them?*
 - 3.2. Paano niyo po ipinapakita ang inyong akademikong suporta sa inyong mga estudyante? *How do you show this academic support to your students?*
 - 3.3. Kuwentuhan niyo po ako ng inyong karanasan sa pagtuturo sa school, pangit o maganda man ang mga ito. *Tell me about your teaching experiences in school. (Both good and bad)*
 - 3.4. Paano niyo po hinaharap ang mga estudyanteng kailangan tumigil sa pag-aaral o iyong mga hindi na nagtuloy sa pag-aaral? Ilarawan. *How do you handle those students who are about to leave or has left school? Describe.*
 - 3.5. Ano po ang masasabi niyo sa mga magulang ng inyong mga estudyante? *What can you say about the parents of your students?*
 - 3.5.1. Ano po ang kalidad ng edukasyon sa inyong school? *What about the quality of your school?*
 - 3.5.2. Sa inyong palagay, bilang guro, gaano niyo po kaya naimpluwensiyahan ang inyong mga estudyante? *In your view, to what extent have you as a teacher influenced the values and behavior of your students?*
 - 3.6. Sa inyo pong palagay, naniniwala po ang inyong mga estudyante na mahalaga ang makatapos ng pag-aaral? Bakit? *Do you think your students believe that finishing formal education is still important? Why?*
4. Karanasan sa mga kaibigan/kabarkadaat pamayanan. *Friends and community experiences.*
 - 4.1. Maaari niyo po ba akong kuwentuhan ng mga barkadahan sa inyong school? *Tell me about the friendship network, peer group in schools.*
 - 4.1.1.1. Paano niyo po sila ilalarawan? *How will you describe them?*
 - 4.1.2. Sa inyo pong palagay, gaano po naiimpluwensiyahan ang inyong mga estudyante ng mga desisyon at kilos ng kanilang mga kabarkada? *To what extent, do you think are students' decisions and behavior being influenced by their friends?*

- 4.2. Ano po ang masasabi niyo sa pamayanang kinalakhan ng inyong mga estudyante? *What do you think of this community where your students grow up with?*
- 4.3. Sa inyong palagay, nakatulong o sagabal ba ang paglaki ng inyong mga estudyante sa pamayanang ito? *Do you think growing up in this community is an advantage or a disadvantage for your students?*
5. Mga pangapan at inaasam sa buhay. *Aspirations and expectations.*
 - 5.1. Ano po inyong pangarap na edukasyon para sa inyong mga estudyante? Ano po ang level ng edukasyon ang inyong nais makamit ng inyong mga estudyante para sa kanilang buhay? *What is your educational aspiration for your students? What is the highest level of education do you aspire for them??*
 - 5.2. Umaasa po ba kayong makakamit ang pangarap na edukasyong ito ng inyong estudyante? *Do you expect your students to achieve this educational goal?*
 - 5.3. Ano pong uri ng trabaho ang pinapangarap niyo pong makuha ng inyong mga estudyante? *What kind of work do your students aspire for?*
 - 5.4. Sa kasalukuyan, sa inyong palagay, mahirap po bang makahanap nang maayos na trabaho ang inyong mga estudyante? *Nowadays, do you think it is more difficult for your students to find a good secured job?*
 - 5.4.1. Tungkol naman po sa paghahanap ng trabaho at pagiging empleyado, mas maganda po ba noong panahon ninyo, ang inyong generasyon? *When it comes to getting work and being employed, what was it like in your generation?*
 - 5.5. Gaano na po ang naabot ng inyong mga estudyante sa pagtupad ng kanilang inaasam na edukasyon at trabaho? *How far is your student in achieving their educational and occupational goals?*
 - 5.6. Ano po sa inyong palagay ang mangyayari kung hindi makamtan ng inyong mga estudyante ang kanilang mga pangarap? *What do you think will happen if your student is unable achieve these goals?*
 - 5.7. Meron po ba kayong alam na alternatibo para sa kanila? *What alternatives do your students have?*
6. Pamilya, trabaho at pagkakaran ng trabaho. *Family, work and employment.*
 - 6.1. Sa inyong palagay, ano po ang ideya ng pamilya para sa inyong mga estudyante? *What do you think is your students' idea of a family?*
 - 6.2. Anu-ano po ang inyong inaasahan na mangyari sa buhay ng inyong estudyante bago sila mag-asawa o magkaron ng sariling pamilya? *What expectations do you have before your student gets married and has a family of his/her own?*
 - 6.3. Kailan niyo po inaasahang lumayo sa piling ng kanilang mga magulang ang inyong mga estudyante? Bakit? *When do you expect your student to leave his/her parental home? Why?*
 - 6.4. Sa anong pagkakataon, sa inyong palagay, mapipilitang palayuin ng kanilang mga magulang ang inyong mga estudyante sa pagtigil sa kanilang bahay? *What circumstances do you think your student should or would be forced to leave his/her parental home?*
 - 6.5. Ilan po sa mga estudyante niyo ang nakaranas magtrabaho ng impormal? *How many of your students have experienced working informally?*
 - 6.5.1. Ilan po sa kanila ang nagtrabaho bilang empleyado? *How many of whom were formally employed?*
 - 6.5.2. Kung meron, anu-ano po ang mga dahilan kung bakit sila negdesisyon na magtrabaho? *If yes, what circumstances led your student to decide working?*
 - 6.5.2.1. Alam niyo po ba ang dahilan kung anong nangenganyo sa kanilang magtrabaho? *What do you know of his/her motivations when he/she was working?*

- 6.5.3. Kung wala, sa inyong palagay, dapat po bang bigyan ng pagkakataon ang inyong mga estudyante na mag-aral kahit sila ay bata pa? Bakit? *If no, do you think your student should have been allowed to experience working early in his/her life? Why?*
7. Media at estado ng Pilipinas. *Media, and the Philippine state.*
- 7.1. Ano po ang masasabi ninyo sa media? *What do think about the media?*
- 7.1.1.1. Ikinukunsidera niyo po ba ang media na mahalaga sa paghubog ng values ng inyong mga estudyante? *Do you consider media as a source of the values of your students?*
- 7.2. Magbigay po kayo ng isang matapat na pananaw tungkol sa ating gobyerno. Ilarawan. *What is your honest perception about the Philippine government? Describe.*
- 7.2.1. May alam po ba kayong polisiya tungkol sa kabataan na ipinatupad ng gobyerno? *Do you know of any youth policy that has been implemented by the government?*
- 7.2.2. Meron po ba kayong alam na proyekto o programa ng gobyerno tungkol sa kabataan? *Are you aware of any government project or program for the youth?*
- 7.2.3. Sa inyong pagkakaalam, nakasali po ba ang inyong mga estudyante sa proyektong ito? Ano po ang kanilang naging karanasan? *Have your students participated in any of this project or program? What was his/her experience?*
- 7.2.4. Sa inyong palagay, ano po ang tatlong pinakamahalagang isyu tungkol sa kabataan na dapat pagtuunan ng pansin ng gobyerno? *What do you think are the most three important youth issues that our government should look into?*
- 7.3. Ilarawan niyo po sa akin ang inyong pananaw tungkol sa isang mabuting gobyerno. *Describe your vision of a good government.*
8. Paglaki sa Pilipinas. *Growing up in the Philippines.*
- 8.1. Ano po ang inyong masasabi sa henerasyon ng inyong mga estudyante? *What do you think of the generation of your student?*
- 8.2. Paano niyo po ilalarawan ang proseso ng paglaki dito sa Pilipinas? *How will you describe growing up in the Philippines?*
- 8.3. Sa inyong palagay, mahirap po bang harapin ang proseso ng pagtanda dito sa Pilipinas? Bakit? *Do you think it is difficult to become an adult in the Philippines? Why?*
- 8.4. Sa inyo pong palagay, ano po ang pinakamahalagang suliraning panlipunan na hinaharap ng inyong anak? Ng kabataang Pilipino? *In your view, what are the most pressing social problems are being encountered by your students? By the Filipino youth in general?*
- 8.4.1. May alam po ba kayong solusyon sa mga problemang ito? *Do you have any solutions to these problems?*
- 8.4.2. Personal po bang naranasan ng inyong mga estudyante ang mga suliraning ito? *Has your students experienced any of these problems?*

D. Focus Group Theme Guide

Personal Background Information

Information	Youth	Parents	Teachers
Gender			
Age			
Highest Educational Attainment			
Parental education			
Work/Employment Status			
Number of years employed/unemployed			
Number of years as a teacher			

Guide themes for discussion

Information	Youth	Parents	Teachers
Family Experiences	Relationship with parent/s	Relationship with child	
Experience as a 'teacher'	Views on their teacher	Notion of parents about their child's teacher/s	Views on teaching profession
School experiences	Actual experience in school	Views of child's school performance & behavior	Dealings with students
Views on Peer group and Community	Peer group life	Insights on their child's peer group	Peer group network in schools
Aspiration and expectations	Youth' educational and occupational aspirations and expectations	Parent's educational and occupational aspirations for their child	Teacher's influence on the development of their student's aspirations
Family, work and employment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Idea of having a 'family' and married life * Future work * Comparative view with older generation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Expectations on their child before getting married *Views of child's work and employment future *Comparative view with younger generation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Expectations on their students before getting married *Views of students' future work and employment *Comparative view with younger generation
Media and the Philippine State	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Views about media influence & the Philippine government *Knowledge of Youth Policy or any state program on youth 		
General issues of growing up in the Philippines	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Challenges and structural factors affecting the growing up process in the Philippines *Problems and concerns of youth *Social Problems and the Filipino *Alternative solutions to problems 		

E. Sample Consent Form for Interviews
Informed Consent Document

Preparing for the Future: Life Course and Intergenerational Analysis of Youth Transitions in the Philippines

Researcher:

Clarence M. Batan
Graduate Student (Ph. D. in Sociology)
Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology
Dalhousie University

Contact address in the Philippines: 232 M.H. del
Pilar St. Layunan, Binangonan, Rizal 1940

Phone: (632) 652-5323

Email: cbatan@dal.ca

Supervisor

Dr. Victor Thiessen
Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology

Departmental mailing address: Marion McCain
Arts And Social Sciences Building 6135 University
Ave., Halifax, NS B3H 4P9
Canada

Email: Thiessen@Dal.Ca

Phone: (902) 494- 3130

Contact information

If you have any questions at any time during or after this research, please feel free to contact me, my thesis supervisor, Dr. Victor Thiessen, whose contact information appears above or the Director of the Dalhousie University's Office of Research Services, Room 321, Henry Hicks Academic Administration Building, Dalhousie University.

Contact Dr. Patricia Lindley at patricia.lindley@dal.ca (494-1462) or Sharon Gomes at Sharon.Gomes@dal.ca (494-3423).

Note: The original English consent form was used during fieldwork because all respondents understand and read English, and thus, Filipino translation was not necessary.

Preparing for the Future: Life Course and Intergenerational Analysis of Youth Transitions in the Philippines

Introduction

Good day! I am a Ph.D. student in the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology under the supervision of Dr. Victor Thiessen at Dalhousie University. You are invited to take part in a research study which is described below. Your participation in this study is voluntary and you may withdraw at any time. I hope that in this study, we may both learn things about Filipino youth, the processes of growing up and becoming an adult in the Philippines.

Purpose of the Research Project:

My primary research interest is in the area of sociology of Filipino youth and specifically, I am studying the process of youth transitions in our country using life course and intergeneration approaches.

What Is Involved?

If you agree to participate you will be asked to participate in an interview, which *should take approximately two hours*. During this interview you will be asked about personal, family, school and community experiences; your educational and occupational aspirations and expectations, your views about having a family of your own, future work and employment; your perceptions on media and the government; and some general issues related to the process of growing up in the Philippines. With your consent, your words may be used and printed as part of this study. You may request for anonymity if you think you personally do not want to be identified.

If you agree, your interview may be audio-recorded or video-taped. If this is the case, please be aware that it will be impossible to guard confidentiality and anonymity. By using these media, your faces and voices cannot be disguised even if your names are not used.

You do not have to talk about anything you do not want and you may end the interview at any time. You may also ask that the tape recorder or video camera be turned off at any time.

If you agree, it is possible that you may be contacted for a second, follow-up interview at a later date for either clarification or data validation purposes.

Who Can Participate in the Study?

To participate in this study, you must be a resident of this community for a substantial period of time.

Who Will be Conducting the Research?

I, Clarence M. Batan, am the primary researcher of this project. If I am not available, I have a local research assistant, (name of the local researcher), who has been trained to conduct this interview.

Reciprocity

As a sign of gratitude for your participation, you will be given a simple gift, as a token of appreciation.

Potential risks posed to the respondents

There is no anticipated harm that you would derive from participation in this research.

Potential use of results

You are not likely to benefit directly from this study. However, I do hope that this research on Filipino youth transitions will provide up-to-date information, and systematic analysis of the structural factors affecting the process of growing up in the Philippines in the context of the varying forms and extent of social inequality in our country.

Signatures

Your signature below indicates that you have read and understood the information in this consent form. Please check the appropriate box below to signify the option you prefer. Thank you for your time, interest and participation.

- I agree to participate in this study.
- I agree to participate in this study and authorize the use of my name.
- I agree to be quoted and/or paraphrased.
- I agree to be tape recorded during this interview.
- I agree to be video taped during this interview.
- I am willing to be contacted for a follow-up interview.

Signature of Participant: _____

Date: _____

Signature of Researcher: _____

Date: _____

F. Sample Consent Form for Focus Groups
Informed Consent Document

Preparing for the Future: Life Course and Intergenerational Analysis of Youth Transitions in the Philippines

Researcher:

Clarence M. Batan

Graduate Student (Ph. D. in Sociology)
Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology
Dalhousie University

Contact address in the Philippines: 232 M.H. del Pilar St.
Layunan, Binangonan, Rizal 1940

Phone: (632) 652-5323

Email: cbatan@dal.ca

Supervisor

Dr. Victor Thiessen

Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology

Departmental mailing address: Marion McCain Arts And Social
Sciences Building 6135 University Ave., Halifax, NS B3H 4P9
Canada

Email: Thiessen@Dal.Ca

Phone: (902) 494- 3130

Contact information

If you have any questions at any time during or after this research, please feel free to contact me, my thesis supervisor, Dr. Victor Thiessen, whose contact information appears above or the Director of the Dalhousie University's Office of Research Services, Room 321, Henry Hicks Academic Administration Building, Dalhousie University.

Contact Dr. Patricia Lindley at patricia.lindley@dal.ca (494-1462) or Sharon Gomes at Sharon.Gomes@dal.ca (494-3423).

Note: The original English consent form was used during fieldwork because all respondents understand and read English, and thus, Filipino translation was not necessary.

Preparing for the Future: Life Course and Intergenerational Analysis of Youth Transitions in the Philippines

Introduction

Good day! I am a Ph.D. student in the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology under the supervision of Dr. Victor Thiessen at Dalhousie University. You are invited to take part in a research study which is described below. Your participation in this study is voluntary and you may withdraw at any time. I hope that in this study, we may both learn things about Filipino youth, the processes of growing up and becoming an adult in the Philippines.

Purpose of the Research Project:

My primary research interest is in the area of sociology of Filipino youth and specifically, I am studying the process of youth transitions in our country using life course and intergeneration approaches.

What Is Involved?

If you agree to participate you will be asked to participate in a focus group discussion, which *should take approximately two hours*. During this focus group you will be asked about personal, family, school and community experiences; your educational and occupational aspirations and expectations, your views about having a family of your own, future work and employment; your perceptions on media and the government; and some general issues related to the process of growing up in the Philippines. With your consent, your words may be used and printed as part of this study. In this focus group, I will request you to please respect the confidentiality of information to be shared by other participants.

If you the group agrees, our discussion may be audio-recorded or video-taped. If this is the case, please be aware that it will be impossible to guard confidentiality and anonymity. By using these media, your faces and voices cannot be disguised even if your names are not used. *You do not have to talk about anything you do not want and you may end the leave the focus group at any time.* You may also ask that the tape recorder or video camera be turned off at any time.

If you agree, it is possible that you may be contacted for a second, follow-up interview at a later date for either clarification or data validation purposes.

Who Can Participate in the Study?

To participate in this study, you must be a resident of this community for a substantial period of time.

Who Will be Conducting the Research?

I, Clarence M. Batan, am the primary researcher of this project. If I am not available, I have a local research assistant, (name of the local researcher), who has been trained to facilitate focus groups discussions.

Reciprocity

As a sign of gratitude for your participation, you will be given a simple gift, as a token of appreciation.

Potential risks posed to the respondents

There is no anticipated harm that you would derive from participation in this research.

Potential use of results

You are not likely to benefit directly from this study. However, I do hope that this research on Filipino youth transitions will provide up-to-date information, and systematic analysis of the structural factors affecting the process of growing up in the Philippines in the context of the varying forms and extent of social inequality in our country.

Signatures

Your signature below indicates that you have read and understood the information in this consent form. Please check the appropriate box below to signify the option you prefer. Thank you for your time, interest and participation.

- I agree to participate in this study.
- I agree to participate in this study and authorize the use of my name.
- I agree to be quoted and/or paraphrased.
- I agree to be tape recorded during this focus group discussion.
- I agree to be video taped during this focus group discussion.
- I am willing to be contacted for a follow-up focus group discussion.

Signature of Participant: _____

Date: _____

Signature of Researcher: _____

Date: _____

G. Confidentiality Form Between the Principal Investigator and Research Assistant

Project Title: Preparing for the Future: Life Course and Intergenerational Analysis of Youth Transitions in the Philippines

Researcher: Clarence M. Batan
Graduate Student (Ph. D. in Sociology)
Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology
Dalhousie University

Contact address in the Philippines: 232 M.H. del Pilar St.
Layunan, Binangonan, Rizal 1940

Phone: (632) 652-5323

Email: cbatan@dal.ca

I, (name of the research assistant), as a research assistant of this project entitled, ***Preparing for the Future: Life Course and Intergenerational Analysis of Youth Transitions in the Philippines***, is fully aware of the objectives of this study. Any information that will be gathered in **this research will be kept strictly confidential.**

Name of local researcher:

Signature:

Date signed:

Name of principal investigator: Clarence M. Batan

Signature:

Date signed: